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FROM THE ARCHIVES

From Periodical to Book in Her Early Career:
E. D. E. N. Southworth's Letters to Abraham Hart

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E. D. E. N. Southworth's correspondence with Henry Peterson of the *Saturday Evening Post* and Robert Bonner of the *New York Ledger*, both of whom serialized her novels in their weekly story papers, is sometimes dramatic and emotional. In September 1849 Peterson chided Southworth for a "capital literary error" in an installment of her novel *The Deserted Wife*, in which the Reverend Withers uses his patriarchal authority to maneuver the young, unwilling Sophie Churchill into marriage. The incident would make readers "thro[w] down the tale in disgust," he warns, and he omitted it from the serialization. In December 1854 he raised objections to a chapter of *Miriam, the Avenger* in which Marian Mayfield succumbs to Thurston Willcoxon's demands for a secret marriage. Explaining that publishing the installment "would have ruined you and the Post," he proclaims, "I stand between you and literary perdition."¹ In her letters to Bonner, for whose paper she started writing in 1857 after leaving Peterson's *Post*, Southworth repeatedly praises Bonner for saving her (implicitly from Peterson). In December 1869, she proclaims, "The first day that you entered my little cottage" fifteen years ago was "a day, *blessed beyond all other days of my life*." She dramatically describes herself "as dying from the combined effect of over work and under pay, of anxiety and of actual privation" before he "saved [her] life" by hiring her to write for the *Ledger*. These letters, part of a substantial collection of Southworth materials held by the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library at Duke University and available for loan on microfilm, are quoted frequently, including in two influential, multi-figure biographical studies of nineteenth-century women's authorship, Mary Kelley's *Private Woman, Public Stage* and Susan Coultrap-McQuin's *Doing Liter-*

ary *Business*. Drawing on these emotional, dramatic letters and others at Duke, scholars have portrayed Peterson as an overbearing villain, Bonner as Southworth's gentlemanly savior, and Southworth herself as relatively passive, chafing under Peterson's patriarchal bullying but powerless to improve her situation until Bonner made her a salaried contributor to the *Ledger*.²

The E. D. E. N. Southworth Papers at Duke include a small number of letters from Henry Peterson to Southworth and many letters from Southworth to Bonner from the late 1850s through 1890. Although few letters from Bonner to Southworth from 1856 and 1857 are present, the collection does not, in any instance, provide both sides of an epistolary transaction with either Bonner or Peterson.³ The Peterson correspondence is particularly fragmentary, consisting of only four Peterson letters from the period during which Southworth actively contributed to the *Post* (1849 through September 1856) and one additional Peterson letter (from December 1856) that inaugurated what became a public dispute about whether she had contracted to write a serial for publication in the *Post* in 1857. Crucially, Southworth's voice is entirely absent from this archive's sparse coverage of her early career. Nevertheless, based on the two Peterson letters quoted above (supplemented by editorial notices in the *Post* and with the content of Southworth's letters inferred from Peterson's), scholars have drawn vivid pictures of Peterson and Southworth's conflicts over what he saw as the excessive length and immorality of her serial novels.⁴

This essay introduces Southworth's ten letters to a third male intermediary, Abraham Hart, her book publisher from 1851 to 1853, in order to complicate this understanding of her authorial practice and her relationship to the literary market. In a recent review essay in *Legacy*, Elizabeth Hewitt praises a shift in scholarly approaches to authors' letters, from treating them as "treasure troves of biographical information" (including "compositional practices" and "business negotiations") to attending to "epistolary writing as a literary genre in its own right" (272). One can hardly imagine less "literary" letters than Southworth's to Hart, which focus on title pages, engravings, book orders, and contracts. It is scarcely surprising that scholars have preferred the drama and emotion of her correspondence with Peterson and Bonner concentrated in one library over these ten boring business letters scattered across six. However, her letters to Hart are valuable precisely for what they reveal about her professional life as an author. Crucially, they document how Southworth negotiated the transition from periodical to book publication for her early fiction. In these dealings she necessarily relied on Peterson as she sought to have her novels that had been serialized in the *Post* appear as books under Hart's imprint. The letters upend many settled assumptions about Southworth as a literary

producer: The hasty writer who never revised makes substantial revisions; the woman who left the technical aspects of publishing to her male editors and publishers micromanages the publication of a volume; and the risk-averse, financially desperate author shares financial risks with her publisher. The letters also reveal the limits of correspondence as evidence for reconstructing publishing history. I thus repeatedly move between the letters and other forms of evidence to establish a new biographical narrative of Southworth's authorship in the early 1850s.

Southworth's letters to Hart also bring her voice from her early career into the epistolary archive of her negotiation of the literary market. This correspondence, like her correspondence with Bonner and Peterson, is incomplete: It begins in medias res, ends before their relationship ends, and includes only Southworth's letters to Hart and none from Hart to Southworth. However, Southworth's side of the correspondence is relatively complete for a twelve-month period (May 1852 to May 1853), and she negotiates with Hart questions of morality, length, and revision, issues that caused friction with Peterson in the early 1850s.

Southworth's earlier negotiations with two other publishers about the transition from serial to book illuminate her later dealings with Hart and provide key evidence for drawing inferences necessary to fill in the gaps. *Retribution* was Southworth's first fiction to appear in book form. Serialized in the *National Era*, an abolitionist weekly, from 4 January to 12 April 1849, the story was published by Harper & Brothers of New York in August 1849 (Taylor & Maury).⁵ Harper published no other Southworth books, and no correspondence or contract survives; however, because Southworth was a first-time author, Harper probably acquired the copyright from her for a one-time payment.⁶ D. Appleton & Company, another New York firm, published Southworth's next three serial novels in book form, beginning with *The Deserted Wife*. Again, no letters or contracts survive, but Peterson's 1849 letter to Southworth about *The Deserted Wife* suggests how Appleton may have become Southworth's book publisher. Peterson explains that although he will not serialize the objectionable chapter, "we can doubtless find houses that will do it, and who will make no objection to the insertion of the chapter in question. We will make it a stipulation that the *book* shall be published exactly as you wish it" (emphasis added). Peterson's "we" implies that finding a book publisher for Southworth was his duty as her magazine editor and publisher.

The serialization of *The Deserted Wife* in the *Post* concluded on 1 December 1849, and D. Appleton's edition appeared in August 1850, with the controversial chapter included (D. Appleton). D. Appleton & Co. was a partnership of three

sons of Daniel Appleton (William, John, and Samuel). A fourth son, George, conducted business in Philadelphia, often issuing books under a dual imprint with his brothers.⁷ Southworth's novels appeared with this dual imprint on their title pages. Peterson, whose office was also in Philadelphia, could easily have strolled to the nearby office of George Appleton to conduct business on Southworth's behalf. Southworth's next serial novel, *Shannondale*, appeared under the Appleton imprint in a manner that provides key evidence of close collaboration between Peterson and the Appletons. For a brief period beginning in 1850, Peterson used typesetting from the *Post* to make stereotype plates of installments of popular serial novels.⁸ From these plates he printed double-column "supplements" that could be ordered by new subscribers who wished to catch up on installments they had missed.⁹ A comparison of the serialization of *Shannondale* with the Appleton book reveals that Peterson transferred the *Post* "supplement" plates to the Appletons, who printed their book edition from them: The serial and book text are identical in every particular, including typographic irregularities. Because the Appletons did not need to typeset the novel, their edition of *Shannondale* was on sale in January 1851 (J. B. Cotton), just weeks after the serial concluded on 30 November 1850.

Two weeks before, on 16 November 1850, Peterson complained in an unsigned *Post* editorial that *Shannondale* "has run much longer than the author first intended, or we desired" ("Shannondale"). Later, in defending the book edition of *Shannondale* against a poison pen review by the *Columbian and Great West*, Peterson noted that the paper had praised *The Deserted Wife* as "published in book form—which work contained some things decidedly more objectionable than anything in Shannondale" ("Mrs. Southworth"). Obliquely referring to and congratulating himself for censoring *The Deserted Wife* in serialization, Peterson reminds readers that, in his own review of the novel's book publication, "we lamented (as our readers will remember) a leaning in certain parts to the French school." He also, however, mitigates Southworth's "faults" by referring to her "peculiar situation in life. A widow in fate, though not in fact—a helpless woman, with two children, thrown upon her own exertions for a livelihood who can wonder that her mind became somewhat morbid and unhealthy in tone? And who can wonder in the unavoidable haste of writing for daily bread, many things have crept into her productions which a cool revision would have erased." Scholars have tended to take at face value Peterson's claims about Southworth's desperate haste and failure to revise: They assume that, save the omitted chapter restored to *The Deserted Wife* in book publication, the serial and book publications of her novels are identical.¹⁰ Certainly, Appleton's edition of *Shannondale*, which was *truly* identical to the *Post* serialization, gives

credence to such claims. However, Southworth's letters to Hart, read against other evidence, provide a more complex picture of her creative process.

By the time Abraham Hart became Southworth's book publisher, he was long established in the Philadelphia trade.¹¹ Born in the city in 1810 to a German Jewish immigrant father and a Dutch Jewish immigrant mother, he lost his father early and entered business at the age of thirteen, helping his mother to run a successful stationery and bookstore. Local auctioneer Moses Thomas provided the seventeen-year-old Hart with a substantial letter of credit to purchase books at a publishers' trade sale in Boston. Impressed with Hart's business judgment, Thomas recommended him to Edward L. Carey as a business partner. The youngest son of Mathew Carey, an Irish Catholic immigrant and one of the most important publishers in the early republic, Edward needed a business partner in 1829 because he was leaving Carey, Lea, and Carey, a partnership with his older brother and brother-in-law. Publishing under the imprint of *E. L. Carey and A. Hart*, the two men became, in the words of publisher J. C. Derby, "the best-known and most popular publishers of belles-lettres books in America" (550). When Edward Carey died in 1845, his nephew Henry Carey Baird became Hart's partner until 1849, when Hart continued alone under the imprint *A. Hart (late Carey & Hart)*.

The Southworth-Hart correspondence begins in 1852 and thus does not document the beginning of their relationship in 1851. As in the case of Southworth's introduction to the Appletons, however, the circumstantial evidence for Peterson's involvement is strong. In an 1854 letter about *Miriam* cautioning Southworth about her return to "the free vein of [her] earlier writings," Peterson warns, "Even now the great objection made to your works is that very thing—notwithstanding all my remonstrances. For in your books, you reinserted sometimes what I had omitted. For this very reason, and no other, as the Appletons told us, they would not publish for you." The timing of the first two Southworth novels published under Hart's imprint suggests that the Appletons did, indeed, drop her in 1851. The *Post* serialized *Virginia and Magdalene* from 4 January through 3 May 1851, while *The Discarded Daughter* appeared later (18 October 1851 through 3 April 1852). Yet Hart published *The Discarded Daughter* first, in July 1852, and *Virginia and Magdalene* second (in September) (Taylor & Maury; W. D. Ticknor). That is, when *Virginia and Magdalene* concluded serialization in the spring of 1851, Southworth had no willing book publisher for it.¹² In the early 1850s, Hart regularly published fiction by another *Post* contributor, Caroline Lee Hentz; he began publishing her *Post* serials in 1850, issuing in quick succession seven volumes of her novels, novellas, and tales.¹³ Peterson likely facilitated Hart's publication of books written by the distant Hentz (who

lived in Alabama), so he was well positioned to introduce Hart and Southworth, another non-local *Post* contributor, when Southworth found herself cut by the Appletons.

Southworth's first extant letter to Hart contradicts the perception of her as a hasty writer who never revised. She sends the opening chapters of a novel, significantly revised, carefully recopied, and folded separately by chapter to speed up production (chapters thus divided could be distributed to several compositors for typesetting). The letter omits a key piece of information, however: the title of the novel. Comparing Hart's editions of *The Discarded Daughter* and *Virginia and Magdalene* with their *Post* serializations solves the mystery: Hart printed his edition of *Virginia and Magdalene* from the *Post*'s stereotype plate (just as Appleton did *Shannondale*), but his edition of *The Discarded Daughter* differs radically from its *Post* serialization. The publishing chronology of Hart's editions suggests that Southworth's sense of artistic fitness, not time constraints, motivated her revision of *The Discarded Daughter*: Hart published *Virginia and Magdalene* from the *Post*'s plates more than a year after serialization, while the radically revised *The Discarded Daughter* appeared only months after serialization concluded.

During a gap of several months in the correspondence, Hart published *The Discarded Daughter* and made arrangements for his edition of *Virginia and Magdalene* (in consultation with Southworth and with Peterson's cooperation). In these months, as well, either he or Southworth conceived the idea of collecting her shorter works for publication as an expensively produced "Christmas book," a distinct departure from the cheap editions of her novels. In October 1852, Southworth accepted Hart's terms for the volume (specified in a missing letter), promised to send the text of selected stories soon, and forwarded reviews of the recently published *Virginia and Magdalene*. Almost all of Southworth's remaining letters to Hart address, in whole or in part, the planned "Christmas book," *Old Neighbourhoods and New Settlements*.

Coultrap-McQuin characterizes Southworth as uninvolved in the technical aspects of publishing; the author "occasionally made suggestions about illustrations and showed some concern about advertising," but "expressed relatively few opinions about these publishers' concerns and generally kept to her separate sphere" (73). Although this characterization may be accurate with respect to Southworth's letters to Bonner, Southworth's letters to Hart reveal her deep knowledge about the technical aspects of publishing and her desire to shape her books to increase their marketability. These letters also show her grappling with public perceptions of the moral character of her fiction, not in response to the demands of a male interlocutor (like Peterson) but at her own instiga-

tion. When, on 12 October 1852, she first sends a batch of stories for *Old Neighbourhoods*, she emphasizes their “Christian morality,” citing their reprinting in religious newspapers as evidence. She also sends—but expresses reservations about—her novella *Hickory Hall; or, The Outcast*. Southworth does not specify what she believes might make readers of the story “shudder,” but the “plot,” which she characterizes as “perfectly unique” and one that would “[defy] the most . . . inveterate and skillful of romance readers to unravel,” clearly makes the author cautious about including it in a Christmas book (as opposed to having it serialized in the *National Era*, an abolitionist paper): The mystery at the center of this plot is that Regina Fairchild has married a man she believes to be a white plantation master, only to discover he is a mixed-race slave of the plantation, and this revelation drives her insane. Southworth might have cared genuinely about the morality of her fiction, or she might have been more concerned about managing audience perception and reaching the widest market. Regardless, she, not Hart, introduces the question.

As Southworth and Hart negotiated the question of whether *Hickory Hall* was appropriate to include in a Christmas book (he seconded her reservations), Southworth also paid close attention to the technical aspects of the volume’s design and production. She drafted individual title pages and mottos for each story, provided images of herself and her home to be used as frontispieces, and wrote repeatedly to make sure that the design and printing were carried out as she wished. As arrangements for *Old Neighbourhoods* continued, Southworth and Hart also negotiated terms for the third (and last) of her novels he would publish. Extant letters do not make clear which party initiated the discussion of publishing *The Curse of Clifton* as a book, but, notably, they concluded negotiations *before* its serialization was complete *and* before Southworth had finished writing it. She reviewed what she had written and proclaimed that she had no interest in revising it before it would appear in book form. Hart and Southworth gained no economic efficiency by leaving the text of *Clifton* unrevised, as they had in the case of *Virginia and Magdalene*, because Peterson had stopped stereotyping supplements of novels serialized in the *Post* in 1851 in response to a change in the postal law (“The Discarded Daughter”).¹⁴ Southworth’s decision not to edit for either length or morality was thus based on her own judgment. Nevertheless, she draws on Peterson’s authority, reminding Hart that he had approved of the novel (15 Dec. 1852). She may have cited Peterson’s imprimatur because of its advertising value, but she also may have taken his judgment seriously.

Her decision not to revise *Clifton* was also pragmatic. In May 1852, when she revised *The Discarded Daughter*, she had just begun a several months’ break

in writing weekly serial installments for the *Post* and the *Era*. In November, however, *Clifton's* serialization was still in progress, she was still writing it, and her next serial (*Mark Sutherland*) was to begin the following January in the *National Era*. With no time to revise, she made a virtue of necessity. Despite this frantic pace of production, she still asked for a small correction to the text and suggested a subtitle change designed for marketing purposes (22 Dec. 1852). The constant weekly pressure to produce serial installments in late 1852 and early 1853 also accounts for the comedy of errors that ensued with *Old Neighbourhoods*, which appeared in late spring 1853 (Ticknor). After Hart and Southworth agreed to omit *Hickory Hall* from the collection, she promised to write two new tales, then claimed she had written them but had not yet copied them over legibly, and, finally, resorted to foraging through her other magazine tales to fill out the volume. Unable to find her own copies, she relied on magazine editors to help her secure them. She asked Hart to send to Peterson for a temperance story she had contributed the *Post* (17 Nov. 1852), and she dealt directly with Margaret Bailey (wife of Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*) to obtain copies of several tales she had published in the abolitionist children's periodical the *Friend of Youth*. In some of the letters about these events we catch glimpses of the life drama seemingly so characteristic of her (complaints of illness, praise of the extraordinary measures friends take to help her), yet we also see an entrepreneurial author determined to see a deluxe edition of her collected tales through the press.

Considering the apparent success of Hart and Southworth's business relationship, it seems important to determine how and why it came to an end and how T. B. (Theophilus Beasley) Peterson (Henry Peterson's cousin) took Hart's place as Southworth's book publisher. In 1875, T. B. Peterson told a *New York Evening Post* reporter a colorful—and entirely fabricated—account of how he became Southworth's publisher:

One day in 1854 Mr. Peterson was sitting at his desk considering some new project, when a lady entered the store, approached him unobserved, and introduced herself as a Mrs. Southworth, an authoress in search of a publisher. She brought the manuscript of a long novel, and, while ingenuously acknowledging that it had been rejected by several publishers, confidently asserted her belief in its future success. Mr. Peterson knew nothing about her stories at that time, and probably at first supposed that, as in a good many other instances, he was wasting precious moments to gratify a needy scribbler. But Mrs. Southworth presented her case well; she believed that her stories would be popular if they were properly presented to the public; and Mr. Peterson, after a brief examination of the work, thought that he discovered in it some skill. Shortly afterwards he made

a contract with Mrs. Southworth, by which he was to publish not only this volume, but all the other stories which she might write for years to come. Further than this, he decided to purchase, stereotype and republish in uniform size, all the novels she had already published by other houses, in order to have the entire control of her books. This was apparently a rash undertaking, for she had already put into the market six or seven large books, and they had met with but indifferent success. Her first long romance appeared in the old Washington *National Era*, about 1850, and was republished in book form by Harper & Brothers. Afterwards, D. Appleton & Company published “Shannondale; or The Two Sisters,” and Carey & Hart, of Philadelphia, her “Curse of Clifton” and “Discarded Daughter.” These publishers were not loth to sell these works, and Mr. Peterson at once bought the stereotype plates and copyrights of them, melted the plates and made new ones of them all in a uniform style. After this his first step was to publish the one purchased from Mrs. Southworth, “The Lost Heiress,” and spend six thousand dollars in advertising before the book was upon the market. This amount was equivalent to an expenditure of twenty thousand dollars now for the same purposes, and was regarded by many as a waste of money. The new volume had a good sale from the beginning, the system of advertising adopted having been apparently perfectly successful. Moreover, the success of this book created a demand for the prior volumes, which Peterson had collected from other publishers, and new editions of them were called for. (“Bookmakers”)

Peterson portrays himself as a masculine hero saving a hapless and naïve woman, giving the figure of the supplicant female author entering the precincts of the male publisher a literary treatment—indeed, one wonders if he created this persuasive fiction using Fanny Fern’s *Ruth Hall* as a model.

Standard histories of publishing reproduce Peterson’s account (Tebbel 246–47; Dzwonkoski), but his first letter to Southworth (held in the Duke collection) flatly contradicts it. “Having purchased of Mr. A. Hart of this city the Stereotype Plates etc of Curse of Clifton, Discarded Daughter, Virginia and Magdalene, Old Neighborhoods & New Set.,” he wrote on 12 April 1854, “I shall in future publish them.” He further explains, “Mr. Hart advised me to write to you about the last book of yours published in the Sat. Eve Post” (*The Lost Heiress*), and, based on Hart’s advice, Peterson offered to publish it for Southworth’s usual compensation, “about 200.—for your copyrights, or near that amount.” Not only did Peterson approach Southworth, rather than vice versa, as he implied in 1875; he also acquired Hart’s plates for her fiction in a public, rather than a private, transaction.¹⁵ By early 1854 the forty-three-year-old Hart had been a partner or sole owner of a Philadelphia publishing house for nearly twenty-five years, and he decided to wind up the business to focus on other interests. With little notice, he put his printed stock and stereotype plates up

for auction in the regular Philadelphia publishers' spring trade sale. The first announcements of this "peremptory sale" appeared in late January 1854, with his properties scheduled to be sold on 7 March, the last day of the weeklong sale (M. Thomas & Sons). Described in the press as "the best sale of stereotype plates at auction ever made in the United States," Hart's plates sold "for the aggregate sum of \$55,000" ("Great Sale").¹⁶

Peterson would not have bought plates of Southworth's four titles at auction unless he already knew about her works and their market value.¹⁷ Indeed, his 1875 account of how he grew his business in the 1850s through his genius in promoting the works of both Southworth and Caroline Hentz cannily obscures the importance of Hart's sale, at which he acquired not only the plates of Southworth's four titles but also Hentz's seven. By acquiring Hart's properties at the sale, Peterson stepped into the shoes of an established publisher of two established women novelists (both of whom also had serialized their novels in his cousin Henry Peterson's story paper), making possible his own emergence as a major publisher of popular American fiction.

Hart was within his rights selling stereotype plates of authors' works to other publishers, as long as he put the purchaser on notice of the terms he had agreed to with each author—that is, he sold the contracts with the plates (Winship, "Printing with Plates" 25–26). As a result, the auction catalog informed potential purchasers of the terms of Hart's contracts with Southworth, crucially supplementing the incomplete epistolary record. Legally speaking, a contract consists of two elements, an offer and an acceptance, and Southworth refers vaguely in her 17 November 1852 letter to "[Hart's] proposition" and offers in return to "sell [him] the copyright" of *Clifton* for the sum of \$225. Subsequent letters obliquely confirm that she and Hart had agreed that he would pay her \$225 in cash and books—she first orders \$25 worth of books and then asks him to send the remaining \$200 owed her. Coultrap-McQuin cites Southworth's 17 November letter as evidence that "[w]ith Abraham Hart she began the practice of selling the copyrights to her books, rather than arranging royalty payments" (209n18). The letter, however, is insufficient to establish the full meaning of the phrase "sell [Hart] the copyright of the *Curse of Clifton*" or other terms of their contract. The auction sale catalog supplies these missing terms:

THE CURSE OF CLIFTON, a Tale of Expiation and Redemption, by Mrs. E. D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH, author of "The Deserted Wife," "The Discarded Daughter," etc., etc., complete in two volumes.

The stereotype plates, complete in two volumes, 482 pages, (subject to a copyright of only 5 cents a copy on all copies printed.) Every edition of 1000 copies

sold of the above work, at one-third discount from the trade price, in cloth, pays about \$300 profit. (Thomas & Sons 337)

In nineteenth-century publishing argot, “copy-right” had two meanings: any payment to an author (whether onetime or per copy printed or sold) or a literary property registered according to the requirements of the copyright statute (Winship, *American Literary Publishing* 133). Sometimes authors registered their copyrights in their own names, but publishers often registered them. In 1852, Deacon & Peterson, the partnership that owned the *Post*, registered the copyright for *Clifton* before serialization began. Nevertheless, Southworth and the *Post* implicitly understood that she was free to negotiate with Hart to publish *Clifton* as a book. If, by “selling the copyright,” Southworth and Hart understood that she would be paid once, she would have foregone a share of the profits—or losses. Instead, as the catalog describes, whoever purchased the stereotype plates owed Southworth five cents for each copy printed.¹⁸ Taken together, the extant letters and the catalog suggest that Hart paid Southworth \$225 for the right to print an edition of *The Curse of Clifton* (the size of the edition perhaps specified in a missing letter). Before this initial printing or in a later negotiation, they agreed he would pay her five cents for every copy printed after the first edition was exhausted. That is, Hart did *not* pay Southworth \$225 for all rights to *Clifton*, no matter how many editions he printed or copies he sold, nor did he, as the auction catalog makes clear, purchase rights in Southworth’s other novels outright. The catalog offered the plates for *The Discarded Daughter* on the same condition, “subject to a copy-right of 5 cents a copy on all copies printed,” while *The Foster Sisters* (serialized as *Virginia and Magdalene*), a shorter work, in a double-column edition of plates acquired from the *Post*, was subject to a lower royalty of “3 cents a copy.” Hart offered Hentz’s titles subject to similar per-copy-printed “copy-rights” (Thomas & Sons 336–37).

Before *Old Neighbourhoods* appeared, all of Southworth’s books had been sold in cheap formats. Harper published *Retribution* without borrowing the typesetting from the *Era*, but still printed it in newspaper-style double columns. As *Graham’s Magazine* protested, “[T]his work has considerable merit, and is worthy of a more permanent form than the pamphlet in which it is published. The mode which the Harpers have adopted of issuing novels in this uncouth shape, in order to reduce their price to twenty-five cents, is an unfortunate one for the success of a new novelist like the accomplished authoress of the present story” (Rev. of *Retribution*). Although the works Southworth published with Appleton and Hart grew increasingly longer than *Retribution*, they

also sold cheaply. Hart did not print *Clifton* in space-conserving double columns, but still sold it in paper covers at thirty-nine and one-half cents per volume, or seventy-nine cents for the two-volume novel (\$1.00 in cloth-covered boards). A catalog on the paper covers of Hart's edition of *Clifton* advertises *The Discarded Daughter* in two volumes for \$1.00 paper, or \$1.25 cloth, and the double-column edition of *The Foster Sisters* in one paper-covered volume for fifty cents.

Southworth's instructions to Hart make it clear that she wanted *Old Neighbourhoods* to be an up-market book suitable for gift-giving. Although her letter accepting his offer does not specify the terms of their contract, the sales catalog of Hart's plates fills in the blanks:

No. 51. OLD NEIGHORHOODS AND NEW SETTLEMENTS; or, Christmas Evening Legends, by the author of "The Curse of Clifton," with a finely engraved Portrait of the Author, and a view of Prospect Cottage, the Home of the Author, complete in one vol., 370 pages. . . .

The stereotype plates and two fine steel engravings, (the engravings of which cost \$125.). One vol. 370 pages, (subject to a division of one-half the net profits on the sales with the authoress, as a compensation for copyright)—an admirable volume for a present to young ladies. (Thomas & Sons 337)

The 1850s were, as Susan Geary explains, a moment of transition in author-publisher contracts, from the half-profits model, in which author and publisher shared both reward and risk, to a royalty payment model based on sales, in which the publisher assumed all the risk. The outright purchase of an author's manuscript represented yet a third option, in which the publisher also assumed all risk (360–61). In the 1850s, Geary suggests, publishers did not offer half-profits contracts if they thought a book might be popular because "whoever had to take on the largest share of the risk also acquired the largest share of the proceeds if the book were successful on the market" (359). Typesetting and stereotyping required a substantial upfront investment, but manufacturing costs decreased and profits increased with each copy sold. Thus a publisher had no incentive to split increasing profits per unit sold with an author (360–61). The opposite was also true: "If [a publisher] were in doubt about a manuscript, he would try to get the author to share the risk" (362).

Geary's explanation of the logic of author-publisher contracts in the 1850s returns us to Southworth's half-profits contract with Hart for *Old Neighbourhoods*. Scholars often describe Southworth as an author whose financial desperation drove her to take any advance payment she could get rather than wait for royalties based on sales, even though her return could have been higher under the latter arrangement. As Geary explains, "When a publisher bought

a manuscript outright, he was likely to offer a flat sum equivalent to no more than a 10% royalty on the least number of copies he thought he could sell, but he might well offer even less if he thought he could get away with it," because such low-balling would allow him to "reap an enormous profit" on any sales beyond the "least number" (361). Indeed, Geary cites as an example of this principle T. B. Peterson's 1860 apparent bargain with Southworth for *The Bride of an Evening*, an arrangement documented only by two letters from Southworth to Bonner, who was acting as her agent in the transaction during her residence in London.

In the case of *Old Neighbourhoods*, Southworth acted jointly with Hart in the business venture of her book's publication, claiming a share of the profits and risking a share of the losses. Hart may have offered her this contract because he doubted the book would be popular enough to be profitable, but she was undeterred. My reconstruction of Southworth and Hart's contracts also casts doubt on conclusions scholars have drawn about Southworth's contracts with Peterson. In 1860 and beyond, would Southworth, a popular novelist well established in the book market and a salaried contributor to the *New York Ledger*, transfer her novels outright to Peterson? If Peterson spent even half of the \$6,000 he later claimed he did to advertise *The Lost Heiress* ("The Bookmakers") and if he cleared a \$300 profit on every 1,000-copy edition of *Clifton* printed from Hart's plates after paying Southworth five cents per copy (amounting to \$50 for each edition) (Thomas & Sons 337), she would have been a fool to accept a onetime payment of \$200 for all rights to *The Lost Heiress*. Southworth was not, as her letters to Hart make clear, a fool about the publishing business, and even if she made that mistake in her first transaction with Peterson, she would not have repeated it.

The small edition of ten letters printed below is, as I explained at the beginning of this essay, incomplete. Indeed, as Hewitt observes, "no correspondence is ever complete," and "epistolary editing projects" would be well served by "eliminat[ing] the fetishization for completion" (276). Additionally, my essay interpreting Southworth's letters and using them to construct a new narrative of her engagements with the literary market raises other questions concerning scholarly method. When scholars draw conclusions from an incomplete record, should they make the gaps in the record explicit in their analyses, or should they present their readers with a smooth narrative? Or might they take a middle path, warning readers up front about the incomplete archive but presenting a relatively smooth narrative that does not pause to foreground gaps? In this essay I take the first approach, both to foreground general questions of method and to revise an influential body of scholarship that has obscured

Southworth's authorial agency and led later scholars to assume that the facts of her career as a print author required no new research into primary sources. By pointedly drawing attention to remaining gaps in the record, I aim to ensure that if more documents are found that advance the narrative, scholars will know that my work is subject to revision. That is, the archive may never be complete, but if and when additional pieces surface, the shape of narratives based on it should change.

Washington City May 10th '52

Dear Sir

I send you the first seven chapters.¹⁹ I think I have much improved the plan by transposing and shortening some of the chapters. I have left out some paragraphs & scenes which upon a second reading I deemed superfluous. I have folded the chapters separately for the convenience of the compositor.²⁰ I will send you more tomorrow & all, together with title page this week.

I received the books you sent with much gratification. I received however two Wilsons and no Alison. I suppose the mistake can be remedied.²¹

Very Respectfully Yours

Emma D E N Southworth

A Hart Esq^r.

Prospect Hill²² October 1852

A Hart Esqr

Dear Sir

I accept the terms you have offered me for the Christmas book²³ and I will forward the copy²⁴ and the daguerrotypes [sic] on Monday next.

Please accept my grateful acknowledgements for your kind attention to my requests and believe me though in haste

Yours Very Respectfully

Emma D E N Southworth

P S- I enclose a brace of notices of Virginia and Magdalene. E. S.

Prospect Hill October 12th 1852

Mr Hart

Dear Sir

I send you the collection of Stories for the Christmas volume. I enclose in the same envelope with this letter, two title pages which you can look at and select that which you think the most attractive and appropriate.

One word about this collection of stories. __they were written between two and five years since, for the Era.²⁵ They were each composed to illustrate some distinct point of Christian morality_ ~~they~~ ^ shorter ones were copied into Christian papers of various denominations with high commendation _much higher than they deserved_ into the "Christian Register" a Unitarian paper published at Boston and into the "Methodist Protestant" of Baltimore and others.²⁶ And they even drew out letters of warm approval from different sources. This induced me to copyright the longer stories which followed.²⁷ When the book is out I intend to send a copy to each of these papers and I think with the blessing of Heaven it will succeed better than my novels.

All that I have said refers to every one of the stories except the last on the list __Hickory Hall, or The Outcast.²⁸ And now I have one word to say about that. Hickory Hall or The Outcast is not a story of vice or crime as its sub-title might induce a superficial observer to suppose. It is a story of awful misfortune founded upon fact. The plot is perfectly unique, and it defied the most ~~veteran~~ inveterate and skillful of romance readers to unravel it. My literary acquaintances think the story has a strange fascination and that it is the very best thing __with one exception__ that I ever wrote. It had great success in the Era. Yet I would like you to read it before publishing it __for though it is certainly not immoral in any way__ and though there is not a word in it that might not be read aloud in any company __yet there is that in the plot which some people might shudder at. Please read it and judge for yourself. It is not very long and I can promise you you will not find it dull. I have set Hickory Hall down last in the table of contents, and I have put it up in a separate package. You will find it complete with new title page in the yellow envelope. Please look at the title page and poetical motto that will give you some clue or some idea of the story perhaps.

In the collection of stories you will find a ~~separate title page before each story~~ new title page and motto before each.²⁹ I will send you the daguerrotypes [sic] on Monday next. And if you would like a few notices of the press to begin with I can collect the commendatory notices of the single stories as they appeared__especially from the Era, the Christian Register & the Methodist Protestant. Trusting that you will be satisfied with the collection

I remain yours Very Respectfully

Emma D.E.N. Southworth

Perhaps if you decide to include Hickory Hall you had better leave out the sub-title of "The Outcast," which might injure it. I only suggest this and leave it to your own good judgement.

E. S.

As nearly as I can calculate the collection will make ~~120~~ 180 pages with Hickory Hall and 120 without it. E.S.

Prospect Hill Oct 20th 1852

Mr Hart

Dear Sir:

I must entreat you to ask the engraver to leave out the groups of figures from the picture_ and also to omit the end of the out-house seen from behind_ and to put in the sky & clouds above_ which the scope of the daguerrotype [sic] could not cover.³⁰ Please let the artist not forget that the true landscape is reversed in the picture;³¹ but that if he draws it on his plate just as it stands there, when it comes to be printed off the engraving will be correct.

About the miniature I wish to request that the glass and the ivory be not separated lest the painting should be injured.³²

I have enclosed a line that I wish to be printed under the cottage instead of the one I sent__ it differs only in the addition of the river's name. Hoping that you will excuse me for troubling you with these little details-

I remain very respectfully yours

Emma D E N Southworth



Fig. 1. Engraved title page from *Old Neighbourhoods and New Settlements* (1853) by E. D. E. N. Southworth, A. W. Graham, engraver. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society. In her letter of 20 October 1852, Southworth sends the daguerreotype of her home, Prospect Cottage, on which this engraving is based and instructions about how the engraver should modify the original image. In her letter of 17 November 1852 she requests that daguerreotypist's name, Plumbe, be added to the engraving, which it was.



Fig. 2. Frontispiece engraving of E. D. E. N. Southworth from *Old Neighbourhoods and New Settlements* (1853) by E. D. E. N. Southworth, engraved by Southworth. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society. In her letter of 20 October 1852, Southworth sends the miniature portrait of herself on which this engraving is based and instructs Abraham Hart on the proper handling of it. In her letter of 17 November 1852 she asks that the name of the painter, Miss Gordon, be added, but Hart failed to carry out this instruction. The engraved subscription and signature are not from Southworth's letters to her publisher printed here—she signs off more formally with variations on “respectfully yours.”

Prospect Hill November 17th 1852

Mr Hart

Dear Sir

I have received your letter & am sorry to hear of the death of your brother_in_law[.] I too have suffered from the loss of friends by death having successively been deprived of father and all my brothers and sisters until I have but one sister left.

In reply to your proposition__ I will sell you the copyright of the Curse of Clifton for two hundred and twenty-five dollars__that is__ two hundred in cash or notes and twenty five in books of your own publication. I could send you the chapters very soon.³³

In relation to the volume of stories__I agree with you in leaving out Hickory Hall.³⁴ If you will send to the office of the Saturday Evening Post __Mr Peterson³⁵ will send you “New Year in the Little Rough Cast House” a temperance story which I should have forwarded instead of Hickory Hall, if I had possessed a copy of it. Besides that I will immediately write two original stories and send them_ __“The Bride of an Evening” a tale of the Indian Frontier³⁶__& __“The Spirits of Christmas Eve” a true ghost story. I think these stories will please you

In relation to the illustrations of the volume _ please _ if it be not too late inscribe the name of the operator Plumbe³⁷ on the plate from the daguerrotype [sic]_and that of the artist Miss Gordon on that from the miniature. Please also return Hickory Hall, as it is the only copy I have. I should be glad to be favored with an impression from the plates when they are ready.³⁸

Very Respectfully Yours

Emma D E N Southworth

Mr Hart

Dear Sir

On reviewing the Curse of Clifton I do not see any thing that I wish to alter. If you will oblige me by sending the enclosed note to Mr Peterson he will send you a set of papers containing the story as far as it is published, and you can commence at once, if you think proper³⁹

If you intend to bring out the volume of stories by Christmas,—and if you have with Rough cast House a sufficient quantity of material⁴⁰—perhaps it would not be well to wait for the two manuscript stories which I have not yet found time to copy, fairly.⁴¹

Please inform me.

Yours Respectfully
Emma D E N Southworth

Prospect Hill November 22 1852

Prospect Hill December 15th 1852

Mr Hart

Dear Sir

Very serious indisposition has prevented me from copying those two additional stories as yet. But I will forward them very soon.

I have just managed to complete Clifton. And now you can have the last Chapters as soon as Friday if you will send to the office of the Post.⁴²

I send you herewith a title page for Clifton. Mr Peterson writes me that every body with whom he has conversed upon the subject says that it is the best story in all respects that I have ever yet written[.] He will doubtless give it an excellent notice in conclusion which you will be able to use in advertisement as soon as it is published. If it is really the best I hope it will be the most successful. There is one trifling but most important error I wish you to correct in Clifton - merely to change one figure. In two short letters at the end of Chapter XXXIV change the date from 1813 to 1812.⁴³ Important but easy.

I send you also a title page with scripture motto for "Rough Cast House" in the volume of stories to make it uniform in style with the other stories. If however it is inconvenient to insert it now, it can be left out. I will send the "Bride of an Evening" & ["Ghosts of Christmas Eve" in a very few days.⁴⁴

I subjoin a list of books which you will please forward by Adams' Express.⁴⁵

1	Aikens's & Frost's British Poets (library sheep).	6 50
2	Mrs Sigourney's Poems (super morocco 8 vo).	7 00
3	Prose writers of Germany (morocco extra)	5 00
4	Poems of Fanny Kemble Butler	75
5	Arabian Nights' Entertainments (Juvenile, cloth, <u>gilt</u> <u>edge</u>)	50-75
6	Robin Hood _____ (_____ cloth, <u>gilt</u> <u>edge</u>)	50-75
7	Fairy Ring _____ (_____ cloth <u>gilt</u>)	1 00
8	Miss Leslie's Receipt Book	1 00
9	" " House Book	1 00
10	" " Indian Meal Book	
11	Self Instructing Drawing & Coloring Book	1-50
12	Scotts Napoleon	1.00 25

25.00

Very Respectfully Yours
Emma D E N Southworth

Prospect Hill Dec. 22nd 1852

Mr Hart

Dear Sir

It has occurred to me that if we change the second title of The Curse of Clifton and instead of __“A Tale of Expiation and Redemption” insert simply__ “A Winter Evening Tale”__ the association will make the book more attractive and give it a better sale just at this season.⁴⁶

But I leave this entirely to your own discretion. I shall be glad to get the books ordered as soon as convenient.

Very Respectfully Yours
Emma D E N Southworth

Prospect Cottage Jan. 29th 1853

Mr Hart

Dear Sir

I send you two stories which I certainly would have preferred [sic] to send you before if I had supposed it possible to obtain them. I had no copy but the editor for whose paper they were written three years ago, has kindly broken the file to let me have them in consideration of my sickness.⁴⁷ These stories have good and practical morals and so are in perfect harmony and keeping with the others of the volume. I have also put them up each with a separate title page and [m]otto to be uniform in style with the others. I send [a]lso a dedication which you will very much oblige me by annexing.⁴⁸ Will you also be so kind as to have two copies of the book bound in Turkey morocco and gilt edges for me and charge them to me.⁴⁹ I should be glad to see a proof sheet of each of the engravings.

Very Respectfully Yours
Emma D E N Southworth

Prospect Cottage, May 9th 1853

Mr Hart,

Dear Sir:

I hope that the sales of “The Curse of Clifton” have met our favorable expectations. If it be convenient to yourself, I should be much obliged to you, to send me a draft for two-hundred dollars for the copy-right. --or if you prefer it, your note payable at thirty days for that amount.

Now in regard to “Old Neighborhoods” __as I have heard nothing of it lately--and as it really was intended for a Christmas Book__ I have been hoping that you had decided to delay its publication until the next approach of the season -- which might be best for both of us.⁵⁰ Hoping to hear from you soon

I Remain Respectfully Yours
Emma D.E.N. Southworth

NOTES

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1. That Naranjo-Huebl uses this phrase from Peterson's letter in the title of her analysis of the critical reception of Southworth's fiction testifies to its formative place in Southworth scholarship.

2. Scholars have oversimplified Southworth's career in the 1850s, including the years 1856 and 1857, and I simplify as well because of my focus on 1851–1853. See Homestead and Martin for a fuller account.

3. I bracket the question of their letters to one another that were *published* in the *Ledger* and the *Post* in 1857. Although Duke holds the overwhelming majority of Southworth's letters to Bonner, a few are held by other libraries.

4. For scholars who have attempted to deduce the content of Southworth's missing letters from reading Peterson's letters to her, see Kelley (20), Coultrap-McQuin (65–66), and Salzer (220).

5. Throughout, I have used bookstore and publishers' newspaper advertisements to establish book publication dates.

6. On Harper's contracting practices in the late 1840s, see Exman (234, 139).

7. On the Appleton partnership, see Overton (36) and Wolfe (53). On George Appleton's Philadelphia firm, see Wolfe (28, 30, 184). Southworth's novels appear as published by "D. Appleton & Company, 200 Broadway, New York and Geo. S. Appleton, 164 Chesnut-Street, Philadelphia."

8. Before the invention of stereotyping, printers would "set type" (arrange individual letters cast from metal), lock the type into "formes," print as many copies as they thought the market could bear from these formes, and then "redistribute" the type for use in typesetting new works. If market demand justified a new edition of a book, type would be set again from scratch. Stereotyping allowed printers to cast thin metal plates from the type set in the formes, and these plates could be used to print copies of a book as needed for years, or even decades, without setting type anew. Because plates were metal, they could also be cut and welded together into new configurations—thus the rearrangement by the Appletons of the *Post's* plates originally manufactured for printing on newspaper-size sheets of paper into plates of suitable size for printing book pages. See Winship, "Printing with Plates."

9. See "Shannondale" and "Notice," which do not specify that supplements were stereotyped; however, Peterson later explained that extra numbers of the entire paper con-

taining chapters of *The Discarded Daughter* would be printed, but that stereotype plates allowing for repeated printings would not be created (“The Discarded Daughter”).

10. See, e.g., Looby, who states categorically (without an exception for *The Deserted Wife*) that “the texts of [Southworth’s] novels are virtually identical in their serial and book forms” (183).

11. I rely on Wolf and Whiteman (352–53) and Swierenga (125) for Hart’s family history and on Derby (550–51, 556) for business information.

12. The Appletons published their last Southworth novel, *The Mother-in-Law*, in early May 1851 (D. Appleton). As it was serialized 1849–1850 in the *Era*, Peterson likely had no involvement.

13. For Hentz’s relationship with Hart, see Shields. The Hentz-Hart correspondence is also one-sided, incomplete, and scattered.

14. On the 1845 postal law in effect in 1849 and 1850 and the 1851 law see Kielbowicz (84, 88). The changes in rates were complex and variable depending on a subscriber’s distance from Philadelphia. Regardless, the cost of mailing printed supplements of Southworth fiction became high enough in 1851 to make the *Post* cease publishing them.

15. Peterson apparently purchased Appleton’s properties privately, announcing in the summer of 1854 that he had acquired the copyrights and had published editions of all the Appleton and the three Hart novels (*Saturday Evening Post*; T. B. Peterson, Advertisement). Peterson’s announcement of the availability of editions of these titles under his imprint seems to have been premature, however, as I have failed to locate 1854 editions for several (see Works Mentioned). *Retribution*, the single Harper’s title, also appeared later.

16. I have found no reports of prices paid for Southworth’s plates. The quoted account specifies that “Mrs. Hentz’s Novels and Tales, 7 volumes” sold for \$2,250. Peterson likely paid less than half of this amount for Southworth’s four more recently published titles.

17. Although it is tempting to imagine Henry Peterson encouraging his cousin to buy Southworth’s plates at the auction, Henry implies in his 1854 letter about *Miriam* that Southworth “now” (after Hart’s dissolution) has a publisher whose reputation will not protect her from moral scandal.

18. Carey & Hart kept cost books documenting production expenses, and Abraham Hart inherited these records, adding entries in the early 1850s. However, he entered neither Southworth’s nor Hentz’s titles. He must have relied on some other record to create the auction descriptions.

19. These are the first chapters of *The Discarded Daughter*. In these transcriptions I attempt to reproduce typographically Southworth’s original manuscript letters, which are very precise in their handwriting and punctuation but also somewhat eccentric. Like many nineteenth-century letter writers, she uses dashes liberally, where modern conventions would dictate commas or other punctuation marks; however, she also

quite precisely places these dashes low, at the level of underlining rather than mid-line, and precisely varies lengths. She often omits punctuation altogether at the end of a line, but because line ends in print do not match her manuscript line ends, I have supplied missing punctuation when grammatical sense dictates it.

20. Person responsible for setting type.

21. Probably books published by Hart as part of his payment to her for the right to publish *The Discarded Daughter* (he reprinted many books by British authors John Wilson and Sir Archibald Alison).

22. The location of Southworth's cottage on the Potomac River in the Georgetown neighborhood in Washington, DC.

23. *Old Neighbourhoods and New Settlements* featured engravings of Southworth herself and of her recently acquired home, Prospect Cottage. See figures 1 and 2.

24. The text of the stories to be collected in the book.

25. See the Works Mentioned for the titles of Southworth's tales from the *National Era* collected in *Old Neighbourhoods*.

26. The *Christian Register* reprinted "Neighbors' Prescriptions" on 18 March 1848. I have not located the other reprintings.

27. Gamaliel Bailey did not copyright entire issues of the *National Era*, so Southworth's early tales fell immediately into the public domain; later, she registered copyrights in her own name for her novellas and novels serialized in the *Era*.

28. *Hickory Hall* was serialized in the *National Era* from 7 November 1850 to 9 January 1851. It did not appear in book form until 1861 (published by T. B. Peterson of Philadelphia).

29. A separate title page appears before each story, featuring a Bible verse keyed to its content.

30. These instructions relate to a daguerreotype of Prospect Cottage, from which an engraving was to be made for *Old Neighbourhoods*. See figure 1.

31. Daguerreotype images were recorded directly on the metal plate, with no negative, and thus were reversed.

32. Southworth sent a miniature portrait of herself to be engraved. Glass protected the image (painted on ivory) from damage. See figure 2.

33. See the letter dated 22 November 1852. Rather than sending Hart revised, handwritten chapters, as she did for *The Discarded Daughter*, Southworth opts to have him work with the chapters of *Clifton* as they had been published serially in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

34. See the letter dated 12 October 1852.

35. Henry Peterson, editor and co-publisher of the *Saturday Evening Post*.

36. This is the second time Southworth promised—and failed—to write a story under this title. On 12 January 1850, the *Post* announced it had secured a "novelet" by Southworth titled *The Bride of an Evening: A Tale of the Western Frontier*. However, on

3 August 1850 they announced that *Shannondale* would be substituted for it. *The Bride of an Evening: A Romance of the Rappahannock* was serialized in the *New York Ledger* 2 January 1858 to 13 March 1858 and published in book form by T. B. Peterson in 1861 as *The Gipsy's Prophecy: A Tale of Real Life*.

37. John Plumbe, Jr., established a franchised chain of daguerreotype galleries across the United States in the 1840s.

38. Southworth is requesting proofs of the engravings of her portrait and cottage.

39. Southworth is suggesting that Hart send to *Post* editor Henry Peterson for issues in which the ongoing serial had appeared if he wants to begin typesetting for book publication.

40. See the letter dated 17 November 1852.

41. Southworth implies she has written the stories and merely needs to copy them over (make "fair copies").

42. The final installment of *The Curse of Clifton* appeared in the *Post* on Friday, 25 December, after which Peterson could send Hart all of the chapters published since he had last sent them (see the letter dated 22 November 1852).

43. In the serialization, an exchange of letters between Archer Clifton and Catherine Kavanagh is dated December 1813. Hart carried out Southworth's requested change.

44. Southworth has switched topics to *Old Neighbourhoods*.

45. See the letter dated 17 November 1852. The list represents "twenty five [dollars] in books of [Hart's] own publication" in partial payment for publication rights for *Clifton*. Southworth specifies binding materials (sheep, morocco, and cloth) and a deluxe treatment of the page edges for some of the books (see note 50). All items except 11 have been marked with a check, likely representing fulfillment of the order. Changes made to prices may be in the hand of Hart or his clerk rather than Southworth; nevertheless, the amended prices total \$25.

46. Hart did not adopt the change in subtitle.

47. *Old Neighbourhoods* included one tale from the *Saturday Visiter* (Baltimore), five from the *National Era*, and three from the *Friend of Youth* (edited by Margaret Bailey, wife of Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*). See the Works Mentioned for details. Southworth's letters to Hart fail to account for the *Visiter* story.

48. No dedication appeared. *The Wife's Victory and Other Nouvelletes* (1854), T. B. Peterson's new edition of *Old Neighbourhoods* made nearly unrecognizable by the rearranging and retitling of individual tales, is dedicated "to Miss Charlotte Lecompte Nevitte of Mississippi . . . by her sister."

49. "Turkey Morocco" is a kind of goatskin leather used in bookbinding. "Gilt edges" refers to the gold coating on page edges. Southworth is requesting expensive, deluxe copies, suitable for gift presentation.

50. Southworth does not know that the book had just been published (Ticknor).

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WORKS MENTIONED

These editions of the following Southworth works are mentioned in this essay. Works are listed alphabetically by title at first publication, with serialization, book imprint, and variant title information. The shorter works collected in *Old Neighbourhoods* are an exception, with first serial publication appearing under the book title.

- The Bride of an Evening; A Romance of the Rappahannock*
New York Ledger 2 Jan. 1858–13 Mar. 1858.
 As *The Gipsy's Prophecy: A Tale of Real Life*. Philadelphia:
 T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1861.
- The Curse of Clifton. A Tale of Expiation and Redemption*
Saturday Evening Post 24 July 1852–25 Dec. 1852.
 Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1853.
 As *The Curse of Clifton*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1854
- The Deserted Wife*
Saturday Evening Post 11 Aug. 1849–1 Dec. 1849.
 New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850.
 Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1855.
- The Discarded Daughter, or, The Children of the Isle*
Saturday Evening Post 18 Oct. 1851–3 Apr. 1852.
 As *The Discarded Daughter; or, The Children of the Isle. A Tale of the Chesapeake*.
 Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1852.
 As *The Discarded Daughter*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers, 1855.
- Hickory Hall: Or, the Outcast. A Romance of the Blue Ridge*
National Era 7 Nov. 1850–9 Jan. 1851.
 As *Hickory Hall; or, The Outcast. A Romance of the Blue Ridge*. Philadelphia:
 T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1861.
- The Lost Heiress. A Story of Howlet Hall*
Saturday Evening Post 6 Aug. 1853–18 Feb. 1854.
 As *The Lost Heiress*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1854.
- Mark Sutherland: or, Power and Principle*
National Era 13 Jan. 1853–25 Aug. 1853.
 As *India: The Pearl of Pearl River*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1856.
- Miriam, the Avenger: or, the Fatal Vow*
Saturday Evening Post 5 Aug. 1854–1 Mar. 1855.
 As *The Missing Bride; or, Miriam, the Avenger*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1856.
- The Mother-in-Law. A Story of the Island Estate*
National Era 22 Nov. 1849–18 July 1850.
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 1851.
 As *The Mother-in-Law. A Tale of Domestic Life*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and
 Brothers, 1860.
- Old Neighbourhoods and New Settlements; or, Christmas Evening Legends*
 Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1853.
 Collects the following tales (in chronological order by periodical publication, with
 variant titles for book publication parenthetically):

- “August Vacations, or Flittings to the Country, A Tale of Real Life,” *Saturday Visitor* (Baltimore, MD) 13 Mar. 1847–3 Apr. 1847 (as “The Irish Refugee”).
- “The Better Way; or, the Wife’s Victory,” *National Era* 19 Aug. 1847–26 Aug. 1847 (as “The Better Way, or the Wife’s Victory: A Tale of Domestic Trials”).
- “The Wife’s Mistake. A Sequel to ‘The Better Way,’” *National Era* 16–23 Sept. 1847 (as “The Married Shrew. A Sequel to ‘The Better Way’”).
- “The Thunderbolt to the Hearth,” *National Era* 14–21 Oct. 1847.
- “The Temptation,” *National Era* 30 Dec. 1847–10 Feb. 1848.
- “Neighbors’ Prescriptions. Inscribed to the Medical Faculty,” *National Era* 2 Mar. 1848–9 Mar. 1848 (as “Neighbours’ Prescriptions”).
- “The Fine Figure. Daguerreotyped from Life. For Young Ladies Only.” *Friend of Youth* Nov.–Dec. 1849.
- “New Year in the Little Rough-Cast House,” *Saturday Evening Post* 5–19 Jan. 1850.
- “The Little Slave. A True Story,” *Friend of Youth* Aug.–Sept. 1850 (as “Winny; A Child’s Story”).
- “Across the Street. A New Year’s Story,” *Friend of Youth* Feb. 1851.
- As *The Wife’s Victory and Other Nouvelettes*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson, 1854. [In this edition, stories are rearranged and some retitled]

Retribution

National Era 4 Jan.–12 Apr. 1849.

As *Retribution; or, The Vale of Shadows. A Tale of Passion*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849.

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Shannondale; or, The Nun of Mt. Carmel

Saturday Evening Post 10 Aug. 1850–30 Nov. 1850.

As *Shannondale*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850.

As *The Three Beauties*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1858.

Virginia and Magdalene; or, The Foster Sisters. A Winter Evening’s Story

Saturday Evening Post 4 Jan. 1851–3 May 1851.

As *Virginia and Magdalene; or, The Foster-Sisters. A Novel*. Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1852.

As *The Two Sisters*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1858.

