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Melissa J. Homestead

University of Nebraska - Lincoln, mhomestead2@Unl.edu

Vicki L. Martin

University of Nebraska - Lincoln

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## **A CHRONOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF E. D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH'S WORKS PRIVILEGING PERIODICAL PUBLICATION**

MELISSA J. HOMESTEAD AND  
VICKI L. MARTIN

### **Introduction and Rationale**

Previous attempts at a comprehensive bibliography of E. D. E. N. Southworth's fiction have organized her works alphabetically by book title or chronologically by book publication date.<sup>1</sup> Serialization information—if included at all—is subordinated to book entries or listed separately. These bibliographic conventions better suit authors who published fewer novels than Southworth did and/or did not routinely serialize their works. As a result, earlier bibliographies have caused confusion about the size and chronology of Southworth's body of work. Adding to the confusion, her book publisher T. B. Peterson arbitrarily broke many of her novels that appeared in serial form under a single title into separately titled volumes; even more confusingly, he sometimes retitled these novels yet again in later editions without referencing the former titles.<sup>2</sup> Organizing our bibliography chronologically by first publication (which is most often, but not always, periodical publication), we make an accurate count of the number of novels she wrote possible. Although this number—just under fifty—is lower than others' estimates and does not include her short fiction, it is still substantial, representing more than a novel a year during the four decades Southworth actively wrote fiction.<sup>3</sup>

In compiling this bibliography, we used previous bibliographies as a starting point but strove, whenever possible, to examine for ourselves Southworth's fiction as published serially in periodicals and in book form, whether on paper, on microfilm, or in digital format. Even a few years ago, before the advent of many searchable digital book and periodical archives, this bibliography would have been less comprehensive. Notably, however, the "story papers" (weekly magazines

in newspaper format) in which Southworth serialized most of her fiction have yet to be comprehensively microfilmed or digitized. A Reese Fellowship in Bibliography allowed Homestead to spend a month in residence at the American Antiquarian Society (AAS), which owns the premier collection of story papers. Also important were visiting the Free Library of Philadelphia (which holds the only complete run of the *Saturday Evening Post* from the 1850s) and the Copyright Office at the Library of Congress, and securing digital photographs of Southworth items from the *Friend of Youth* from the University of Southern Mississippi Library.<sup>4</sup> Our indebtedness to Paul Jones is also great. He pointed us to many items about Southworth, directed us to Southworth's nonfiction "letters" to the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter*, and located many of Southworth's later newspaper writings based on our research in the Copyright Office. The bibliography would be shorter and less accurate without his contributions.

Even with access to a wealth of resources, we have not attempted true comprehensiveness. We do not, for instance, track every book edition of Southworth's novels. Instead, we focus on first book publication and selected subsequent editions, primarily those issued during the active years of Southworth's career. We have tracked British serializations in the *London Journal* and related periodicals because of Southworth's relationship with the paper's proprietor, George Stiff, and because (as we discuss below) these serializations were sometimes earlier than the American ones. However, we have not attempted to track British book editions. And, finally, we have not attempted to account for textual differences between various editions or attribute responsibility for variations, although in the course of our research, it has become clear that Southworth did revise many of her serials for book publication.

In addition to enabling an accurate count of Southworth's novels, our chronological approach allows us to present a new biographical narrative of Southworth's career, including a more comprehensive picture of her relationships with editors and publishers. The American Antiquarian Society recently acquired several issues of the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter*, in which Southworth's published fiction first appeared in 1847. In several autobiographical statements Southworth mentions publishing in the *Visiter*, but no issues of the paper were known. Their recovery enables us to present the bibliographic details of what is likely Southworth's first publication, "August Vacations, or Flittings in the Country, A Tale of Real Life," later collected and retitled "The Irish Refugee." Appearing as by "A Lady of Washington," it is, to our knowledge, the only work she chose to publish anonymously. Shortly after it appeared, the *Visiter* ceased publication, selling its subscription list to the *National Era*.<sup>5</sup>

The received wisdom is that Southworth was passed from one male periodical editor to another, with her relationship with each man being "exclusive."<sup>6</sup> Thus, the story goes, after her brief dalliance with the *Visiter*, she began her career proper by contributing to the *National Era* in the late 1840s, soon moved on to the *Saturday Evening Post*, briefly contributed to both the *Post* and the *Era* simultaneously before she became an exclusive contributor to the *Post* (even as she and *Post* editor Henry Peterson often disagreed), and then finally made a clean break with the *Post* to transfer her allegiances permanently to Robert Bonner and the *New York Ledger*. Our bibliography complicates such a narrative by recovering Southworth's publication of works of fiction and occasional nonfiction sketches in several other periodicals in the 1850s, including the *Friend of Youth* (edited in Washington by Margaret Bailey, wife of Gamaliel Bailey, editor of the *National Era*), the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter* (edited by Jane Swisshelm), the *Nation* (edited in Philadelphia by S. M. Bigelow), and *Peterson's Magazine*, the only monthly magazine in which she serialized fiction (Charles Peterson, brother of book publisher T. B. Peterson and cousin of *Post* editor Henry Peterson, edited the magazine; all three Petersons published out of Philadelphia).

Notably, Southworth's contributions to the *Friend of Youth*, the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter*, and the *Nation* appeared during her period of ostensible "exclusivity" with the *Post*. Furthermore, the *Friend of Youth* and the *Nation* featured her on their mastheads as one of their editors (even though they may have featured her name for its advertising value rather than because she actually labored as an editor). The *Nation's* editorial offices were steps away from the *Post's*, so Henry Peterson certainly knew about Southworth's contributions. Likewise, her contributions to *Peterson's Magazine* overlap with the first year of her "exclusive" arrangement with the *Ledger*. Finally, by presenting information about serializations in a single chronological frame rather than broken out by periodical, we make visible Southworth's role as a semiregular contributor to the *Era* from 1847 through 1856, overlapping extensively with her "exclusive" period with the *Post* (arguably, she reserved for *Era* publication her fiction advancing an antislavery argument, such as *Mark Sutherland*, *Hickory Hall*, and *The Brothers*). Indeed, in four of her seven years as a *Post* contributor (1849, 1850, 1851, and 1856), she contributed to three or more periodicals. That she contributed to the *Post*, the *Era*, and the *Nation* in 1856, the year before she first contributed to the *Ledger*, undermines any notion of a clean transfer of Southworth from Peterson to Bonner.

Because many Southworth serials appeared in weekly papers over many months, our chronological list has limits. We cannot make fully visible Southworth's incredible pace of production during key periods from 1850 through 1856 or the dizzying juggling act she performed as a new serial began in

one magazine before an earlier serial had concluded in another. Furthermore, a bibliography also does not, by its very nature, list works never published; nevertheless, in our research we found evidence that Southworth contracted with editors of additional periodicals, even though she failed to fulfill these engagements. In the first half of 1850, for example, the *Mammoth Gazette* (edited in Philadelphia by Alice B. Neal and Charles J. Peterson) advertised that Southworth was writing a new novel for the paper, *Cecilia Calvert; or, The Novice of St. Inigoes*, about the history of early Maryland.<sup>7</sup> No correspondence with the editors of the *Gazette* survives, but the specificity of their notices about *Cecilia Calvert* makes it clear they were not engaging in false advertising to lure subscribers with Southworth's name. Furthermore, other evidence from mid-1850 confirms that Southworth was researching early Maryland in order to write a historical novel about it.<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, Southworth seems to have overpromised editors in 1850 to an extent that made fulfilling her promises impossible. From November 1849 to July 1850, *The Mother-in-Law* appeared serially in the *National Era*, and during the first six months of 1850, both the *Gazette* and the *Post* were promising Southworth serials for the second half of the year (*Celia Calvert* and *The Bride of an Evening, a Tale of Western Life*, respectively).<sup>9</sup> If she had fulfilled her promises to both editors, she would have had to write those two serials simultaneously, week by week. The *Post* continued to advertise *Bride of an Evening* through July, telling readers in May that the story was going to be put off just "a little longer."<sup>10</sup> In August, they abruptly announced they would publish *Shannondale; or, the Nun of Mount Carmel* instead, which "Mrs. Southworth has requested permission to substitute . . . for the present, for the one originally promised, as being, in her opinion, a finer and more interesting one."<sup>11</sup> Given this chronology, it is not surprising that *Shannondale* takes up some of the elements she seems to have intended for *Celia Calvert* rather than those she intended for *Bride of an Evening*: *Shannondale* is set in the South, not the West, and although the primary setting is Virginia, the "nun" (the mother of one of the three young heroines) belonged to a religious community in Mt. Carmel, Maryland. Southworth apparently made at least two more unfulfilled promises to write serials for two additional papers, the *Columbian and Great West* (edited by William Shattuck in Cincinnati) in 1851<sup>12</sup> and *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion* (edited by Maturin Murray Ballou in Boston) in 1856; fulfilling these promises would have required feats of simultaneous production similar to those she promised in 1850.<sup>13</sup>

After Southworth joined the *Ledger* in 1857, and for the three ensuing decades, she all but ceased writing fiction in formats shorter than the novel. Nota-

bly, she subsequently collected for book publication every short story or novella published in a periodical in the first decade of her career (her nonfiction "letters" to the *Post* and *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter* remained uncollected). We have located the periodical appearances of all the stories in *Old Neighbourhoods and New Settlements* (1853) (reorganized and retitled *The Wife's Victory; and Other Nouvelletes* by T. B. Peterson in 1854). *The Haunted Homestead; and Other Nouvelletes* (1860) includes only two stories not located in periodicals, the title story and "The Widow's Son." Perhaps she wrote them specifically for book publication, but more likely they appeared in a periodical not yet located. Notably, we have located only a single copy of a single issue of the *Nation* (November 8, 1856), its first number, but clearly Southworth's "The Spectre Revels" in this issue was not her only contribution.<sup>14</sup>

As a biographical narrative, our bibliography also reveals surprises about Southworth's career after the 1850s. Southworth's letters to Bonner in the 1860s make clear that he was fully aware of her arrangement to serialize fiction in the *London Journal* while under "exclusive" contract with the *Ledger*. Although the *Journal's* earliest Southworth serials were probably not authorized, aligning the serialization dates of Southworth's fiction in the *Ledger* and the London periodical in the 1860s removes any doubt about the *Journal* appearance being authorized: *Journal* serials sometimes commenced before the U.S. serialization or, when they began afterward, proceeded more rapidly and concluded earlier. Clearly, Southworth herself, with Bonner's cooperation, provided the *Journal* with installments.<sup>15</sup>

While this transatlantic chronology fleshes out what was already known, we have discovered something genuinely surprising about Southworth's relationship with book publisher T. B. Peterson. From Regis Louise Boyle forward, scholars have claimed that Peterson published nearly all of Southworth's novels serialized in the *Ledger*, and that Peterson generally published the novels one to three years after initial serialization. The two acknowledged exceptions to this pattern are *The Hidden Hand*, which Southworth and Bonner withheld from Peterson (see Scott and Thomas's essay in this collection), and *Self-Made*, which Southworth released to Peterson more than a decade after its first serialization. However, *Self-Made* (published in two volumes in 1876 as *Ishmael* and *Self-Raised*) was actually the last "new" Southworth novel Peterson published. After 1876, he falsely advertised a "complete" collected edition of Southworth's novels and occasionally retitled earlier works and offered them to readers as if they were new. In actuality, Southworth published sixteen new serial novels in the *Ledger* between 1873 and 1886, none of which Peterson published. Through the end of the 1870s, Southworth did maintain a relationship with Peterson that enabled her to help

her sister, Frances Henshaw Baden. Baden regularly contributed short stories to the *Ledger* through the 1860s and 1870s, but Southworth was not able to interest Bonner in serializing her sister's longer fiction.<sup>16</sup> Instead, Southworth—after seeking permission from Bonner<sup>17</sup>—arranged with T. B. Peterson to publish short story collections in which only the title story was by Southworth while the remaining stories were by Baden. Peterson published five such volumes, and the five lead stories in them appear to be rare Southworth works of fiction published in book form with no prior periodical appearance. Peterson also published a novel described as “edited by” Southworth, *The Mystery of the Dark Hollow*: We strongly suspect that it was by her sister and that Peterson agreed to publish it on the condition that Southworth's name appeared on the title page.

Southworth's later *Ledger* novels did not appear between book covers until after 1888, when she was no longer actively contributing to the *Ledger* and Robert Bonner had retired, transferring the business to his sons. In 1888, beginning with *The Hidden Hand*, the firm of Robert Bonner's Sons began issuing *Ledger* serials previously unpublished as books in their Ledger Library series.<sup>18</sup> Most of Southworth's later *Ledger* serials appeared in this series. When both the *Ledger* and the Bonner's Sons book publishing enterprise folded, the company transferred its copyrights and stereotype plates to Street and Smith, a major mass-market publisher of cheap paperbacks. Several later Southworth serials not included in the Ledger Library thus first appeared in book form in the early twentieth century.<sup>19</sup>

The final surprise of our research was discovering Southworth's post-*Ledger* publications. After losing her salaried berth at the *Ledger* in late 1886 at the age of sixty-seven, she did not stop writing. Instead, she published short stories and autobiographical reminiscences in several different venues, with the last published in 1894. Copyright registration records alerted us to the existence of some of these titles, and because we have not located published versions of all of them, their publication remains conjectural. The Tillotson and Son newspaper syndicate published at least one of them, and syndicated tales could have appeared in many different newspapers under different titles and over an extended period of time. Her contributions to the *Washington Star* are the most numerous (including regular Christmas stories for several years), but even though the paper designated them as “exclusive,” they may also have been syndicated.<sup>20</sup>

The origin of three volumes of Southworth's fiction published in the early twentieth century for which we located no nineteenth-century published equivalents (periodical or book) remains conjectural. In a newspaper interview in 1890, Southworth explained that she had in her possession an unpublished manuscript of a novel treating slavery in the South before the Civil War.<sup>21</sup> She registered a

copyright for "The Ruin of the Horah. A Story of Southern Life before the War" in September 1888. Horah Hall is a central location in *Sweet Love's Atonement* and *Zenobia's Suitors*, essentially a single novel in two volumes, which Street and Smith published in the early twentieth century. *Sweet Love* and *Zenobia* might be, then, "The Ruin of the Horah" retitled, whether Southworth's manuscript remained unpublished at her death or a paper other than the *Ledger* serialized it after 1890. However, *Sweet Love* and *Zenobia* also could be entirely unconnected to "The Ruin of the Horah." The novella-length *John Strong's Secret* represents a similar puzzle: Was its twentieth-century publication its first, or might it be a retitled "Mystery of Mysteries," for which Southworth registered a copyright in 1891? Having located no extant manuscript or published works by Southworth featuring the titles "The Ruin of the Horah" or "Mystery of Mysteries," we can only speculate.

Many twenty-first-century readers encounter Southworth in hardback editions issued by publishers such as A. L. Burt, Donohue, and Grosset and Dunlap. Although libraries often catalog these undated books as nineteenth-century editions, they are, for the most part, early twentieth-century editions, often produced after the copyrights in Southworth's novels had expired. If a reader finds an undated edition of a Southworth novel with a title that does not appear anywhere in this bibliography, it is likely an out-of-copyright edition retitled by the publisher. Publishers sometimes condensed or expurgated these later editions, so scholars should seek out earlier, more authoritative editions, a task made much easier by digital collections such as Google Books, *Wright American Fiction (1851–1875)*, and the Internet Archive.

## Notes

1. See especially Regis Louise Boyle, *Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, Novelist* (Washington, DC: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1939); Lyle H. Wright, *American Fiction, 1774–1850; A Contribution toward a Bibliography* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1948); Lyle H. Wright, *American Fiction, 1851–1875; A Contribution toward a Bibliography* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1957); Lyle H. Wright, *American Fiction, 1876–1900; A Contribution toward a Bibliography* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1966); Amy Hudock, "No Mere Mercenary: The Early Life and Fiction of E. D. E. N. Southworth" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of South Carolina, 1993); and Amy Hudock and Joanne Dobson, "E. D. E. N. Southworth," in *American Women Prose Writers, 1820–1870*, vol. 239, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, ed. Amy Hudock and Katharine Rodier (Detroit: Gale, 2001), 285–92.



2. Wright's bibliography is particularly problematic. The portion covering 1851 to 1875 is reasonably accurate, but the 1876–1900 section includes retitled earlier novels as new. He also includes *The Mystery of the Dark Hollow* as if authored, rather than edited, by Southworth and *The Coral Lady* (see 1867), which bears a disclaimer of E. D. E. N. Southworth's authorship. His errors have produced many library cataloging errors.

3. We hesitate to name a firm number because early in her career Southworth published fictions that might be labeled novels, novellas, or long short stories.

4. Thanks to Ellen Weinauer for putting us in touch with Ann McNair, who photographed the stories for us.

5. The run of the *Visitor* at the AAS is far from complete, but a note by the editor in the same issue describes the author as a "welcome acquisition to our corps of contributors" (i.e., a new contributor). On the acquisition of the subscription list by the *Era*, see "Baltimore Saturday Visitor," *National Era*, Apr. 15, 1847. Later accounts, including Southworth's own, represent editor J. E. Snodgrass as transferring an unpublished manuscript to Gamaliel Bailey. See "Biographical Sketch of the Author," in *Haunted Homestead*, 38, and "A Pioneer Editor," *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1866, 743–51. Southworth may have published in papers in Wisconsin during her residence there, although we located nothing in our review of the incomplete extant runs of Platteville papers.

6. For a particularly influential account, see Susan Coultrap-McQuin, "The Place of Gender in Business: The Career of E. D. E. N. Southworth," in *Doing Literary Business: American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century*, by Susan Coultrap-McQuin (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1990), chap. 3.

7. The *Gazette* first included Southworth's name as a contributor in its prospectus for 1850 (see Dec. 22, 1849). On February 2, 1850, it began advertising the title of the anticipated serial as *The Novice of St. Inigoes. A Novel of the Early Settlement of Early Maryland*. On April 13, 1850, an editorial notice mentioned correspondence with Southworth in which she promised to send the first installment "in a week or two," announced the new title, and promised, "There will be nothing sectarian in the fiction; its tone, on the contrary, will be that of the largest Christian charity." April 20, 1850, is the last mention of Southworth or the novel—they simply disappear. However, other advertised contributors (e.g., T. S. Arthur) similarly disappear.

8. EDENS to Morrison Harris, July 10, 1850, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.

9. See, for example, the prospectus in *SEP*, Jan. 12, 1850.

10. "Our Novelets," *SEP*, May 5, 1850.

11. "Shannondale," *SEP*, Aug. 3, 1850. Southworth eventually wrote *The Bride of an Evening* for the *Ledger* in 1858. However, she also promised and failed to write it for her story collection *Old Neighbourhoods and New Settlements*. EDENS to Abraham Hart, Nov. 17, 1852, Gratz Manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

12. Southworth first sent a notice for publication in the *Post* disavowing any promise to the paper (*SEP*, Jan. 11, 1851). The *Great West* responded by publishing her correspondence with them. The issue of the *Great West* publishing her letters is not extant, but Peterson refers to the letters in the *Post* (Mar. 8, 1851) and, without reprinting them, claims they evidence no firm promise. At the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visiter*, Jane Swisshelm read these letters differently, claiming they "clear them [the editors of the *Great West*] of all fraudulent intention" (Feb. 15, 1851). These conflicting interpretations make it clear that Southworth responded with interest to a solicitation from the *Great West* rather than rejecting or ignoring it.

13. See Maturin Murray Ballou to EDENS, Apr. 20, 1857, DU. See also EDENS to HP, Aug. 20, 1856, published under the title "Mrs. Southworth Again," *SEP*, May 2, 1857. Published in an attempt to undermine the credibility of a departed contributor, parts of this letter (of which no manuscript is extant) may have been fabricated by Peterson. However, the letter has Southworth communicating to Peterson her promise to write Ballou a serial for 1857, adding credence to Ballou's claim that Southworth formally and specifically promised to contribute to his paper.

14. Two months later, Bigelow wrote her about illustrations for her manuscript tale scheduled for serialization in three installments. S. M. Bigelow to EDENS, Dec. 30, 1856, DU.

15. Although we refer here only to the *London Journal*, its proprietor George Stiff published a series of periodicals under various names. See Andrew King, *The London Journal, 1845-83: Periodicals, Production, and Gender* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004).

16. EDENS to RB, Feb. 19, 1884, DU. This letter is post-1870s, but it seems likely she made earlier pleas to Bonner on her sister's behalf.

17. EDENS to RB, Oct. 13, 1876, DU.

18. Bonner's Sons, and later Street and Smith, apparently authorized other publishers to bring out editions of these books. However, we focus on documenting the first book editions.

19. Our dating of the early-twentieth-century titles is tentative as we have had to rely on earliest located catalog entries and advertisements in most cases rather than copies of

the books themselves. Published on cheap pulp paper in paper covers, they are very scarce and often feature no imprint date (hardcover reprints are more easily located but also lack imprint dates). Furthermore, we were unable to locate copyright registrations for them.

20. On the complexities newspaper syndication poses for the bibliographer, see Charles Johanningsmeir, *Fiction and the American Literary Marketplace: The Role of the Newspaper Syndicates in America, 1860–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997).

21. "A Woman Who Writes," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), Sept. 6, 1890. Considering the multiple titles of Southworth's works during her lifetime, a title change by Street and Smith would be unsurprising.

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"The Married Shrew: A Sequel to 'The Wife's Victory,'" in *The Wife's Victory* (1854).

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 Emma D. E. Nevitt Southworth, *Retribution; or, The Vale of Shadows. A Tale of Passion* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849).  
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