Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*:

an Electronic Edition of the *National Era* Version

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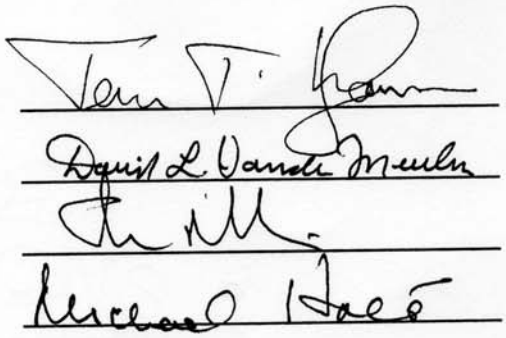

Abstract

"Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: an Electronic Edition of the *National Era* Version" is a dissertation project that includes both an edition of the *Era* version of Stowe's text and a five-chapter dissertation. The edition provides the newspaper version of Stowe's work in two transcriptions and two image facsimiles. The edition, which observes scholarly standards for accuracy and for encoding electronic data, is based on the paper copy in the University of Virginia Barrett Collection. The edition provides an authoritative record of Stowe's newspaper text and is a publicly accessible web site.

In this dissertation, the textual introduction, chapter 1, orients the electronic edition to textual scholarship, evaluates current resources for the study of Stowe's text, and illuminates the political and economic forces that influenced serial publication. Chapter 2 provides a revised account of the *Era*'s promotion and its readers' reception of Stowe's work. Chapter 3 explains that Stowe's newspaper metaphor draws on material publication form to depict the act of reading a newspaper as a futile attempt to escape the concerns of the domestic sphere. Chapter 4 shows that the *Era*'s coverage and Stowe's work responded to two political events—the López Expedition against Cuba and the treason trial of Quaker Castner Hanway—as tests of the progress of Christian government. Chapter 5 considers material text and markup theory to show how editorial decisions can influence conceptual models of the text. Also, later installments of the *Era* text may be revised versions of the Jewett edition text.

The book as a publication form has helped to shape the work's reception, but the serial version should be accorded greater attention. I challenge scholars to reconsider seemingly intrinsic features of Stowe's text—its center and chapter divisions—as products of book publication form. Extrinsic features of the serial version—installment dates, the *Era*'s other texts, and the newspaper form—are fundamental for interpretive readings. The negotiation between reader and material publication form extends to modern scholars as we read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in its original publication forms, modern reprints, or an electronic edition.

Dissertation Site:	<http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/~wnr4c/index.htm>
Edition Site:	<http://j2.village.virginia.edu:8035/cocoon/utc/>

Software Requirements:

Mozilla Firefox	<http://www.mozilla.com/firefox/>
Adobe Flash Player	<http://www.adobe.com/go/getflashplayer>

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The University of Virginia Library as an institution and the individuals in it have made the edition possible. I thank Heather Moore Riser and the staff of Special Collections, especially for keeping my work in mind even as they made the transition from Alderman Library's McGregor Room to the Albert and Harry Small Special Collections Libary. Rare Materials Digital Services is appreciated for their assistance in preparing the newspaper images. Bradley J. Daigle smoothed institutional hurdles, and Jeanne C. Pardee and Christina Deanne ran a tight ship. Allison Mycue trained me on the image capture process, and the student and volunteer staff of RMDS provided convivial companionship while Flo captured the images. The university's many benefactors and the state's taxpayers provide the financial support that makes this institution a wonderful place for editing and for electronic text scholarship. The generous gift of Clifton Waller Barrett provided the essential item for this research, and Albert and Shirley Small helped to fund the marvellous facility that now houses Special Collections and RMDS. I also thank the many librarians who responded to my efforts to locate the paper copies of the *National Era*, and I thank Jean C. Church, Chief Librarian at the Howard University Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, for sharing that university's marvellous paper copy.

The preparation of the electronic text would have required far more labor without archiving projects that have gone before, especially those of Accessible Archives, University Microfilms International, and the Early American Fiction. These source texts helped to speed the process of preparing digital texts against which to compare my Barrett transcription and identify errors. Many persons have provided significant direct assistance for this project. Peter L. Shillingsburg has been unfailingly generous of time and wisdom for over a decade, and he also provided a copy of PC-CASE software. Natalie Raabe, Justin Scott Van Kleek, Melissa White, and Robert Stilling served as volunteer proofreaders. Matthew Sweegan Gibson of the E-Text Center consulted on design and wrote the first version of the CASE-to-XML conversion script in PERL. Bess Sadler, head of the Library's Digital Research and Instructional Services department, refined the script until it could accomplish more than I had been capable of imagining. She consulted on metadata, implemented the web site with XML, XSLT, and Cocoon, and conquered each technological and procedural hurdle. She made the electronic edition a truly collaborative project. I have not done it on my own, and I could not have done so. I also thank Daniel Pitti, associate director of the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities, who provided a home for the digital project and years of technology training. The editors of the William Blake Archive also provided numerous opportunities and training in digital scholarship.

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though I continue to wonder whether it was Stowe's dying man (or a compositor) who forgot his schooling.

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Introduction

> The choice of a beginning is important to any enterprise, even if, as is so often the case, a beginning is accepted as a beginning after we are long past beginning and after our apprenticeship is over. (Said 76)

This enterprise, this dissertation, is intended to mark the end of an apprenticeship, but one of its long-past beginnings was a fall 2002 search for "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in VIRGO, the University of Virginia Library's online catalog. Following the search, I went to the McGregor Room of Alderman Library and was amazed by the paper copy of the *National Era* version of Harriet Beecher Stowe's influential work. While I had begun my search with Stowe's work in mind, the newspaper as a carnivelesque collection of voices—fictional stories, poems, advertisements, letters from readers, news, and editorials—drew my attention from Stowe's work. Moreover, the height and width of the newspaper page, 26 by 19 inches, made one of my own prized books, Charles Hinman's facsimile of William Shakespeare's *First Folio,* seem small. I did not then realize that a complete run of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in paper copies of the *Era* is also considerably rarer than original copies of the *First Folio*. The enterprise that follows the beginning—the apprenticeship that this dissertation is intended to end—is made possible by the happy coincidence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a newspaper object in the Clifton Waller Barrett Library of American Literature and my residence at an institution remarkable for the practice of editorial and digital scholarship.

For an initial reason to edit *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, I have offered a variation on George Leigh Mallory's famous answer to the question "Why do you want to climb Mount Everest?" He answered, as everyone knows, "Because it's there." But a starting point is not an ending point, as a brief parable on Mallory's quotation, its newspaper context, and the phenomenon of electronic texts can illustrate. The cultural currency of Mallory's answer is in part a function of the question and answer having been reported in the *New York Times*. But the question that popular culture memory believes to have been asked of Mallory—as seventy-nine results from a Google search

on 5 May 2006 can confirm—is not the question that the newspaper reported. Below is a transcription of the first paragraph of an 18 March 1923 article entitled "Climbing Mount Everest is Work for Supermen," and I draw your attention to the second word:

> ["]Why did you want to climb Mount Everest?" This question was asked of George Leigh Mallory, who was with both expeditions toward the summit of the world's highest mountain, in 1921 and 1922, and who is now in New York. He plans to go again in 1924, and he gave as the reason for persisting in these repeated attempts to reach the top, "Because it's there." (XII)[1]

A search on Google for the quoted phrase "Why did you want to climb Mount Everest?"—the question that the *Times* initially reported—produces no results, and Internet folklore tells us that the absence of results on Google means that the information does not exist.[2] But the difference between *do* and *did* is fascinating for anyone who is interested in the quote's original newspaper context. In addition to wording that is different from the version known to popular folklore, the newspaper context provides additional information about Mallory's persistence. He did not provide his memorable answer before his first attempt—but after "repeated attempts"—which suggests that it is not at the beginning of an enterprise that one can ask proper questions or provide meaningful answers.

This dissertation addresses readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* who find these kinds of distinctions worthy of study: different wording, the newspaper context, widespread errors in digital records. I derive interpretive readings of Stowe's work from the study of the *Era* as a rhetorical and material context and examine textual variants between the newspaper version and the Jewett edition. These practices of reading are drawn from the companion disciplines of textual criticism and scholarly editing, particularly the work of Jerome J. McGann and John Bryant, whose contributions to those disciplines are discussed in the following chapter. If editing that

[1] The opening quote mark was omitted in the original because the first W was an ornamental initial.
[2] For a search within quote marks to return results, the entire pattern between the quote marks must match. While it is possible that folklore records the question more accurately than the documentary evidence, some Internet folkore on the *do* version of the question refers to Mallory's questioner as a *Times* reporter, so it seems more likely that Internet folklore is immune to documentary evidence.

aims to be scholarly shares a quality with mountain climbing, it may be that of dogged persistence. And while the electronic edition is a product of persistence, these written chapters that accompany it are attempts to recover reading contexts for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that have been lost through scholarly inattention to the *Era* form of Stowe's work. Our reading of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is less full when we are aware neither of the moments in which its words were read nor of how one version's words and punctuation marks differ from another version of the same work. This introduction describes the electronic edition briefly, describes the problem that this edition and dissertation are intended to address, provides a brief overview of the chapters that follow, and includes a coda on chapter numbering in the *Era*.

The Electronic Edition

The electronic edition presents both a searchable text of the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and digital facsimiles of the Barrett copy. The electronic edition presents the newspaper text of Stowe's work in four forms: a series of image facsimiles at moderate resolution, a series of magnifiable image facsimiles, a quasi-facsimile textual transcription that reproduces the lineation of the newspaper text, and a normalized reading text that ignores newspaper column format and includes emendation. The image-based versions of the text are based exclusively on the Barrett copy. To establish the textual transcriptions, however, I have supplemented the text of the Barrett copy with two procedures. For text of the Barrett copy that cannot be read (because of poor inking or paper damage), I have examined the copy held at Howard University in the Moorland-Spingarn collection. Editorial judgment is used to establish the normalized text. Errors identified, according to the principles discussed in chapters 1 and 5, are corrected. The electronic edition is a publicly accessible web site available from the following location:
< http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/~wnr4c/index.htm >.

The edition observes scholarly standards for accuracy in transcription and for archival facsimile reproductions, and this edition marks the first time that the newspaper version of

Stowe's text has been edited as a distinct verbal text since its original publication.[3] This project observes rigorous procedures to ensure accuracy in transcription, with two simple principles. First, no correction of the electronic textual record is made without first consulting an original copy of the newspaper. Second, all changes to the electronic text record are reviewed by electronically comparing the original and the modified version of the electronic text to confirm that the change is made without introducing additional errors accidentally.

The following procedures were used to improve accuracy in the electronic text. After the electronic source text was transcribed from the Barrett copy, it was electronically collated (using a tool called PC-CASE) against a transcription prepared by the Accessible Archives (AA) newspaper project. Variants between the two transcription records (Barrett and AA) were then examined against another copy—Barrett record against Barrett copy, AA record against UMI microfilm copy—and corrected. The two corrected texts were collated again to ensure that all corrections were made accurately. The corrected Barrett copy transcription was then orally proofed against the original copy, corrected, and collated again to ensure all corrections were made accurately. The Barrett copy transcription was then collated against an electronic version of the text of the 1852 John P. Jewett edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[4] From a printout of variants between the two texts (Barrett record and EAF record), I then compared all newspaper variants to a microfilm printout. Those newspaper transcription variants that could not be confirmed by a microfilm printout were again compared to the Barrett copy. Instances of type or paper damage in the Barrett copy, which were identified during the original transcription and during oral proofreading, were reviewed against the Moorland-Spingarn copy of the *Era*. This review was used to distinguish between type damage (in both copies) and paper damage (one copy). The corrected text became the basis for the electronic edition.

[3] A number of archival newspaper projects have reproduced the *Era* in facsimile and in transcription, and these archival projects have perforce included Stowe's work. These archival projects are discussed in chapter 1.

For electronic data used in the edition itself, I conform to standards for archival text storage and image preservation. I used a custom PERL script to convert the corrected Barrett copy text to an eXtensible Markup Language (XML) format that conforms to the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) guidelines. The archival image facsimiles are in Tagged Image File Format (TIFF), and the image metadata is encoded as separate XML files that conform to a standard known as NISO Technical Metadata for Digital Still Images. For XML versions of the transcriptions, the validation routines ensure that the encoding conforms to the standards. Data validation does not ensure that all modifications of the text during the conversion process (whether performed by PERL script or entered manually) are performed accurately. To ensure accuracy on these, all manually revised versions of the XML data were electronically compared to earlier versions and confirmed manually.

The high-quality facsimile reproduction of the newspaper pages, the accurate transcription of the newspaper version of Stowe's text, and the conversion of that transcription into a format suitable for web-based access are the primary contributions of this dissertation to editorial scholarship. Chapters 1 and 5 of the dissertation, which are previewed in the next section, provide additional detail on these contributions.

Dissertation Chapters

These dissertation chapters provide a reading of the newspaper version of Stowe's work within its *Era* context. My emphasis is the material and historical contexts in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was originally read, but I supplement this study of the *Era* as a publication context for Stowe's work with close attention to its textual variation from the 1852 book edition published by John P. Jewett. This dissertation turns often to the work of three scholars: E. Bruce Kirkham, Susan Belasco [Smith], and Stanley Harrold. Kirkham's *The Building of Uncle Tom's Cabin*

[4] The copy was prepared for Chadwyck-Healey's Early American Fiction collection.

(1977) is the standard study of the textual variation between the first two printed versions of Stowe's text (*Era* and Jewett). Belasco Smith's seminal "Serialization and the Nature of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" (1995) has led to a revival of interest in the *Era* as the serial publication form for Stowe's work, and *Gamaliel Bailey and the Antislavery Union* (1986), Harrold's biography of the *Era*'s editor, has provided helpful models for thinking about how Stowe's work fit into the *Era* as both a commercial enterprise and a publishing organ intended to foster a broadly based antislavery movement.[5] By combining approaches such as Kirkam's study of textual differences and Belasco's study of the interaction of Stowe's work with its newspaper form, I am able to show how Stowe shaped her work for the *Era* audience, how the differences between the two versions can be used to illuminate that shaping, and why the belief that the Jewett edition is a later revised and improved version of the *Era* text is in some regards mistaken.

While I draw heavily from Kirkham and Belasco, I do so because these are the most important studies for the type of work that I have undertaken. The study of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a newspaper serial is a comparatively small area—undeservedly, in my opinion—within the broader field of scholarship on Stowe's work. However, the broader mainstream of scholarship in American literature seems to be returning to an interest in material publication forms. The larger critical conversation on Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* took shape in the mid-1970s among scholars like Ann Douglas, Jane Tompkins, and Elizabeth Ammons, and it received focus in collections such as *Critical Essays on Harriet Beecher Stowe* (1980), *New Essays on Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1986), and *The Stowe Debate* (1994). None of these essay collections made more than a mention of Kirkham's textual scholarship. The recent *Approaches to Teaching Uncle Tom's Cabin* (2000), edited by Belasco and Ammons, encourages a reconsideration of the newspaper version in the classroom, but the *Cambridge Companion to Harriet Beecher Stowe* (2004) offers only brief

[5] When referring to the influential 1995 article, I will throughout refer to its author Susan Belasco with the name under which the article was published, Belasco Smith. I will refer to later work by this author under

cursory acknowledgments that Stowe's work was published in the *Era*, certainly nothing that would suggest that a study of the newspaper version might repay attention. If the *Cambridge Companion* is not a hopeful sign, "The Rise of Periodical Studies" (2006), an article in the journal of the Modern Language Association, suggests that the literary profession is in the midst of an important shift.[6] If the larger profession of literary studies is in the midst of a shift toward periodical studies, essay collections in the ensuing decades should no longer ignore the *Era* form of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. My work is intended to move Stowe studies in this direction by making the newspaper version of this work widely available to scholars and by pointing toward the *Era*'s crucial relevance in the interpretation of Stowe's work.

In the decade since Belasco's article, her new historicist approach to reading—rather than a concern with Kirkham's bibliography, textual studies, and book publishing history—has proved more influential in Stowe scholarship. Although a few studies have touched on topics also discussed by Kirkham, his work has remained the key work of textual scholarship in Stowe studies. Michael Winship has reconsidered some aspects of Kirkham's work. In his 1990 entry on Stowe in BAL, which includes an analysis of the variant states in the Jewett edition, he expands considerably Kirkham's initial list of variants between the two states.[7] Other works might be mentioned, but aside from Barbara Hochman (discussed below), they have influenced this study little.[8] I discuss the influence of Winship's BAL on the editing of the Jewett version of Stowe's work in chapter 1. The more influential new historicist work associated with periodical studies—by Larry J. Reynolds, Belasco, and Hochman—has emphasized the international political events

the name under which it was published, Belasco. When referring to this scholar's work in general, I will use the name Belasco.

[6] See Latham and Scholes.

[7] See Kirkham "The First Editions," 365-82; Winship, "Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sec. I," 73-74.

[8] Winship's "Greatest Book" (2002) is an important contribution to the history of Jewett's promotion of Stowe's work. Also see Gutjahr on illustrations.

covered by the *Era*, serialization as a mode of publication form, and the *Era*'s generic conventions for sentimental literature.[9]

Though Belasco Smith's 1995 article validated the new historicist approach to reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in newspaper form to literary scholars, her work was preceded by Reynolds's *European Revolution and the American Literary Renaissance* (1988), which touched briefly on the *Era* as a publication context for Stowe's work. Reynolds notes that Stowe used the *Era*'s coverage of the Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth and his American tour to link the Uncle Tom plot and the George and Eliza Harris plot (153–57). One side of the connection that Reynolds notes is Stowe's comparison of George Harris to a "Hungarian youth" when he defends himself from the pursuing slave-catchers Loker and Marks in the 2 October installment (cited in Reynolds 155; *Era* V:157). The corresponding passage in the Uncle Tom plot is St. Clare's reply on 1 January 1852 when Ophelia wonders whether the United States will voluntarily free its slaves:

> "I don't know," said St. Clare. "This is a day of great deeds. Heroism and disinterestedness are rising up here and there in the earth. The Hungarian nobles set free millions of serfs, at an immense pecuniary loss; and perhaps among us may be found generous spirits who do not estimate honor and justice by dollars and cents." (cited in Reynolds 156; *Era* VI: 1)

Stowe's subtle link between the plots—without the context of the *Era*'s extended coverage of Kossuth in the newspaper text or the common cultural experience of his celebrated American tour—is nearly invisible to readers who take up the Jewett edition text today.[10] I will address Reynolds's work in chapter 4, but my emphasis will be on the ways in which domestic national politics shaped the *Era*'s interpretation of European events.

[9] Other critics who discuss the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at length include Sarah Robbins (1997) and Thomas Lilly (2003). Both are discussed in later chapters.

[10] Christian typology also offers connections between the two plots. Theodore R. Hovet argues that George's escape to Canada points "backward in time to its scriptural type—the Exodus of the Hebrews and their crossing over the Jordan to the Promised Land. But it is also an outward enactment of the journey of the Christian Wayfarer, that is Tom, from enslavement to nature, through the dark night of the soul, and into the freedom of the interior life" (39).

Belasco Smith's treatment of the newspaper version in "Serialization and the Nature of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" has been far more influential in shaping later literary discussion of the *Era* version. According to Belasco Smith, "Serialization, as a dominant mode in the production of literary discourse, offers a special form of communication for a writer, involving a complex negotiation by which a writer acts on as well as reacts to a particular and evolving publishing environment" (76). In the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* she argues, "By participating with the other editors and writers of the *National Era*, Stowe assisted in the creation of the counterdiscourse of abolition, which was designed to undermine and subvert the ideology that produced the proslavery discourse of the day" (85). My attention to the *Era*'s antislavery counterdiscourse is more extensive that Belasco Smith's, and I discuss the satiric mode both in Stowe's work and the newspaper's editorials. The artistry of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in part consists of Stowe's ability to bring the satiric mode—a staple for political discourse in the *Era*—into her fictional discourse.[11] When reading the newspaper version, one readily senses that the narrator of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has a satiric tone not unlike that adopted by the *Era*'s editor in his condemnations of slavery. I discuss the *Era*'s editorial voice in the second and fourth chapters. Aside from this emphasis, my study of the serial context follows Belasco's work, but again my emphasis on textual variation distinguishes my work from hers.

Hochman's recent "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *National Era*" (2004) builds on Belasco's work and makes a strong contribution toward a recovery of the relationship between Stowe's work and other fictional discourse in the newspaper. She provides a satisfying explanation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s relationship to its publication environment in the matter of generic form. According to Hochman, Stowe simultaneously adopted and upset sentimental motifs common in the *Era*:

[11] According to Joan D. Hedrick, Stowe mentions the *Era* correspondent Grace Greenwood as "an inspiration for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" ("Harriet" 121). Greenwood does offer a related model for Stowe's satiric mode, but I have not explored this connection.

> *Uncle Tom's Cabin* directly challenged the moral messages of the *Era*'s 'high-toned Litera[ture]'; it ushered religious doubt, political conflict, and the problem of human rights into installment fiction. But it did so in a style so familiar and disarming as to create a popular sensation that obscured the depth of the challenge it posed to both social and generic norms. (147)

Hochman argues that Stowe's work has a dual relationship to other sentimental texts.

> *Uncle Tom's Cabin* echoed, even epitomized, the ubiquitous themes and images of sentimental print culture; but at the same time it modified firmly established rhetorical conventions. The unprecedented success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* implies that there was a great deal of pleasure for readers in finding their generic expectations not only confirmed but also upset and remade. (144)

For example, Hochman explains that fiction in the *Era* "often gave readers a respite from the highly charged issues of the day" (145). One characteristic of these moral tales of family life was that their setting seldom included a specific location, which suggests "that the realm of the family, like an individual's moral life, could remain untouched by ongoing political turmoil" (147). Stowe's specific geography is thus an important part of her remapping of sentimental concerns onto a regionally identifiable political landscape. I do differ slightly from Smith and Hochman in their grouping of poems and fiction as literary genres in the *Era*. In the *Era*'s annual indexes, titles of poems are indexed in a separate section. Titles of fictional works, however, are grouped with letters in a larger category that the index designates "Communications." The index category formalizes the important genre links between fiction and letters from readers. I thus raise to a level of explicit concern in the *Era*'s material text a connection between fiction and letters. Joan D. Hedrick has suggested a similar, though implicit, connection between the generic norms of sentimental fiction and personal letters.[12] The *Era*'s convention of setting poems in a smaller font also marks poetry as a distinct genre. In the newspaper's context as a material form, poems served a useful function in column layout because they were short and could be used as filler in any section of the paper. Nonetheless, I am not insensible that fiction and poetry are useful

[12] See Hedrick, "Parlor Literature," 275-303; Robbins 533-42. Neither Hedrick nor Robbins discuss the *Era* indexes' link between the material form of reader letters and sentimental fiction, but both strongly suggest

categories, and I group them as "literary matter" in chapter 1 when analyzing the *Era*'s use of column space for literature. The *Era*'s genre of Communications is discussed in chapter 3. This tension—in which sentimental fiction is grouped both with poetry as a literary genre and in the newspaper as a form of communication similar to letters—is an important aspect of the appearance of Stowe's work as part of the newspaper's material text form. Smith's and Hochman's articles invite a more intensive study of the *Era* as a publication environment, and I share their view of Stowe's serial as a negotiation between author, editor, audience, and the newspaper's material text form. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—primarily as a serial text but also as a book—is deeply engaged with newspapers as a rhetorically mediated and material-text influenced forum for communication among readers.

Chapter Summary

The first chapter describes the *Era* version of Stowe's work bibliographically and orients this new edition within current textual theory. I evaluate the rates of accuracy among current print editions and archival resources and illuminate the political and economic forces that delayed the completion of the serial until a little over two weeks after the Jewett edition had appeared. I conclude that neither author nor editor exercises sole control over the text. The aims and desires of persons are always in negotiation with the constraints and possibilities of the newspaper both as a rhetorical ground and as material text form within a particular social structure. By applying bibliographical analysis to the *Era*'s use of column space, I demonstrate that the *Era* editor's aims in the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were influenced by two concerns. The editor's first concern was financial, to gain new subscribers by serializing Stowe's work. The second concern was a desire to manage the space allowed in the material text form of the newspaper for *Uncle*

an implicit connection. Robbins draws on Hedrick's compelling portrait of mixed-gender parlor literature in her discussion of the *Era* form of Stowe's work.

Tom's Cabin and other serial fiction against the competing desire to provide political coverage for the Congressional session.

The second chapter introduces the *Era* as an eminent newspaper of its day and revises Kirkham's account of the serial publication response to Stowe's work. I revise his account based on editorial notices and readers' letters to the *Era*. Bailey promoted *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to increase the *Era*'s subscription list, and the readers' enthusiasm for Stowe's work drew new subscribers to the paper. Midway through the serialization, the readers' enthusiasm was mixed with anxiety that the serial would end prematurely as Stowe prepared for book publication. Once reassured that the serial would continue, Stowe's readers celebrated her contribution to the antislavery cause. The responses of readers included letters on the work's themes and characters, acknowledgment of the work's role as a subscription draw for the newspaper, and a careful attention to the work's prospects for book publication and sale.

In the third chapter, I use the newspaper's material form to illuminate readers' presumptions about the male public and the female domestic spheres. Articles in the *Era* deploy sympathy to change minds in the public spheres of political debate and private military expeditions. In a Connecticut legislative debate reprinted in the *Era*, a real-life corollary to Stowe's Senator Burr (Bird in the Jewett edition) opposes legal protections for birds. This Connecticut representative, Harris P. Burr, loses the debate to opponents who argue from sentiment. In another case of real-world sentimental appeals triumphing over sectional interests, the *Era*—despite its stringent opposition—was susceptible to sentimental appeals to render aid to Narciso López's filibuster (i.e., privateer) expedition against Cuba. Stowe's sentimental appeals thus have strong corollaries in the real world. In Stowe's work, Arthur Shelby, Burr, and Augustine St. Clare retreat *from* slavery as a domestic concern *into* slavery as a political concern, a retreat Stowe represents metaphorically as reading a newspaper. A domestic space encloses Shelby, Burr, and St. Clare as they read in an attempt to escape from the private domestic concerns into a newspaper, which is a metaphor for the public sphere. Stowe's work in the *Era*'s

material form challenges the reader to understand the act of reading the news as a metaphor for a futile attempt to limit slavery to a public concern rather than a domestic concern.

In the fourth chapter, I argue that Stowe participated in the *Era*'s gradual political transformation following the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, a transformation made clear in the paper's revised annual prospectus for 1852. The *Era* abandoned its earlier support for states' self-determination on slavery and became an advocate for higher law and revolutionary principles. The fourth chapter traces the *Era*'s debates on Christian government, its coverage of the López Expedition's attempt to overthrow Cuba, and its coverage of the Christiana Treason trials, in which the Quaker Castner Hanaway was charged with constructive treason for aiding fugitive slaves. In the coverage of the López Expedition and the Christiana Treason Trials, the *Era*'s editor sought to put the contemporary antislavery crises in context by providing a broad reading of the principles to be derived from the American, French, and Haitian Revolutions. Stowe's work engages in these debates actively, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* contributes to the *Era*'s transformation into a higher law organ.

In the final chapter, I consider the role of editing, textual markup, and the study of textual variation between the newspaper and the Jewett edition for the preparation of the electronic edition. Markup is a form of interpretation, and the markup for this edition enacts an imaginary structure of Stowe's work both dependent on and independent of its material form as a newspaper text. For an electronic text to conform to standard practices in markup, a hierarchical set of textual divisions is imposed upon the text. In the markup for my electronic representation, which conforms to the widely influential guidelines proposed by the Text Encoding Initiative, I recognize the material form of the newspaper in my choice to have installments, instead of chapters, as the highest-level division of my electronic text. I also encode detailed features about typographic letterforms. These editorial decisions, though based on practical requirements for electronic texts and my editorial preferences for presentation, influence conceptual models about the text in electronic form. Concepts that seem straightforward, such as what counts as an *error*,

are embedded in interpretive editorial decisions about textual authority, the installment as the highest-level textual division, and the forms of encoding for display. While the broader purpose is to consider the implications of editorial decisions and the structure of digital texts in the humanities, the chapter also uses a comparison of this version of the text with the Jewett version to reconsider the order of Stowe's composition for the newspaper and the book edition.

The guiding purposes of this dissertation are to orient the electronic edition with respect to contemporary editorial theory, to assess the relationship between text of Stowe's work and its and material newspaper form, and to consider the interaction between the practices of electronic textual representation and scholarly editing. This dissertation thus complements the electronic edition, which makes the newspaper version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* available to other scholars and provides the site on which editorial theories about forms of electronic representation are tested. Some qualities that critics have thought intrinsic to Stowe's text—its wording, its middle, and its punctuation—depend on its publication form. Some qualities thought extrinsic to the text—domestic political discussions—had a significant influence on the reading of the serial. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the book, like the serial before it, exerted a powerful influence on nineteenth-century American history and literature. But the book as a material form—in the first and subsequent editions—has exerted a powerful influence on later readings of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. By reassessing the work's periodical text context and form, detecting how Stowe's work both responds to and transforms the *Era*, and describing the formal structures of electronic texts, I illuminate the negotiations between Stowe's work and its material form and among the work, its form, and the *Era*'s antislavery readers. The negotiation among reader, work, and material form extends to modern scholars as we read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—and indeed any written work from the past—whether in an original manuscript or a periodical publication form, in a modern reprint edition, or in an electronic edition.

Coda on the *Era*'s Chapter Numbering

This coda addresses what may seem like an idiosyncratic decision in my citation, the reference to *Era* page numbers, issue dates, and chapter designations instead of a reference to Jewett's book edition or a modern reprint. The short explanation is that such a reference system is unworkable, but the reasons why it is unworkable begin to clarify the importance of the material form in which the serial version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared. Throughout this dissertation, all substantive citations of Stowe's text are accompanied in prose by the date of the *Era* issue in which it appeared. Chapters are referred to by their number and, if present, title. There are discrepancies between the newspaper's chapter numbering system for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and that of the 1852 Jewett edition. I refer to chapters by the number printed in the *Era*, even when the number is an "error" probably caused by an oversight during typesetting. One type of error is straightforward. The chapter in the 7 August 1851 issue (which is numbered IX) should be numbered Chapter X. The previous *Era* issue (31 July) has Stowe's Chapter IX, and the next *Era* issue (14 August) has Chapter XI. Were this the only type of numbering error, it would be sensible to refer to chapter numbers as they appeared in Jewett's edition as self-identical to the corresponding chapter numbers in the *Era* version.[13] However, the correspondence between chapters in the two versions is considerably more complex following Chapter XVIII, which is named "Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions" in both the *Era* version and the Jewett edition.[14] In the chart on the following page, the *Era* version and the Jewett edition are set out side by side for comparison.

[13] The "sensible" decision would also be reductive because textual variation would remain even if chapter divisions corresponded between the two versions.

[14] This paragraph and this note, the chart that follows, the concluding paragraph on converting chapter numbers between the two versions, and Appendix A all supplement and correct Kirkham's discussion of chapter numbers in *Building*. In Kirkham's explanation, he states only that the conclusion of chapter XIX was "numbered '18' " (126-27). While the statement is technically true, the chapter numbered XIX is a unique chapter division in the *Era*, as shown in the chart below. Kirkham states that the title for chapter 22, "The Grass Withereth—The Flower Fadeth," is the "same in both texts" (167). It is not. The quotation that serves as a title in chapter XXII of the Jewett edition is an epigraph in the *Era* version of the chapter,

Era Installments 9 October to 6 November 1851 with Jewett Edition Reference

National Era		**Jewett Edition**	
Chapter Numbers and Titles	**Issue Date**	**Chapter Number(s) and Titles**	**Volume, Page, and Line Numbers**
CHAPTER XVIII.—*Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions*	9 Oct. 1851	CHAPTER XVIII.—MISS OPHELIA'S EXPERIENCES AND OPINIONS	I.291.1–I.310.11
CHAPTER XVIII.—*Continued*	16 Oct. 1851	Portion of CHAPTER XVIII.—MISS OPHELIA'S EXPERIENCES AND OPINIONS and portion of CHAPTER XIX—MISS OPHELIA'S EXPERIENCES AND OPINIONS, CONTINUED	I.310.12–II.8.3
CHAPTER XIX.—*St. Clare's History and Opinions*.	same as above	Portion of CHAPTER XIX—MISS OPHELIA'S EXPERIENCES AND OPINIONS, CONTINUED	II.8.4–II.16.25
CHAPTER XVIII.—*Continued*	23 Oct. 1851	Portion of CHAPTER XIX—MISS OPHELIA'S EXPERIENCES AND OPINIONS, CONTINUED	II.16.26–II.31
CHAPTER XIX.—*Topsy*	6 Nov. 1851	CHAPTER XX.—TOPSY.	II.32.1

The first source of confusion is that one chapter in the *Era*, "Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions," becomes two separately numbered (and titled) chapters in the Jewett edition. This may represent a chapter numbering error in the *Era*, but it seems more likely that the 16 October 1851 installment—because it has the same number and has the generic explanation "Continued" rather than a distinct title—was considered as a continuation of the previous chapter, which would be followed by the separately titled chapter in the *Era*, "St. Clare's History and Opinions." This chapter division, unique to the *Era*, would be absorbed into the two Jewett edition chapters numbered XVIII and XIX and titled "Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions" and "Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions, Continued," respectively.[15] I surmise that the removal of the

numbered XXI. The *Era*'s chapter XXI appears in the 13 November 1851 issue, though the issue is mis-dated 31 November.

[15] As explained below, the Jewett page numbers 8–31 are based on the assumption that the 23 October 1851 installment should have been numbered XIX because it is a continuation of the chapter that began in the 16 October installment.

"St. Clare's History and Opinions" chapter title in the Jewett edition led to the decision to split the *Era*'s one Ophelia chapter into two separately numbered chapters.

The numbering of the *Era* version in this portion of the serial adds yet another layer of difficulty. The first half of *Era* Chapter XVIII, "Mrs. Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions" appeared 9 October. The second half appeared the following week (16 October) under the same number (XVIII). The first half of the following chapter, "St. Clare's History and Opinions," which follows immediately in the same installment, continues the numeric sequence at chapter XIX. The following week (23 October) the installment's chapter continuation is titled "Continued," but the new installment uses the same number (XVIII) that had been used for "Miss Ophelia's History and Opinions." The chapter "St. Clare's History and Opinions," split between the 16 October and 23 October installments in the *Era*, corresponds to the 1852 Jewett edition volume II, pages 8–31. The cause for the misnumbering of the chapter in the 23 October issue may be that a newspaper compositor overlooked the division for Chapter XIX, "St. Clare's History and Opinions," which had begun in the previous week's installment. On 6 November, the now misnumbered sequence continues with chapter XIX, "Topsy." Thereafter, each subsequent chapter number in the *Era* continues in the new sequence.

Even were one to decide (unwisely, I would argue) that the unique serial chapter named "St. Clare's History and Opinions" is anomalous and was not intended as a separate chapter, all of the remaining chapters in the *Era* would be numbered incorrectly. Furthermore, most of the subsequent chapters lack titles in the *Era*. Chapter titles are rare in the 22 chapters that follow what the *Era* designates as Chapter XX, "Kentuck" in the 31 November 1851 issue. Only six of the remaining chapters have titles, predominantly near the end of the serial run. The resumption of chapter titles in the 11 March issue suggests the influence of Stowe's composition for the Jewett edition, which in February or March of 1852 was probably ahead of the composition for the *Era* version, a topic discussed in more detail in chapters 4 and 5. Of the 18 untitled chapters

from 13 November 1851 through 11 March 1852, five are split between two installments with the later installment labeled “Continued” when the chapter resumes in the following weekly issue.

Because so few of the later chapters have titles in the serial, an *Era* page number when preceded by a volume number—V for 1851 and VI for 1852—provides a more straightforward reference system for the newspaper version of Stowe’s text. Due to another crucially important characteristic of serials, that installments appear on a date, I almost always refer to a chapter’s date of issue in the *Era*. The printed issue dates are reliable throughout the run of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* with one exception. The 13 November issue is transposed to 31. As this work is concerned primarily with the *Era* version, the reference to chapter numbers in the Jewett edition would increase (rather than diminish) the confusion of readers who refer to the serial version. My system of reference may function as a form of estrangement for readers of a book version of Stowe’s work. I intend for the citation form to be estranging, but the electronic edition that accompanies the dissertation makes this form of reference useful. The citation form also serves the rhetorical purpose of reminding readers that this is not the familiar text of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*.

To convert an *Era* chapter number to an 1852 Jewett edition chapter number, please use the following procedure. Chapters I through XVIII are identically numbered except that the 7 August chapter should be numbered X in the *Era*. For chapters XVIII-XIX in the *Era*, which correspond to XVIII-XX in the Jewett edition, see the chart above. For chapters XX-XLIV in the *Era* version, the *Era* chapter number plus one provides the corresponding Jewett edition chapter number. Readers may also refer to Appendix A, which lists *Era* installment dates and chapter numbers.

Let us begin, again.

Chapter 1: Editing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: A Textual Introduction

Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was originally published in forty-one installments (5 June 1851–1 April 1852) in one of the most prominent newspapers of its day, the *National Era*, a Washington D. C. antislavery weekly edited by Gamaliel Bailey. The *Era* was prominent in part because it was moderate in comparison to an abolitionist newspaper like William Garrison's *Liberator*. In the early 1850s, the *Era*, like today's *Washington Post*, was a national newspaper that despite its smaller circulation rivaled a New York newspaper, Horace Greeley's *Tribune*. Though by the end of the decade the *Tribune's* circulation had grown exponentially while the *Era* had folded, Bailey's biographer Stanley Harrold has argued that during the early part of the decade, the *Era*—both in circulation and the strength of its literary department—was "competitive" with the *Tribune* in "circulation and influence" among the northern antislavery audience and had a significant audience in the Midwest (141-42).[1] Part of the early enthusiasm for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Boston publisher John P. Jewett's 1852 edition is that many readers had followed the story for months in the *Era*. The Jewett edition was an immediate success. It sold a first print run of 5,000 copies within a week and nearly 300,000 copies within a year. The *Era*'s approximately 19,000 subscribers no doubt contributed to the initial popularity of Jewett's edition, so *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—a literary phenomenon that dominated the decade before the American Civil War and continued to have broad resonance throughout the nineteenth century—in part owes its initial popular success to its reception in the *Era*.[2]

The acknowledgment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s influence as a publishing phenomenon and cultural artifact of the nineteenth century has never been seriously questioned, but its reputation

[1] Almost half of the *Era*'s initial subscribers in 1847 were brought with Bailey's midwestern newspaper, the *Herald and Philanthropist* (Harrold 139).

[2] For the sales of Jewett's editions, see Winship, " 'The Greatest Book of Its Kind': A Publishing History of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' " 323 n. 34. For the *Era*'s subscription figures, see Harrold, *Gamaliel Bailey*, 139. For the broader resonance of Stowe's work, consider that it gave rise to a nearly unfathomable number of response editions, adaptations, stage productions, songs, poems, and other cultural artifacts—including, as one critic has noted, "paintings, puzzles, cards, board games, plates, spoons, china figurines, bronze ornaments, dolls, and wallpaper" (Meer 1-2).

as a literary work suffered a decline through the middle part of the twentieth century. The mid-century decline in reputation, though it has been exaggerated, was followed by a steady rise in reputation after the 1970s. Stowe's work is now widely acknowledged as one the most significant works of nineteenth-century American literature. The mid-century decline in the literary reputation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (from the 1920s to the 1970s) appears to correspond with a consensus that its historical importance outweighed its literary importance. Joseph Csicsila's *Canons by Consensus* (2004) notes that a comparative evaluation of Stowe's historical rather than literary importance was a critical commonplace of at least a half-century by the mid-1970s. According to Csicsila, Carl Van Doren in his chapter on "The Later Novel" in the *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21) "alludes to a well-established and apparently somewhat tired argument that Stowe's book 'stands higher in the history of reform than in the history of the art of fiction' " (135). But Csicsila also demonstrates convincingly that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was highly regarded as a literary work by leading early twentieth-century scholars John Erskine, Percy Boynton, and even Van Doren, who ranked Stowe with Hawthorne as "one of the two eminent prose writers in mid-nineteenth-century America" (135). If the dichotomy between "history of reform" and "history of fiction" was to the detriment of its literary reputation in the post-war period through the rise of new critical verbal icon, the resurgence of literary interest in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is arguably a product of the growth of coeducational higher education in the United States. In her 1997 survey of Stowe scholarship, Joan D. Hedrick argued, "it was not until the women's movement and the establishment of Women's Studies in the 1970s that the groundwork was laid for the scholarly revival" (114).

Interest in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the past decade has been so intense that it might be said that the scholarly revival has resulted in widespread conversions. One can assess the current prominence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by comparing its treatment in literary studies to that of Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick*. Melville's novel is indisputably a major work of American literature, and it is the only American work that the 1998 edition of the *MLA Style Manual* saw fit

to include in its standard list of abbreviations, e.g., *MD* (Other Literary Works 277-78). If that abbreviation in the *MLA Style Manual* crowns Melville's work as the preeminent American literary work, recent trends in large-scale surveys suggest that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* already rivals *Moby-Dick*'s place of preeminence. The indexes to two recent surveys of nineteenth-century literature are instructive in this regard. In volume 2 of Sacvan Bercovitch's *Cambridge History of American Literature, 1820-1865* (1994), which treats prose writings, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has forty-one index entries whereas *Moby-Dick* has twenty-one.[3] In the recent *Blackwell Companion to American Literature, 1780-1865* (2004)—an expansive and diversely authored collection of essays to which forty-two writers contributed—*Uncle Tom's Cabin* is cited in thirteen essays whereas *Moby-Dick* is cited in ten. The next revision of the *MLA Style Manual* may well want to include *UTC* among its list of standard abbreviations. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s rise in prominence may correspond to a broad professional shift of literary studies toward cultural studies, but that shift appears to ensure Stowe's work a central place in the study of American literature for decades to come.

Despite its prominence, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is alone among major works of nineteenth-century American fiction—of which probably only Melville's *Moby-Dick*, Nathaniel Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, and Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn* are peers in terms of the attention devoted to them—that has not been issued in an edition approved by the Modern Language Association Committee on Scholarly Editions. One might address this problem by referring to larger cultural forces and a prejudice against women writers, but a consideration of the broader context of Stowe scholarship suggests that the absence of a scholarly edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has not been perceived as a problem, at least one that has not yet found a voice among Stowe scholars.

[3] James L. Harner's evaluative survey, the *Literary Research Guide* (2002), observes that the *Cambridge History* will "assume an influential—perhaps canonical—place among histories of American literatures" (3205).

To the extent that Stowe scholars are aware that the study of the newspaper text is needed, they have not translated their awareness into a call for this type of edition nor for a conflated critical edition, perhaps because textual scholarship has been perceived as less vital to the field of literary scholarship generally in an era of cultural studies. Hedrick's 1997 survey of Stowe scholarship does not call for a newspaper edition. But this survey, despite Hedrick's deep familiarity with historical, literary, and cultural studies of Stowe, is unlikely to identify a need for textual study when the author also states that "The sixteen-volume 1896 Riverside edition of Stowe's writing remains the standard edition of Stowe's works" (124). The Riverside edition is standard in the sense that most of Stowe's works are collected in one set of volumes, but it should not be considered "standard" in the sense that the text has been examined closely. From the perspective of textual scholarship, editors Elizabeth Ammons and Susan Belasco make another unsettling statement about a standard edition in the recent *Approaches to Teaching Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin* (2000). If, as they say, Kenneth S. Lynn's 1962 Harvard edition is "considered the standard edition," it is only in the sense that they report consensus gleaned from a survey of literary scholars ("Classroom Editions" 7). I have examined a portion of Lynn's text closely (the examination is discussed below), and it is riddled with errors in transcription. In other contexts, these same scholars have shown that the newspaper version is important. Susan Belasco Smith's "Serialization and the Nature of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" (1995) is easily the most important article that has been written on the newspaper text, and Hedrick has recommended the study of Grace Greenwood's letters to the *Era* as an influence on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ("Harriet Beecher Stowe" 121). But Stowe scholarship in general has tended not to consider textual study as an area of significant need. One purpose of my edition is thus to inform the field of Stowe scholarship that the text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the newspaper version in particular is a neglected area of study.

Within the general context of Stowe scholarship, a number of additional factors may have contributed to the comparative neglect of the textual state of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Only a few

pages of Stowe's manuscript are known to have survived, and no scholar since E. Bruce Kirkham has thought that additional comparisons of the surviving manuscript pages with the two printed versions of the text were necessary. Kirkham's pioneering *The Building of Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1977)—a study to which this work is deeply indebted—was the first work to identify major passages added or modified for the 1852 Jewett edition and was the first to provide a detailed consideration of Stowe's dialect spelling. Yet even Kirkham felt compelled to point out the difference between his study and the type of work that scholarly editors undertake: "If this study were an edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, each and every variant, both substantive and accidental, would be recorded and commented upon. But the purpose here is to chart the migratory pattern, as it were, not to locate the resting place of each bird of the species each night" (166). Kirkham's work is part of its own historical context, a work published in the late 1970s when the revival of interest in Stowe's work was just beginning. According to Kirkham, "The productions of her pen were not masterpieces. No one would claim that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ranks as a literary work equal to *Moby Dick* or *The Scarlet Letter*, although its social and historical impact has been far greater" (viii).

The history of comparative unconcern with Kirkham's analysis of the text can be used to underscore the importance of my effort to revive, and revise, it. The editors of modern reprints of the Jewett version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have contributed to the neglect of Kirkham's scholarship. The most prominent work to discuss the textual situation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a work far more influential than Kirkham's, was Lynn's 1962 Harvard edition, the first modern scholarly reprint of Stowe's text. Its influence is still felt as it is reprinted in Ann Douglas's contemporary Penguin editions. Lynn arrived at a misleading conclusion about Stowe's revisions after what was presumably a cursory comparison of the two texts: "Aside from changing the name of Senator Burr to Senator Bird and correcting a number of minor errors, Mrs. Stowe made no alterations between the magazine version and the book version of her text" ("A History of the Text" xxvi). The word "magazine" alone suggests that Lynn was unfamiliar with the newspaper

version. Subsequent Stowe scholars, who do not seek out Kirkham's textual scholarship, would have little reason to realize that the texts of the newspaper version and the book edition differ. The question that I face, because I seek to revive and revise Kirkham's work, is somewhat different. The work of textual comparison that might be needed to revise it only makes sense if undertaken for some other purpose, such as the scholarly edition that he suggests. While this newspaper edition does not provide a full comparison of the texts, I have compared the two texts both to improve the accuracy of the transcribed text and to study textual variation.

This study does more than count birds (though it sometimes does that too as electronic texts and text-comparison software are now readily available): it offers a different perspective on Kirkham's sorting of birds into species by arguing that Stowe's textual variants respond to the *Era* as a publication context. It is crucial that one thinks carefully about the *Era* as publication context rather than merely considering it as an alternative source for a text that is almost fully represented by the Jewett edition. Ignorance of the newspaper version as an alternative text does not mean that it is not worthy of study. Kirkham's work on textual variation is an important antecedent to my work, and Belasco's work on the *Era* serial is another. I seek to restore to mainstream Stowe scholarship a method of integrating the approaches of Kirkham and Belasco, one that draws its theoretical underpinnings from recent innovations in textual criticism.

Textual Criticism and Textual Variation

"that small band of angels called textual critics" (McGann *Critique* 9)

"Textual Critics, that small band of historically minded readers" (Tanselle *Rationale* 15)

Scholarly editing is a mode of textual criticism. And while recent advances in digital imaging and text representation technology (descriptive markup) enable the editorial project that this dissertation accompanies, I defer the discussion of markup until the fifth chapter and instead address here contemporary modes for thinking about textual variation as a context for this newspaper edition. In the past two decades, advances in textual criticism have outpaced the

ability of scholarly editors to respond with editions. The new modes for thinking about textual variation have moved beyond a distinction between authorially intended and socially constructed texts. My edition is more closely aligned with the theory that texts are socially constructed material artifacts—because the newspaper form of the text is chosen as the subject for study. Despite the alignment of my practice with procedures of documentary editing, a discipline usually identified with historians rather than literary scholars, the aim of this project is primarily to serve the interests of readers interested in Stowe's work as literature. This interest in literary scholarship, and thus the practice of scholarly editing associated with literary works, means that I will engage the ideas of recent textual critics who discuss variation among versions, notably John Bryant and Joseph Grigely. This edition and these chapters as readings of Stowe's work—both as modes of textual criticism—do not discourage discussion of the later book editions and the larger *Uncle Tom's Cabin* phenomena, but I do suggest that reading Stowe's work with an awareness that it is engaged with the newspaper's rhetorical and material form can enrich the reading of the book version as well. That is, I do not advocate reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in its newspaper form as a mode of study separate from the reading of the 1852 Jewett edition. I thus engage more recent trends in textual scholarship, which in the last few decades has begun to encourage a catholic interest in multiple varieties of textual production.

Textual scholar G. Thomas Tanselle has engaged in deliberate effort to survey the discipline of textual scholarship by publishing an assessment of the field every five years in *Studies in Bibliography*. In "Textual Criticism at the Millennium" (2000), the most recently published assessment, Tanselle grounds his review of contemporary textual scholarship in a tradition that extends back over two millennia. He asserts in his opening paragraph of the essay that recent decades mark a sharp break with a long tradition: "Although differing approaches to perennial issues might have been in the ascendent at whatever past moments one chooses to look at, all those moments—before the last decade or two of the twentieth century—would have shared a dominant concern for authorial intention as the basis for editing" (1). If the shift that

unseated “authorial intention” from the two-millennia-plus tradition occurred between 1980 and 1985, most textual scholars would associate the shift with Jerome J. McGann’s *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (1983). McGann sought a rapprochement between the practices of historically informed reading and the practice of scholarly editing. The subject of his 1983 critique was the discipline of textual criticism, which he argued was too concerned with specialist goals. That goal, in brief, was the pursuit of authorial intention.

Tanselle’s 1990 reconsideration of words that he originally wrote in 1976 can provide an apt illustration of the significance of McGann’s work on the field of Anglo-American scholarly editing. Tanselle’s “The Editorial Problem of Final Authorial Intention” (1976) began as follows: “Scholarly editors may disagree about many things, but they are in general agreement that their goal is to discover exactly what an author wrote and to determine what form of his work he wished the public to have” (27). Tanselle revisits the first sentence of his classic essay fourteen years later in the preface to *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing* (1990), a collection of his essays. He explains that his 1976 wording was incautious—that he “never regarded authorial intention as the only aspect of textual history that an editor could legitimately focus on. The real problem is that I was using the term ‘scholarly editing’ far too loosely to mean ‘critical editing’ ” (Preface x). McGann in 1983 did not read Tanselle’s 1976 wording as a verbal slip.

When McGann reads the historical tradition of textual criticism in *Critique*, Tanselle’s 1976 essay was a symptom of a larger problem, the discipline’s carelessness in distinguishing textual criticism from scholarly editing. He described the idea that the highest goal of scholarly editing is to “establish a text most nearly represents the author’s original (or final) intentions” as a “critical commonplace that has emerged gradually in the past two hundred years or so” (15). In *The Textual Condition* (1991), a work that appeared a year after Tanselle’s essay collection, McGann provides a more polemical reading of the “editorial horizon” that preceded the shift authorized by his 1983 work: “[. . .] modern textual studies—which was founded two centuries ago in the deepest kind of sociohistorical self-consciousness—now appeared to itself as a scene of

narrow empiricist and even positivist practices, with habits of reflexiveness maintained merely at the technical level, as specialized goals" (22). McGann also approaches *textual criticism* as a form of practice that should be integrated with the larger practice of literary and cultural criticism, but his criticism is generally focused on the practice of scholarly editing.

With Tanselle's 1990 shift in emphasis, the criticism that McGann mounted against modern textual editing has been blunted by revised definitions for the key terms. Tanselle provides a succinct statement of these revised definitions in the preface to *Textual Criticism and Scholarly Editing*:

> Textual criticism is the evaluation of the correctness (according to some specified standard) of surviving texts, based on an examination of the physical evidence present in the documents conveying the texts—including the variant readings in them—as well as on historical knowledge and literary judgment. Scholarly editing is the use of the insights provided by textual criticism to produce new documents, either editions containing photographic facsimiles and literal transcriptions of individual documentary texts or editions containing critically constructed texts that draw readings from any relevant documents and from the editors' own thinking. (Preface xiv)

There are two consequences for Tanselle's definition of textual criticism. One is that it represents a fundamental attitude toward the "nature of verbal communication," whose crucial insight is that "language is an intangible medium and that words on paper are therefore not verbal works themselves but only guides to the reconstitution of such works" (xi). He argues that this insight represents the important contribution of the two-millennia-plus tradition of textual criticism. A scholarly editor might have various interests, Tanselle continues, but an interest in the "authorially intended text" is best served by a critical edition that combines the authority of multiple documents and editorial judgment. Other editorial goals, such as the study of particular documents or the social contexts of a document's creation and reception, are better served by other types of editing (x). One might quibble and ask why only authorial intentionalist editing is modified by the adjective "critical"—thus making other types of editing *non*critical or

*un*critical?—but Tanselle's emphasis is that an editor concerned with authorial intention must exercise judgment at every point when establishing a new text.

Whether—as Tanselle would have it—the current concern with non-authorial forms marks a unique moment in a historical tradition that extends back over more than two millennia of scholarly endeavors or—as McGann would have it—the crisis in scholarly editing is a debate that can be conceived only after a scientific procedure provides a method to apply the Romantic conception of authorship to the practice of editing (i.e., the Lachmann method),[4] Tanselle's definitions suggest that a paradigm shift has taken place. The shift has resulted in a move toward a different dispute, one which concerns an editor's or critic's attitude toward two related conceptions: 1) the relationship between documents and text, and 2) the treatment of textual variation.

The fundamental issue that continues to divide Tanselle and McGann is whether *text* is an abstraction independent of its material form or is inextricably contingent with its material form. In *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age* (1996), Peter L. Shillingsburg, a practitioner of authorial intentionalist editing, sought to define *text* such that the same term could serve regardless of the mode of textual criticism practiced. The relationship between the ideas of Tanselle and of McGann can be clarified using Shillingsburg's separation of the linguistic texts into

> three forms: *conceptual*, *semiotic*, and *material:* The author's conceptual linguistic text consisted of the signs he "intended to inscribe." A semiotic text consists of the signs found recorded in a physical form of the work. [. . .] The material text is the evidence that a conceptual text was formed and uttered as a representation of a version of the work. (71)

[4] In the Lachmann Method, the practice associated with nineteenth-century German philologist Karl Lachmann, errors in textual transmission are categorized in order to determine genealogical relationships among manuscripts. Once the relationship between manuscripts is established, the editor removes errors in an effort to recover the readings of the earliest (but no longer extant) manuscript, a manuscript that is presumably the common source for all manuscripts in the genealogical tree. The great innovation of the Lachmann Method is that relationships among manuscripts can be determined in a seemingly objective analysis.

The difference between Shillingsburg's *conceptual* text and the *material* text—differences that originate because of slips of the pen, errors in copying, or assumptions about what others will do when preparing the text for publication—authorize Tanselle's conviction that literary works exist independently of their material forms. From within Tanselle's paradigm, authorial intentionalist editing is a form of historical reconstruction: "Although the communication of literary works requires such vehicles as sound waves or the combination of ink and paper, the works do not depend on those vehicles for their existence" (*Rationale* 17). Tanselle insists that a "historically minded" approach must include intentions among its concerns: "The basic question for every reader interested in history—and perforce every scholarly editor—is to decide whose intended wording, and at what time, is to be extracted from the clues provided by the documentary text" (*Rationale* 71). For Tanselle, the matter of "whose wording" is for editorial judgment, but he insists that the author's wording, even if it must be editorially constructed by conflating multiple documents, is a valid historical goal.[5]

McGann shifts the discussion by turning to the authority of the relationship between the material object and those engaged in the production and reception of texts as objects. In McGann's view, what he describes as "materialist hermeneutics," texts are "autopoietic mechanisms operating as self-generating feedback systems that cannot be separated from those who manipulate and use them. Their autopoiesis functions through a pair of interrelated textual embodiments we can study as systems of linguistic and bibliographical codings" (*Textual* 15). The implication of McGann's view is that to do what editors of a critical edition must do—separate a semiotic text from its material text and combine two or more linguistic texts into a conflated version—is inevitably to obscure what he describes as the "horizon of production and reception" (21). Though McGann criticizes the mid-century practice of scholarly editing for assuming too readily that authorial intention was the goal of editing and that a scholarly edition

[5] Also see Tanselle's concise statement on intentions as historical events in "Textual Instability and

was the definitive representation of an individual work, he appreciates the power of a scholarly critical edition to provide multiple texts and versions and to offer modes for thinking about individual works.[6] McGann's first influential suggestion is that the relationship between texts is not simply derived from textual differences between versions, and his second is that documents as objects are created within specific social conditions at specific moments in time, as "a material event or set of events" (21). Although Tanselle agrees with McGann that original forms are essential for the study of literary texts and McGann agrees with Tanselle that editing is an important critical activity, they disagree fundamentally on the extent to which the authorial intentionalist scholarly editing theory and practice of the mid-twentieth century Anglo-American tradition served as an adequate model of study for literary texts.

Of lesser importance, but which nonetheless must be acknowledged, are the caricatures of Tanselle's and McGann's views. The caricature of Tanselle's view is that he advocates creating a text that never appeared and is thus unhistorical. Tanselle, in response to this fundamentally unfair view, has shifted his rhetorical emphasis, as is shown above in the revised definitions of textual criticism and scholarly editing. Rather than advocating authorial intentionalist editing as the primary or preferred aim, he claims that an interest in historical forms should include among its interests the text that the author intended. All editing involves judgment. An editor who decides to edit a particular document—as I do here—has already begun to exercise editorial judgment. The decision to edit by transcribing the text of one document as the best text or to edit by reproducing an interesting document in photographic facsimile (regardless of whether one believes it provides the "best" representation of the work) is already an act of critical judgment. Tanselle asserts that comparing multiple versions, deciding which version most likely represents authorial practice, and emending based on judgment is a valid exercise of editorial prerogative,

Editorial Idealism" (13).

[6] On the practice of reading critical editions, see McGann's discussion of "radial reading" in *The Textual Condition* (120–22).

fundamentally no different from choosing one text to reproduce among the many documents available. Each activity is a valid act of historical scholarship. The caricature of McGann's view is that an edition based on his principles could authorize the facsimile reprint of any version of a text. It could, but McGann also insists that a scholarly edition (regardless of which form of a work is chosen for reproduction) must explain the textual history of all forms of the work both during the author's lifetime and in its subsequent history of reprints, the significance of the text chosen for reproduction, and the purpose and implications of the current moment of editing.[7] While the caricatures are not worth extended discussion, the efforts by Tanselle, McGann, and others to rebut these criticisms have offered a fuller portrait of what textual criticism might mean in the contemporary scholarly moment.

Textual theorist and historian D. C. Greetham, as well as scholars like Grigely and Bryant, have reconsidered 1) the history of textual criticism as a discipline, 2) the relationship of textual criticism as theory to the practice of scholarly editing, and 3) the function of scholarly editions as tools for studying textual variants. Greetham in *Textual Scholarship* (1994), his introduction to textual criticism, and *Theories of the Text* (1999), his theoretical inquiry into the discipline, notes that the practice of editing has hosted competing orientations on the process of recovering or preserving original readings from the very beginnings of the Western tradition. Greetham contrasts the Alexandrian analogists and their most influential practitioner Aristarchus of Samothrace (ca. 220–145 BCE) with the Pergamanian anomalists. Aristarchus built critical recensions—"to isolate 'good' manuscripts" (*Textual* 299)—and sought to establish a text based on best readings with a combination of "esthetic and technical evidence" (298). The effort to choose the best manuscript and to remove errors of later scribal copyists requires judgment, so Aristarchus is arguably one of the founders of Tanselle's 2500-year tradition. Greetham

[7] See "The Text, the Poem, and the Problem of Historical Method" in *The Beauty of Inflections* (111-32). For an example of how such a method might be applied in an act of editing, see the hypothetical example

associates Alexandrian analogists with authorial intention, that is, to seek the properly Homeric reading from among the extant manuscripts, so he describes the "eclectic school of critical editing [as] a modern derivative of this Platonist approach to the text" (*Theories* 50).[8] Greetham also notes that analogist editing authorizes conjecture, to "create (or reconstruct) an authoritative reading where none of the extant documents seems to represent the expected or appropriate usage," which may result in "eclecticism, subjectivism, and normalization according to the esthetic dictates of the critic, not the author" (299).

The Alexandrian analogists' near contemporaries, the Pergamanian anomalists, took an opposite view, a "Stoic acceptance of the inevitable corruption of all temporal, earthly phenomena" (*Textual* 299). Therefore, the "only honest recourse is to select that specific utterance or that extant document which, on philological or other grounds (e.g., provenance) seems best to represent authorial intention, and once having made that selection, to follow the document as closely as possible" (299-300). The procedure of the Pergamanians is a forerunner of the best text method associated with Joseph Bédier, who in "La tradition manuscrite du *Lai de l'Ombre*: réflexions sur l'art d'éditer les anciens textes" (1928) explains his exasperation with the results of Dom Henri Quentin's so-called scientific editing and thus advocates a best-text approach. The classic critique of Bédier's method is A.E. Housman's "The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism" (1922). The title implies that blindly following the source text is to abandon thought. Whether the early twentieth-century exchange between Bédier and A.E. Housman is an echo of the debate between Pergamanian anomalists and Alexandrian analogists—or whether the Bédier-Housman exchange is the frame through which Greetham looks back—it is worth reminding ourselves that textual criticism in the Western tradition has a rich history of

for editing Dante Gabriel Rossetti's sonnet sequence *The House of Life* in *The Textual Condition* (23-33).

[8] The Alexandrians responded to the contrast between "documentary riches" of the Homeric epics and the claim of the rhapsodes, "who had insisted, in a happy or wilful ignorance of the nature of oral transmission, that their representation of Homer was pure, faithful, and uncorrupted by the medium or its practitioners"

methodological debate. And both Alexandrian analogists (forerunners of Housman) and Pergamanian anomalists (forerunners of Bédier) associated textual criticism with the practice of editing.

McGann's early work attempted to separate textual criticism as a form of theoretical method from the practice of scholarly editing, and Grigely's *Textualterity* (1995), which Tanselle has welcomed as one of the most significant works on textual criticism, has admirably succeeded in showing how the theory that underlies textual criticism can be expanded to consider both art works and literary texts produced and reproduced for all sorts of cultural reasons. Grigely asserts that textual consciousness should be distinguished from editing:

> Perhaps, then, the less that we understand textual criticism to be about editing and editions, and the more we see a form of textual consciousness as fundamental to reading, the less we are bound by the notion of requiring a practicable application of the methodology of textual criticism. Instead of a single reconstructed text, our interest shifts to the diachronic accretions of *un*reconstructed texts: how they are historically situated and resituated, and how the dissemination of those texts is directly and indirectly related to their genre. (53)

Tanselle appreciates Grigely's insistence that textual consciousness is necessary for all scholarly acts of reading that claim to be historical, but he makes a valid criticism when he wonders why Grigely treats scholarly editors who seek to reconstruct authorially intended texts as somehow divorced from the historical moment in which they practice.[9]

In *The Fluid Text* (2002), Bryant considers the failure of literary and cultural critics to read the historical evidence that scholarly editions provide about textual variation. He argues that critical editions have failed to provide convincing rhetorical modes to present textual variation to readers. Bryant seeks to recuperate authorial intention—and the intentions of others—as a fruitful

(*Theories* 50). But it does not necessarily follow that the Alexandrian analogists appealed to authorial intention.

[9] "Why does [Grigely] not regard intentionalist editing by professional scholars as an inevitable, and understandable, cultural manifestation, and thus as a phenomenon that can be productively studied?" (Tanselle "Textual Criticism" 18).

mode of critical inquiry. Editors who undertake a fluid text edition, Bryant argues, "must be willing to become *narrators of revision;* that is, they must convert the bewildering array of data in their encoded textual apparatuses into pleasurable *revision narratives*"(144). One of Bryant's principles is that "*Fluid-text editors are pedagogues*" (144). That is, they "should take the lead in proffering their own judgments in a clear and distinct manner, but in the context of divergent hypotheses. The idea is to invite readers into the discourse on textual fluidity and enable them to consider alternatives of their own design" (145).

Although the analysis of the newspaper text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the ensuing chapters and the effort to identify errors in the transcription for the edition has in its background a full collation of the newspaper text with the Jewett edition, the electronic edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that accompanies this dissertation does not include a method to compare the *Era* version with the 1852 book edition, narratives of revisions, or an analysis of the many reprints and adaptations of Stowe's work. I do aim to demonstrate that the *Era*'s material form and textual variation between it and the Jewett edition deserve greater prominence in the study of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. As this edition will be publicly available, I invite other readers to use it in concert with other electronic editions of the Jewett text.[10] This edition is the first stage in a continuing textual project that will offer methods to engage the ideas of Bryant and Grigely—a project intended eventually to include multiple versions of Stowe's text—but the current moment of textual criticism includes these written chapters as well as the edition. Grigely and Bryant are discussed not so much for their influence on the editorial practice but for their influence on the form of reading that is practiced in these written chapters. I am not interested in the newspaper version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* independently of the Jewett edition. While the *Era* version if the text is my primary focus, these written chapters are concerned with textual fluidity between versions even if the edition does not embody the theory. In an ideal world, all editorial theory

would be realized in practice. But in the current period in which rapid advances in textual theory are accompanied by another challenge of adapting electronic models to the theory, it is not unusual for the practice of editing to lag behind textual theory.[11]

The Electronic Edition

This electronic edition provides access to the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in three forms: 1) *facsimile page images* of a copy of the newspaper version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* 2) a *quasi-facsimile transcription* of the newspaper text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin, and 3) a normalized transcription* of the newspaper text.[12] Each of the three forms serves a different purpose. The *facsimile page images* provide two series of images: facsimiles of low-resolution JPEG images that can be read on screen in a browser and magnifiable images that permit detailed inspection. The *quasi-facsimile transcription* provides a screen-readable text based on a textual record with a detailed account of type and lineation characteristics in the original text. The text is not corrected. The *normalized transcription* provides a reading text that corrects wording or punctuation that represent errors or accidents of the original newspaper typesetting. The concepts of error and

[10] Many electronic texts of the Jewett edition are discussed in "Modern Editions and Archival Resources for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," which begins on page 52.
[11] Bryant published *The Fluid Text* in 2001. His fluid-text edition of *Typee* was published in 2006.
[12] Throughout this section, I use the term "normalize" in a sense derivative of that defined by Fredson Bowers in "Regularization and Normalization in Modern Critical Texts" (1989). Bowers defines normalize in contrast to regularize:

> I construe regularization as the bringing of inconsistent elements in a text into conformity by the adjustment of variants to some one regular form already present and assumed to be authorial. Normalization I conceive as imposing an external standard of regularity without the evidence of some specific precedent in the text being edited, but one that is guided by evidence derived from similar authorial documents. (82)

In my edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, I do not regularize. My definition of normalize differs from Bowers's in two ways. First, my definitions are not guided by authorial practice but by the *Era*'s printing conventions. Second, I do not attempt to apply an "external standard" of consistency, except for the correction of obvious misspellings and punctuation errors, as discussed below. For example, the *Era* has Miss Ophelia refer to St. Clare both as *Augustine* and as *Augustin*. As the latter may represent Ophelia's pet name for her cousin, I decline to normalize on the basis of the Jewett edition's consistent preference for *Augustine*. The *Era* version is relatively consistent in not including apostrophes to indicate missing letters in dialect. However, apostrophes to represent missing letters in dialect are sometimes present, such as in the dialect form *'em* instead of *em* for *them*. Individual editorial decisions on normalization are discussed in more detail below and in chapter 5.

accident are based on my editorial judgment. As each form provided by this electronic edition could be considered an "edition," my engagement with editorial theory varies according to the form of the text under consideration.

Each of these three versions of the text can be described in more significant detail according to the authority for the text, the procedures used to acquire text and images, the textual detail included, and the textual detail omitted. I outline these concerns in three sections. The first section—"Acquiring Text and Images"—provides a survey of the processes and practices used to acquire the textual transcription and the images. The second—"Text and Images: Detailed Description"—addresses the requirements set forth by the MLA Committee on Scholarly Editions. These sections may strike nonspecialists in textual editing and electronic text protocols as unnecessarily detailed even though many technology matters are relegated to the footnotes. Nonspecialists may skip them, but they provide essential background for understanding many of my later claims. One of my claims is that the quasi-facsimile transcription provides a more accurate newspaper text than the photographic facsimile edition. Another is that the newspaper version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has a more modern style of punctuation than the Jewett edition. Readers of this dissertation and users of the electronic edition are free to decide whether these details do matter, but without the attention to detail I would not have realized that some installments of the *Era* may include authorial revisions of the earlier Jewett edition. In the next three sections, I explain precisely the "Specific Purposes of this Edition," "What this Edition Is," and "What this Edition Is Not."

Acquiring Text and Images

This edition uses practices associated with scholarly editing to provide the first accurate transcription of the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; and it uses practices associated with archival preservation to provide high-quality page images. The section briefly describes the processes used to establish the text and to capture the facsimile page images. The initial

transcription was keyboarded from the copy of the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* held in the Clifton Waller Barrett Collection, part of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library at the University of Virginia. This transcription (hereafter Barrett transcription) was prepared as an ASCII text with formatting codes suitable for PC-CASE collation software. The Barrett transcription was then collated against the Accessible Archives (AA) source files, which had also been converted to PC-CASE formatting codes.[13] All variants that the electronic collator identified between the Barrett transcription and the AA transcription were checked against a source document—in the case of the Barrett transcription, the Barrett copy; in the case of the AA transcription, the UMI microfilm images available from ProQuest—and all errors in the transcription were corrected.[14] This process generated one corrected transcription based on the Barrett copy (Barrett transcription) and another corrected transcription based on the combined authority of the AA and the Pro-Quest digitized UMI microfilm (hereafter AA/UMI transcription). After both files were corrected, the two corrected transcriptions were collated against one another to verify that manual modifications had removed the identified error in the Barrett transcriptions. The AA/UMI transcription served no further purpose in the edition.

The corrected Barrett transcription was then orally proofed against the original document with a controlled set of additional errors to assess the efficacy of oral proofreading.[15] The actual

[13] The AA source files were converted from the Windows-based Folio style encoding to PC-CASE-style encoding. Both Folio- and PC-CASE-encoded texts are limited to the ASCII character set and include typographic information in tags. The Folio-encoded source text was converted to a CASE-style encoding using find and replace. After converting the tags and enriching the text by adding such features as open and closing quotes, the CASE-encoded version of the AA source files were compared to UMI microfilm to encode column format. A level of correction (according to UMI microfilm) was added to the AA source files during the process of encoding column format.

[14] An "error in transcription" refers only to the failure to accurately record the text of the document. To correct an obviously misspelled word, to omit a comma, or to enter a comma instead of a semicolon is an error in transcription.

[15] Kline contrasts silent proofreading and oral proofreading. She recommends oral proofreading (205–06). Shillingsburg compares oral proofreading and computer collation and asserts that both are necessary (*SECA* 134-35; 205). Proofreading practices are also described in "Guiding Questions for Vettors of Print and Electronic Editions" (Committee on Scholarly Editions). This edition observes recommended practices for proofreading with one exception. The final transcription has not received a "thorough and complete check"

oral proofreading against the Barrett copy was thus performed against the Barrett transcription with additional errors planted in it. Approximately eighty percent of the planted errors were caught during oral proofreading, so I estimated that approximately eighty percent of the errors remaining in the corrected Barrett transcription were caught during oral proofreading. Based on the rate of accuracy established in the initial proofreading test, I estimate that the corrected Barrett transcription has fewer than ten incorrect characters.[16] The Barrett transcription is converted to eXtensible Markup Language (XML) encoding, the XML-encoded text is converted to HMTL for display, and the displayed text was proofread silently against a photocopy of the microfilm.[17] Any errors identified during subsequent proofreading will be checked against the original before the XML-encoded source files are updated.

by someone "other than the editor" (CSE) because this project does not have funding necessary to provide such a check.

[16] The proofreading test consisted of planting errors in the textual record and assessing a rate at which errors were caught during oral proofreading. This test derived from a suggestion by Parunak on improving the attentiveness of oral proofreading. Variations in text mark-up practices (varying key codes for similar features) were excluded from the test. A total of 102 errors were planted in the textual record for Barrett copy. 83 of the 102 planted errors were caught during oral proofreading, and 19 errors were missed. Thus, planted errors were caught at a rate of approximately 81 percent. An additional 154 errors were identified during oral proofing. Were the ratio of errors caught to errors present in the textual record the same for planted errors and for unconscious errors during transcription, approximately 38 errors would remain in the text after oral proofreading. By a correction of the PC-CASE encoding practice, I found 27 more errors in the proofed and corrected text. By an additional collation of the newspaper text against the Jewett edition, I found 17 more errors. The two additional efforts at proofreading resulted in the identification of 44 errors when only 38 were estimated to be present.

Despite finding more errors than the proofreading test estimated, I am confident that the transcription is extremely accurate. A large number of errors caught during oral proofreading concerned commas not recorded at the end of lines, opening quotes omitted, em dash length and thickness, and non-italic apostrophes within italic words. After oral proofreading was complete, additional errors found included the following: 28 omitted quotation marks, 7 omitted commas, 3 one-letter variations (the word *a* omitted, *thought* for *though*, and *though* for *thought*) and the balance in matters of judgment about whether a space is present (*awhile* or *a while*) and poorly inked punctuation marks. It is difficult to distinguish a period from a poorly inked comma, a colon from a semicolon with a poorly inked tail, or a comma from a semicolon in which the latter's top dot fails to print. The most likely cause for errors that remain in the transcription are additional cases such as the presence or absence of apostrophes in dialect spelling and unconscious correction during transcription of spelling errors in the original copy.

If the error estimates are accurate, there are likely no more than four or five incorrect characters in the quasi-facsimile transcription. This error rate compares favorably to most modern reprints of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* I have found error rates in modern reprints of the Jewett edition at a rate of more than one-per-page. The 1852 Jewett edition has 637 pages.

[17] The file conversion processes may introduce error, especially as some manual modification of files is required. All manual modifications are double-checked. It is hoped that any errors that are a result of file

The page images were captured as high-resolution (450 DPI) TIFF images at a one-to-one size ratio and with the maximum color depth. A detailed record of the captured archival TIFF image and the displayed JPEG image is provided with the still image data (NISO MIX) that is associated with the image. The images have been checked for focus and color accuracy, but the images are not improved or retouched.[18] Although the Barrett copy's leather binding has deteriorated and thus the copy is partially disbound, individual issues of the *Era* cannot be removed from the Barrett copy for digitization.[19] When used for high-resolution image capture, the paper's small deviations from a flat surface—pages are uneven with slightly raised and lowered surface areas near bindings, paper edges, and folds—make it impossible to capture all areas of the page with the same sharpness of focus. The slightly warped cover also results in outer pages of volume having a noticeable deviation from a flat surface. When taking photographs of the pages, I made a calculated attempt to keep all areas of the page with comparable sharpness of focus, though some images remain perceptibly out of focus near the interior binding. The TIFF images were converted to JPEG format at 100 DPI for display. Each JPEG page image is approximately 4.3 MB, and the download at current network speeds will demand some patience from users of this edition. A separate set of digitally processed images (using the Zoomify option for ShockWave-enabled browsers) allows a high-resolution display of a portion of the image.

conversion programs will produce an identifiable pattern of error in the published text, which can be corrected as a group.

[18] Although 600 DPI is considered ideal for digital preservation, 450 DPI at the image size of 19.0 by 26.85 in. was the highest resolution that the Phase One Digital Studio Camera System was capable of capturing at a high color depth with a one-to-one size ratio. The digital image capture software is PowerPhase FX+ Image Capture Software, version 4.0. The operating system for capture was a Power Mac G4 or G5 running OS X, Version 10.3.8. Each TIFF image is approximately 300 MB. The images are converted to JPEG format at 100 DPI for display. The software used for the conversion from TIFF to JPEG is GraphicConverter, Version 5.6.2, by Lemke Software GMBH on a Macintosh Power Mac G4 OS X, Version 10.3.8. Although compressed streaming images using JPEG 2000 or a significant leap in bandwidth may make the use of 150 or 200 DPI resolution images practical, at current speeds the Zoomify option for ShockWave-enabled browsers allows a high-resolution display of a portion of the image.

[19] The Barrett copy is scheduled to be rebound in 2006 for preservation purposes, and I was able to photograph it in its partially bound state.

Text and Images: Detailed Description

The *quasi-facsimile transcription* is based primarily on the documentary authority of the Barrett copy. The *quasi-facsimile transcription* is *not* based on the *facsimile page images*. In cases in which the Barrett copy is damaged (due to poor inking, wear in paper folds, or paper tears), the authority for the text is based on the issues of the *Era* in the Moorland-Spingarn collection at Howard University.[20] For paper damage and for type damage repeated in both physical copies, a description of the damage and the authority for the text is recorded in "Barrett Copy Paper Damage" and "*National Era* Type Damage." These lists are included in Appendix B. The *quasi-facsimile transcription* includes the following detail:

- Spelling or typesetting errors of original copy are reproduced except that inverted, turned, or slipped letters are only noted.
- Prose is formatted with line breaks for column format and end-of-line hyphens.
- Verse is formatted with column-format line breaks and approximate indent.
- Dialect (including variant spellings) is reproduced without regularization.
- Ligatures and digraphs are encoded: fi, fl, ff, ffi, ffl, œ, Œ, æ, and Æ.
- Italics, small caps, and roman or italic punctuation is reproduced.
- Relative font size is reproduced (e.g., smaller font for verse and epigraphs).
- Marked type and paper damage, such as partial inking of characters, faintly visible type, or type that has slipped in the forme, is noted.
- Gaps in Barrett copy imprint from ink blots, paper discoloration, paper tears, or paper folds are recorded.

[20] During the process of transcription, text unrecoverable because of paper deterioration or tears, poor inking in the Barrett copy, or type damage was based provisionally on the University of Michigan microfilm or ProQuest microfilm reproduction. These instances of text not based on the Barrett copy were recorded. On the basis of the Moorland-Spingarn copy, I was able to establish text obliterated by paper damage in the Barrett copy or type damage in both copies. By comparing the two copies, I was also able in some cases to distinguish poor inking in the Barrett copy from type damage. The effort to record poor

The following detail is omitted in the *quasi-facsimile transcription*:

- Spacing between letters
- Variation in the amount of leading between lines
- Specific type forms and type variation (although a "roman" type form will be the default)
- Minute type or printing variation, such as slight imperfections that do not obscure the identification of the letterform

In sum, the *quasi-facsimile transcription* provides a high level of typographical detail using the UNICODE character set and XML. The XML conforms to a document type definition (DTD) based on Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) guidelines. The concept of "conformance" to TEI guidelines should not be confused with the accuracy of the transcription, as conformance is unrelated to transcription accuracy. The effort to apply conformant tagging may result in errors being added to the text.[21]

The *normalized transcription* is also based on the documentary authority of the Barrett copy and the Moorland-Spingarn copy, but the normalized transcription also includes a comprehensive editorial effort to correct errors deemed obvious. The *normalized transcription*

inking and type damage in the Barrett copy was not a comprehensive effort to record all instances of partial inking of letters. Poor inking and type damage were recorded only if the reading was doubtful.

[21] The process of adding markup or converting markup from one form to another (PC-CASE to TEI-conformant XML) can introduce error. PC-CASE provides extensive and relatively simple facilities for encoding typographic characteristics. It is much easier to proofread CASE-encoded markup than TEI-encoded markup. The PC-CASE tagging style is quite concise. For example, consider George Harris's phrase "I *won't* bear it."(V: 93):

```
I {iwon}'{it} bear it.
```

In CASE encoding, the start of italics is indicated by `{i`, and the end of italics is indicated by `}`. It is relatively easy to ascertain that the apostrophe is encoded in roman. Compare the same phrase in TEI-conformant XML to record the same typographic features:

```
I <hi rend="italic">won</hi>&apos;<hi rend="italic">t</hi> bear it.
```

The XML markup provides the same information about the typographic dress, but the added explicitness for the TEI-conformant markup—the specification that the highlighted text is to be rendered in italic; the ability to distinguish the apostrophe (`'`) from a closing single quote (`’`)—makes it more difficult for a human to proofread. CASE-encoded text, however, must be converted to another format for online display purposes.

differs from the *quasi-facsimile transcription* as follows: end-of-line hyphenation and column format are silently normalized, and spelling and typesetting errors in non-dialect spelling are corrected. Spelling and end-of-line hyphenation are normalized based on other instances of the same word in the *Era*, similarly hyphenated or unhyphenated compounds, the spelling or hyphenation of the Jewett edition, and editorial judgment for those cases that remain ambiguous. The normalization is close to the practice of the *Era* and only rarely adopts a reading from the Jewett edition, with the exception of some quote marks that lack the expected matching one.[22] For a list of normalizations and hyphenated compounds, see "Editorial Emendation" and "End-of-Line Hyphenated Compounds" in Appendix B. The text is neither modernized nor made consistent. It is recorded as is, though to readers familiar with the Jewett edition it may seem that the newspaper text is modernized.[23] The *normalized transcription* includes the same detail as the *quasi-facsimile transcription*, except the following are also emended:

- Spelling errors (excluding variations in dialect spelling) are emended and noted.
- Obvious punctuation errors (omitted or misplaced quotation marks) are emended and noted.

The *normalized transcription* omits the following detail silently:

- Insignificant end-of-line hyphens in prose
- Insignificant line breaks in verse

In sum, the *normalized transcription* uses the same technology—UNICODE and TEI-conformant XML—to encode typographic detail, and the display provides a reformatted text that is emended conservatively.

An encoded text conforms to the project's document type definition (DTD) in the sense that when a tagged text (XML) is compared to the definition (DTD) using a parser, the markup of the XML text conforms to the definition.

[22] Additional detail on this complex issue is provided in chapter five of this dissertation.

[23] This assertion is explored in more detail in "Editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" on page 52.

The designation of errors and the emendation in the normalized transcription is quite conservative, but the number of editorial emendations for quotation marks and mis-spelled words, as compared with modern reprints of the Jewett edition, is quite large. Emendation is applied for turned letters (*u* for *n*) and typesetting errors in non-dialect forms (for example, *firece* for *fierce*, *ke* for *he*, *snd* for *and*). In the *normalized transcription*, variant spellings remain (for example, *O* and *Oh*). Only insignificant end-of-line hyphenation and prose line breaks are emended silently. The term *normalized* is used in the strict sense defined above to distinguish it from *quasi-facsimile*. Though by the standards of most printed editing projects the end-of-line hyphenation and line breaks can be re-set in a prose text, this project uses the flexibility of TEI markup to provide both. By the standards of some historical editing projects, even spelling and punctuation errors might be emended silently on the basis that readers would not be interested in the correction of obvious errors, but this edition observes the practice more typical of literary editing projects. My use of silent emendation is very limited.[24] The aim of this normalized transcription is to provide a reading text, not one rigidly consistent with itself. Fredson Bowers, whose view is nearly opposite mine, once explained why editors need to apply standards of normalization and regularization to an edited text. He wrote, "In respect to a reading edition, moreover, it is psychologically true that if a system is uniform within a text, the reader will readily adjust to less familiar though recognizable spellings and compoundings. It is inconsistency alone that is troubling" (183). Bowers argued that an editor's duty included hiding inconsequential inconsistency from readers, lest they think the editor careless. This concern has less consequence in an electronic edition. First, readers of an electronic edition have ready access to the image facsimiles, so they can easily check the transcription. Second, it is difficult to distinguish inconsequential details from consequential ones. For example, it is only during the process of

[24] The distinction, which generally separates editors of historical texts from editors of literary texts, is treated in Kline, 157-58. For a condemnation of the practice of silent emendation characteristic of documentary editions, see Tanselle, "The Editing of Historical Documents" (1978).

transcription that I began to believe that the lengths of em dashes in the *Era* text are significant, a subject discussed in chapter 5. Many inconsistencies and irregularities are allowed to stand even in the normalized transcription on a more important principle, that editorial work should not hide the evidence.

The text of the images is not edited, so I do not record discrepancies between the text visible in the facsimile page image and the textual detail that can be recovered by examining the original copy. During detailed examination of the physical copy, folds in the paper can be smoothed to read the text. In addition, a hand-held 60X–100X microscope permits magnification that enables one to identify ink markings nearly invisible to the naked eye. An example of how these principles are applied is found on page 89 of the 5 June 1851 issue of the *Era*. The page has a horizontal fold near the center of the page. In the first column of the facsimile page image, the following line is obscured: "*did* get it. I've trusted him since then with every-" (V: 89). Because of the paper fold in the Barrett copy, all words before "since" are impossible to read in the facsimile image. An examination of the actual physical copy allows one with confidence to read "I've trusted him" (V: 89). I unfolded the paper and examined the line with a hand-held microscope. The phrase "*did* get it."—where the fold has caused the paper to tear—is not recoverable from the Barrett copy. The three words and the period that follows were visible in the microfilm copy, and the reading was confirmed by consulting the Moorland-Spingarn copy. The edition does not record that "I've trusted him" cannot be seen in the facsimile page image because the text is edited based on the original copy, not the facsimile page image. However, the phrase "*did* get it." is recorded in Barrett Copy Paper Damage. The facsimile page images allow a user of this edition to perform an examination of the physical characteristics of the original copy. But facsimile page images are not a substitute for an examination of the original copy or a comparative examination of multiple copies. I have strictly followed the principle that the transcribed text is never corrected based on the examination of images.

The Purpose of This Edition

> "What's in a names? That which we call a rose
> By any other word would smell as sweete."
> Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet* 2.1.85-86
>
> "Rose is a rose is a rose is a rose."
> Stein

While this exercise in textual criticism is an editing project, I insist with Grigely that a "textual consciousness" is "fundamental to reading." I appeal to Bryant's notion of the fluid text with regard to these chapters, but the edition could be viewed as one document represented in multiple forms. My reading of textual theory looks forward to a later iteration of this project that includes representations of multiple documentary forms, including Jewett's edition, but for this editionobserves six principles to describe the relationships between the physical copy and its four edited forms.

1. The *facsimile page images* are a facsimile edition of the Barrett copy designated *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. That is, the set of images is not an ideal version or a representation of the *Era* version but a secondary representation of an extant object that was created to represent the newspaper edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This object was assembled by a reader, not a publisher, and I have not chosen among other issues of the *Era* to create an ideal version.[25] I have accepted as a given that the installments included in the Barrett copy as a self-reflexive object—which includes the three issues that lack installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but includes no issue that precedes the 5 June 1851 installment and no

[25] While the choice to reproduce only the Barrett copy became an editorial principle, the development of the principle was influenced by access and funding. An alternate principle might demand the inclusion of each completed annual volume of the *Era* (which concludes with an index) or the exclusion of the issues that lack installments. I have access to the Barrett copy. The University of Virginia Library provided facilities and funding for digitization, and the library has standards for digitizing bound copies, which I followed. By skipping the drawn-out process of raising funds to examine and photograph multiple copies, this project was completed much more speedily than would otherwise have been possible.

issue that follows the 1 April 1852 installment—can be said to represent Stowe's work in its periodical form.

2. Neither the *quasi-facsimile transcription* nor the *normalized transcription* is an edition of the facsimile page images. Neither transcribed text derives its authority from an examination of the page images.
3. The primary authority for the text records in both the *quasi-facsimile transcription* and the *normalized transcription* is the close examination of the Barrett copy, and the Moorland-Spingarn copy provides authority for those portions of the Barrett copy in which the text cannot be recovered due to paper damage.
4. The secondary authorities for the textual records include the ProQuest digitized UMI copy, the Accessible Archives transcription, and the UMI microfilm copy, though no one of these (or combination of them) provides sufficient authority to modify a textual transcription based on the primary authority.
5. The *normalized transcription* derives its authority from the primary and secondary authorities, from the usual practice of the *Era,* from the 1852 Jewett edition, and from my editorial judgment. When normalizing, I base a small number of emendations on the practice of the Jewett edition (i.e., for broken type or for missing quote marks) or a notion of authorial practice (for hyphenation). The collation of the newspaper text with the Jewett text has served primarily as an aid to identifying errors of this type.[26]

[26] This principle, in practice, means that the permitted editorial judgment can only be exercised carefully by comparing the *Era* text to the Jewett edition. Electronic collation has identified possible additional errors as a supplement to errors identified during original transcription and proofreading. One error that is very difficult to catch is when the *Era* version fails to re-open quotes when dialog resumes after an authorial comment on the speaker's tone or gesture. Were this an edition that attempted to establish a conflated version, it would be a matter of small consequence to state that the quotation marks added to the normalized *Era* version are based on the authority of the Jewett edition. However, I limit my corrections of quotation marks to those cases in which an observant reader might notice a missing quotation mark because

This edition presents the text in multiple forms, but the Barrett copy of the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is the primary authority for the text in both of the transcribed versions and in the photographic facsimiles. Implicit in the clause is an important editorial principle. The transcribed texts are never based on photographic facsimile images: when the text is based on the Barrett copy, it is always based on an examination of the original physical object.

If to the user of the edition the *quasi-facsimile transcription* appears to differ from the text of the *facsimile page image*, the most likely reason for the difference is that the transcribed text is correct because it was established by a detailed examination of the physical object. The photographic reproduction can obscure the text in folds and in gaps due to tears. From my editorial perspective, to correct the transcribed text on the basis of the image is to edit the image, a violation of the first two principles. A second reason for variations between the facsimile and the transcribed text is that type is broken or lightly inked (for example, periods versus commas or colons versus semicolons with tails not printed or lightly printed). An editorial judgment about such marks was made after consulting the two paper copies, usually with the aid of magnification.

There are additional reasons for apparent errors in transcription. Two different copies of the newspaper may vary. The Barrett copy has been compared to a microfilm copy, and text of the newspaper typesetting is recovered by consulting the Moorland-Spingarn copy, but neither comparison process was exhaustive. The electronic edition may also display the text in error because of errors in tagging or tag processing for display. The final cause for errors is the editorial principle that motivated the Pergamanians, the stoic acceptance of the "inevitable corruption of all temporal, earthly phenomena." Like newspapers and computer systems, the editor is an earthly phenomenon.

the quotation does not resume after a narrator's identification of the speaker. This principle is discussed further in Chapter 5

What This Edition Is

I exercise the craft of editing at a particular moment in the history of scholarly editing and electronic publishing. My choices are inextricably bound to available resources, the history and current capabilities of electronic technology, institutional structures at the University of Virginia, and a personal conviction about the importance of this activity at this particular moment. Although I will use the fifth chapter to unpack the significance of electronic text markup on a contemporary notion of text (and I have hinted at it in my definitions of *quasi-facsimile* and *normalized transcriptions*), I will here briefly summarize what I consider to be this work's contribution to the ongoing practice of textual criticism and scholarly editing. I address McGann's schema for "moments" of textual criticism as explicated in *The Beauty of Inflections* (1985) and Shillingsburg's idea of editorial orientations as proposed in *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age* (1996), hereafter *SECA*. Together, these studies designate models toward which an edition prepared at the present time ought to address itself, even to show, as I do here, where practice falls short of ideal aims.

McGann argues that "a procedure in textual criticism," of which this edition is one, must consider three moments: "The Originary Textual Moment," "Secondary Moments of Textual Production and Reproduction," and "The Immediate Moment of Textual Criticism" (82-83). By reading and re-reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in its newspaper material form, I explore the phases of the initial production process. The difficulty of interrogating the serial publication process is rather different from a book, in which deep reading of material forms to unpack production processes has been met with healthy skepticism, notably by D.F. McKenzie.[27] I do not claim that the periodical as an "originary" publication moment offers privileged access to authorial intention. But some observations about authorial intention and its relationship to serial publication form are warranted. In the earliest installments, it seems quite probable that Stowe

[27] See his classic essay, "Printers of the Mind" (1969).

wrote with the periodical audience in mind. After book publication had been planned (announced in the *Era* on 18 September 1851 with the fifteenth of forty-one installments),[28] I surmise that Stowe anticipated book publication and wrote with both audiences in mind. At some point, perhaps as early as mid-February, the composition for the book version was probably well ahead of the serial installments. I believe—based on the study of textual variants—that as early as the weighing of the cotton on Legree's plantation in the 12 February 1852 installment, the *Era* version may represent an authorial reconsideration of the previously composed Jewett text. With respect to McGann's "Secondary Moments," this study attempts little. For such a pervasive cultural intervention as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* during Stowe's lifetime and the twentieth century, I rely on other scholars to imagine these moments. McGann's "Immediate Moment of Textual Criticism" is the general subject of this chapter and the immediate subject of the following section, and I resume this discussion in the fifth chapter.

Even if an editorial project falls under a rubric of McGann's procedure in textual criticism, a scholarly editor can adopt a number of methodological attitudes toward the production of texts and facsimiles for an edition. Shillingsburg's concept of editorial orientations in *SECA* provides a helpful paradigm for locating this edition within its current historical moment. Any editor must consider choices on what to do and what not to do. For scholarly editors, Shillingsburg has described these choices as expressing a "formal orientation," which he says is "a perspective on forms that leads to the selection of one set of formal requirements over another" (16). Of the five editorial orientations in Shillingsburg's schematic definition, three orientations are concerned with the editing of extant physical documents: bibliographical, documentary, and sociological.[29]

[28] "Mrs. Stowe's Story," *National Era* 18 Sep. 1851: 150.
[29] See *Scholarly Editing in the Computer Age* (17-26). I exclude two of Shillingsburg's orientations, agential and aesthetic. The agential orientation involves the construction of inferred archetypes, and the aesthetic orientation involves the production of texts for commercial ends. I have neither orientation, at this moment.

I can briefly describe how this edition addresses the primary concerns of these three orientations. To address the concerns of the bibliographical orientation, which includes the study of "all aspects of the physical forms upon which the linguistic text is written" (Shillingsburg 23), the edition includes iconic facsimiles of the newspaper pages, and this introduction provides a detailed description of the physical object. Shillingsburg's documentary or historical orientation "is founded on a sense of the textual integrity of historical moments and physical forms" (17).[30] The quasi-facsimile transcription addresses the concerns of documentary orientation because it closely reproduces the text of a particular document. Since the quasi-facsimile transcription includes no corrections, the normalized text—which includes the correction of obvious errors—is closer to the usual practice of historical editors. Almost always, then, this edition accepts the authority of others (in the case of the *Era*, copy editors and printers) to modify the author's text. I also depart from a documentary orientation because I use the Moorland-Spingarn copy to correct gaps in the text that result from the material form of the Barrett copy. The photographic facsimiles hew close to the concerns of sociological editors, who in Shillingsburg's schematic definition are interested in texts as cultural artifacts that readers used and thus discourage attempts to correct the text.

This edition is enabled by particular personal and institutional circumstances, and limited by them, but I believe that this edition will serve a wide range of scholarly interests in Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This edition would be impossible had not Clifton Waller Barrett shown the foresight to acquire the copy and donate it to the University of Virginia Library. Nor would it be possible without the institutional support for this project in that library. This project has been possible only though the support, guidance, and training provided by a number of library departments. Individuals are thanked in the acknowledgments section, but the institutional

[30] Shillingsburg adopts the term documentary in the third edition, where he had earlier described the term as historical. The purpose of the revised term was to add the bibliographical orientation, which is associated with D. F. McKenzie. See *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1999).

support of the following library departments made this project possible: Special Collections, Rare Materials Digital Services, the Electronic Text Center, and Digital Research and Instructional Services. The Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities, an independent research unit at the university, also provided crucial assistance.

What This Edition Is Not

This edition is limited by my decision to rely almost entirely on the Barrett object. Despite that limitation, this edition makes a significant contribution to the expanded textual study of Stowe's text. The decision to rely on a single copy is primarily a matter of convenience, but it is in part a function of a bedeviling technological limitation, despite my conviction that the limitation will be overcome, eventually. The technological limitation is that no mechanical collating device is capable of comparing two newspapers of this size. The *Era* cannot be placed in the Hinman Collator, the Lindstrand Comparator, or Hailey's Comet. These collators were designed for books: the *Era* in bound form exceeds the length and width of even a comparatively large book like Samuel Johnson's Dictionary. I carefully compared the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* text of the Barrett copy with the UMI microfilm copy, and I also compared some items with the Moorland-Spingarn copy. The quality of the microfilm copy limits my ability to distinguish variants only to larger changes, and no significant variants were found in the limited examination of the Moorland-Spingarn copy. Future work must include a sight collation between multiple copies of the newspaper. A sight collation that compares digital photographic reproductions may be the most promising technique.[31] Just as I was able to benefit from UMI and Accessible Archives in the preparation of this edition, the images and text prepared for this edition should be able to serve a future edition that includes visual or text collation of multiple copies.

[31] Bibliographer and textual critic Randall McLeod has indicated that one can collate two texts of any size with the aid of no mechanical collating device other than a full-size facsimile reproduction, through a series of eye- and mind-training exercises. As this advice came late in the project, I have deferred pursuing this method of collation in this stage of the project.

I have compared the newspaper version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with the Jewett edition. For the edition, the primary purpose of this collation was to identify errors in the newspaper transcription. The collation also served to assist in the process of identifying errors for correction in the normalized transcription. The text compared to the Barrett transcription in the collation was the University of Virginia Early American Fiction version of the Jewett text, the currently available electronic text that I believe is most accurate. In the following section, I discuss the process by which this determination was made, analyze various print editions and archival resources for the study of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and consider this edition's place among the currently available resources. This is another contribution toward McGann's suggestion that any edition must address the "The Immediate Moment of Textual Criticism."

Modern Editions and Archival Resources for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

By making a newly established text available, this electronic edition supplements the modern print and electronic editions for studying *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in its Jewett edition form and supplements the archival resources for studying the *Era*, though its contribution to the study of the *Era* is quite limited. The print editions, electronic editions and archival resources available to contemporary scholars are numerous, but I have selected for assessment six book reprints of the Jewett edition text, six electronic versions of the Jewett edition, and five archival sources (print, microfilm, electronic) for studying the newspaper. While I am exhaustive neither in addressing the scope of resources available nor in providing a detailed assessment of any one of them, I address a representative set of the most widely available resources. This is the first analysis of its kind on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and it provides essential context for my claim that this edition exceeds previously available resources in the following manners: in making the newspaper text accessible, in the accuracy of its transcription, and in the quality of its reproductions. This analysis shows that previous editors of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have not been aware of bibliographical studies that could have influenced their choices, and many editions have

not been prepared with sufficient accuracy for a careful study of the text. Another purpose of this section is to explain the process by which modernized reprint editions obscure my claim that the *Era* version has a more modern style of typesetting than the Jewett edition text.

The modern reprint versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* should be separated into *editions*, all of which aim to reproduce the 1852 Jewett edition, and *newspaper versions*, which are available as tools to study Stowe's text although *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a side-effect of a larger project to preserve archival reproductions of the *Era*. Some modern print editions are new settings of the Jewett edition or are facsimiles of it, but many modern editions are reprints of previous print editions. All of the electronic versions of the Jewett edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are derived from reprints or image facsimiles of that edition as well. Despite Kirkham's and Winship's identification of variant states of the Jewett edition, no editor of a modern reprint acknowledges the variant states of the Jewett edition in a textual note. The newspaper version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has not been re-set in a carefully proofed modern edition, and so it is only available in original copies or in archival newspaper reproductions of the *Era*. I have been able to locate twenty-three original paper copies of the *Era* version, and I have reviewed a print and a microfilm edition of the newspaper, an electronic microfilm facsimile of the *Era*, two historical newspaper text projects that include searchable transcriptions, and one hand-collation of variants between the newspaper and the Jewett edition. The archival resources are generally unreliable or unwieldy for the serious study of Stowe's newspaper text, and original copies and Kirkham's collation are comparatively inaccessible.

While Kirkham's *The Building of Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1977) has been recognized as an important study of the textual history of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, his important work on the two variant states of the 1852 Jewett edition has been ignored by modern editors. Kirkham's "The First Editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin:* A Bibliographical Study" (1971) noted that both volumes of the Jewett edition appeared in variant states. Some gatherings of the Jewett volumes exist in an uncorrected state and a corrected state. Kirkham's work has been updated by Winship in BAL

(1990), which identifies eighteen variants, to which other scholars have added one more. The most significant of the eighteen BAL variants are the following, with the corrected version first and the variant highlighted with italics: that Aunt Chloe worries about Sally's "vittles *spiled"* rather than her "vittles *spilt*" and shoos away her daughter "*Polly"* instead of "*Mericky"* (I: 42); that Topsy would still be disobedient if her old masters were pulling out every "*spear* o' har" rather than every "*spire* o' har" (II: 92); that St. Clare after Eva's death is a "*hollow* shell" rather than a "*hollowed* shell" (II: 119); that the man who refuses to interfere when Cassy's son is whipped does so on secondhand testimony—"man said *that the man said* that the boy" —rather than firsthand knowledge—"man said <*omitted*> that the boy" (II: 208); that Simon Legree uses *master* in reference to Tom as an adjective—"a gentleman, *master* Tom" rather than as an appositive—"a gentleman *master*, Tom" (II: 196); that Cassy inserts her bottle into the "knot-hole in the garret, *that had opened*" rather than the "knot-hole in the garret" (II: 256); and that W___., the former slave who became deacon in the Baptist church, is "worth twenty thousand dollars, all his own earnings," a phrase that does not appear in the first state of the Jewett edition (II: 320). The nine remaining wording and punctuation changes are minor. The three obvious misspellings and type damage are routinely (though not always) corrected in modern editions: the misspelled *sorel* to *sorrel*, the repair of broken type in *had n<ot>* to *had not*, and the misspelled *cathecism* to *catechism* (I: 50; I: 286; II: 74).[32] BAL, however, does not list the loss of the footnote on page 191 of volume 1, which in the uncorrected state attributed the chapter XII quote on domestic relations to Joel F. Parker.[33]

As no editor of a modern Jewett reprint edition has acknowledged the two variant states indicated by Kirkham's and Winship's work nor has any one of them considered the newspaper text aside from noting that Stowe's work was serialized, I thus consider these reprints and

[32] For the other five, see BAL. I list seventeen here rather than eighteen because the variant identified in BAL as page 209, line 1, is a continuation of the reset text caused by the addition at page 208, line 3 up.
[33] I discuss this quote in chapter 5.

archival resources—whether print, archival, or electronic—on other terms, as tools for study of the Jewett edition. The 1852 book version is worthy of study in its own right, so I consider these reprint editions for their textual reliability, their textual lineage, and the effects of normalization, in its generally accepted editorial sense.[34] I will also use this discussion of modern editions to illuminate my argument that the newspaper text is typeset in a manner that suggests a more modern style of typesetting than the Jewett edition, but to do so I must explain how reprint editions, in their normalization and modernization of the Jewett edition, have created texts that conflate some aspects of the punctuation style of the Jewett text with modern spacing styles for contractions, which happen also to be quite close to the spacing style of the *Era* text.

From the wide range of editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, I have chosen to provide a preliminary assessment of textual accuracy and textual lineage of six printed editions that appear frequently in scholarly citation, in classroom use, or could be expected to soon appear in such venues as they have been issued recently by prominent university presses or textbook publishers. All of these editions are based on—or are derived from a text based on—Jewett's 1852 American edition. I consider these editions: Kenneth Lynn's Harvard edition (1962), Ann Douglas's Penguin Edition (1981), Kathryn Kish Sklar's Library of America (LOA) edition (1991), Elizabeth Ammons's Norton edition (1994), Hedrick's *Oxford Harriet Beecher Stowe Reader* edition (1999), and the 2002 Johnson Oxford edition.[35] This list is intended to be representative but not exhaustive.[36]

Though some of these editions claim to provide an authoritative text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the textual notes do not acknowledge the variant states of the 1852 edition. This is true of

[34] Here I return to Bowers's general sense of normalization and not the specific sense discussed in note 12. His definition of normalization is "imposing an external standard of regularity without the evidence of some specific precedent in the text" (82).
[35] I will use the editor's and publisher's names for convenience in distinguishing among these editions, but only the notes by Lynn, Sklar, and Ammons indicate that they took responsibility for the text. Douglas, Hedrick, and Johnson reprint texts prepared by others.
[36] Elizabeth Ammons and Susan Belasco Smith in the MLA's *Approaches to Teaching* Uncle Tom's Cabin (2000) note that there are " at least a dozen available paperback editions" (7).

editions published after Kirkham's 1971 article on the Jewett edition's variant states (Douglas's Penguin, Sklar's LOA). And it is true of editions published after Winship identified the variants in BAL.[37] Those editions appearing after BAL (Ammons's Norton, Hedrick's Oxford, Johnson's Oxford) also do not mention the two states of the Jewett edition. Based on my examination of the variants noted by Winship in modern reprints, it is clear that it the *uncorrected* first state of Jewett's edition has been most influential in twentieth-century editions.[38] Both Lynn's Harvard edition and Sklar's LOA edition are based on the uncorrected state. Lynn's text of the uncorrected state is also influential because it is considered the standard edition.[39] Although my reading of recent scholarship suggests that the Ammons' Norton edition and Douglas's Penguin edition are cited more frequently, the frequency of citation appears to derive from these later editions' prominence as classroom editions and not from a consideration of textual states. Regardless, Douglas's Penguin edition—later reprinted under the Penguin Classic (1986) imprint—uses Lynn's Harvard text, and Hedrick's *Oxford Harriet Beecher Stowe Reader* (1999) uses Sklar's LOA text ("Note" vii). In sum, Lynn's and Sklar's editions are based on the uncorrected state of Jewett's edition, and Douglas and Hedrick reprint Lynn's and Sklar's texts respectively. Ammons's Norton edition and Johnson's Oxford edition are based on the corrected state of the Jewett edition. But in neither case does a textual note suggest that the editor chose to reprint the later corrected state.[40] However, the primary cause for textual variation among recent editions is not the failure to distinguish bibliographically between variant states.

[37] I exclude Lynn's Harvard (1962) edition because it preceded Kirkham's 1971 work. Though issued in 1991, I count Sklar among the editions prepared before 1990 BAL because of the time it takes to bring an edition to press.

[38] This is not intended as value judgment although editors of Jewett edition reprints would likely have preferred (had they known) to reprint the corrected state while keeping the Joel F. Parker footnote. Errors are not always obvious.

[39] In the MLA *Approaches to Teaching Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin* (2000), Ammons and Belasco report consensus when they state that Lynn's is "considered the standard edition" (7).

[40] According to Ammons' "Note on the Text," she bases her text on "that original 1852 book edition. No editorial changes have been made" (ix). The statement is accurate if one does not distinguish bibliographically between states of the Jewett edition. So Ammons' choice of a later corrected state may be fortuitous rather than deliberate. Johnson's Oxford edition does not include a note on the text.

The major cause for textual variation between editions is the accuracy with which the Jewett edition is transcribed, proofread, and normalized according to contemporary editing standards. Although my notice of a rate of error may be seen as criticism or praise of the editorial work in these editions, I would first acknowledge that these editions do not claim to represent meticulously accurate texts. Second, and more significantly, my assessment is preliminary as I evaluate the accuracy based on a small selection of four pages from the Jewett edition. Finally, I did not mechanically collate multiple versions of these modern reprints, and some of these editions may be available in silently corrected reprints.[41] I chose to test passages with Sam's and Topsy's speech because Stowe's representation of African-American dialects represents a particular challenge during transcription. The four pages are volume I, 116 and 117 (Sam recounting his pursuit of Eliza to the slaves of the Shelby household) and volume II, pages 41 and 42 (Ophelia interrogating Topsy about the stolen ribbon). Those editions that normalize—treating the Jewett edition's spaces before apostrophes in contractions as insignificant—have fewer opportunities for error. If the presence or absence of a space before an apostrophe is always insignificant—or sometimes insignificant, depending on who is editing the text—Ammons's Norton edition has no errors in the four-page sample tested, Johnson's Oxford edition has two errors, Lynn's Harvard edition has three errors, and Douglas's Penguin edition has eight errors.[42]

[41] Modern editions, like their nineteenth-century counterparts, undoubtedly exist in multiple states, but I have chosen to limit this study to a brief assessment rather than a detailed study of textual variations in modern editions. I have been able to identify a number of errors in the UVA EAF text by comparing the entire text to the newspaper version, though it is judged a comparatively accurate text in the analysis below. This work stands as is because of its presumed usefulness as a statistical sampling.

[42] Ammons' Norton edition and Johnson's Oxford edition treat most spaces before apostrophes in contractions as insignificant. Lynn's Harvard edition and Douglas's Penguin edition treats the space before an apostrophe in dialect forms *I 's, you 's,* and *they 's* as significant and space before non-dialect forms as insignificant. While there are significantly more errors in the Penguin edition, the errors do not necessarily match the Harvard edition. But it appears that the corrections were of obvious errors during typesetting based on the Harvard edition and not an additional proofing against an original copy. Were all spaces before contractions in the Jewett edition treated as significant, the Harvard and Penguin editions would have more errors, and the Norton and Oxford editions would have more errors still. A partial explanation for the comparatively high rate of error in the Harvard and Penguin editions as compared to the Norton and Oxford editions is that their additional attempt to record spaces may have led proofreaders to overlook other errors.

Among these, Sklar's Library of America edition is alone in treating all space before apostrophes in contractions as significant, and it does so without error in the sample tested.[43]

The text of the uncorrected state of Jewett's 1852 edition also dominates electronic editions of Stowe's text. Electronic editions include newly prepared texts, reprints of Douglas's Penguin text, and reprints of Sklar's LOA text. [44] Despite the variety of origins, the uncorrected first state of Jewett's 1852 edition is the source text for all six of the prominent electronic editions: the ProQuest/Chadwick-Healey Early American Fiction (EAF, subscription), University of Virginia EAF (free), the University of Virginia Electronic Text Center (UVA E-Text, free), the Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture site (UTC-AC, free), NetLibrary (subscription), and Wright American Fiction, 1851-1875 (Wright, free). The EAF text reproduces the uncorrected state of its source text, an uncorrected copy in the University of Virginia Taylor collection. The UVA E-Text and the UTC-AC electronic texts reproduce the uncorrected state because they are based on Douglas's Penguin edition. The NetLibrary edition reproduces the uncorrected state because it is based on Sklar's LOA text. And the Wright edition reproduces the uncorrected state, probably because it based on the microfilm copy of the uncorrected state.[45]

The newly created electronic editions based on original editions or facsimiles are quite accurate, but those editions based on Douglas's Penguin text have rates of error similar to the source text. The same four pages from the Jewett edition were tested as had been tested for print editions (with normalization again omitted): the EAF text has no errors, the NetLibrary has one,

[43] Sklar's edition is also the only one to provide a list of editorial emendations to the Jewett edition text (528). Sklar and Hedrick (based on Sklar) both leave *sorel* uncorrected (41; 101), but Sklar's correction of *catechism* is returned to *cathecism* in Hedrick's edition (314; 274). Hedrick accepts all eleven of Sklar's corrections based on editorial emendation.

[44] I have limited the electronic editions considered to those associated with prominent university presses, electronic imprints, or recognized scholarly resources for the study of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

[45] The Wright American Fiction site does not specify the source for the text, but it includes microfilm images of the uncorrected state. And the transcribed text uses the same state.

the Wright has two, the UTC-AC site text has seven, and the UVA E-Text has nine.[46] The electronic texts, though they tend to follow the normalization of the edition on which they are based, also add another layer of normalization. They use two hyphens for an em dash and do not differentiate open from closing quotes or italic and roman case in punctuation.[47] In addition to being more accurate than editions based on Douglas's texts, the editions not based on the Penguin text also have other useful features. The EAF edition provides color facsimile pages of the Jewett edition, the Wright American Fiction site provides microfilm facsimiles and a convenient navigation system that can alternate text, images, and Adobe PDF documents, and the NetLibrary version allows electronic annotation.

I have discussed normalization in modern editions to emphasize how the newspaper differs from the 1852 Jewett edition. For readers familiar with a reprint of the Jewett text, especially the Ammons Norton or the Johnson Oxford, this edition's transcriptions may appear to be modernized. The newspaper text is not modernized. The most apt contrast is provided by Sklar's printed Library of America edition. For example, unlike the 1852 Jewett edition, the *Era* version does not precede apostrophes in contractions with spaces nor does it precede an em dash with a comma. The newspaper practice reproduced in this edition's transcriptions may appear to twenty-first century readers familiar with contemporary reprints of nineteenth-century editions as a modernization, but it actually highlights the fact that to contemporary eyes the less formal newspaper punctuation appears more modern whereas the more formal Jewett punctuation seems dated.

By comparison to the Jewett edition, the newspaper text has drawn no attention from editors. Although the popularity of Jewett edition reprints in the university textbook market

[46] I have discussed the two Jewett edition states, the BAL-identified variants, and the errors in the UTC-AC with Stephen Railton, director of the site. He plans to update the site with information on variant Jewett edition states and to correct the errors identified.

provides part of the explanation, another reason for the lack of attention to the newspaper text is that the archival forms in which it has been made available to scholars have troubling limitations. Four archival resources are available for the study of the newspaper text: University Microfilms American Periodicals Series (APS) microfilm, Accessible Archives transcription of the African American Newspapers of the 19th Century, the ProQuest electronic edition of the APS microfilm, and the Negro Universities Press facsimiles of the *National Era*. At least two of the archival resources appear to derive from a single source, the APS microfilm.[48] The UMI microfilm provides the highest quality reproductions, and the ProQuest Electronic Edition of the APS microfilm provides greater convenience of online access but lower quality facsimile reproductions. The Negro Universities Press facsimile is another low-quality facsimile reproduction, though its availability in print form is convenient to scholars. The Accessible Archives newspaper transcription has the most accurate text and the convenience of online access. Unfortunately, very few research libraries provide access to more than two of these archival forms, so most scholars cannot compensate for shortcomings in one form by having access to another form.[49]

Copies of original issues of the *Era* from the period in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was serialized are rare, and my attempts to trace all reported copies in newspaper indexes has revealed that some copies that were reported seven decades ago are no longer extant. Though the *Era* was issued in runs of 15,000 to 19,000 when *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was serialized, I have been able to locate only twenty-three original paper copies of the newspaper that include significant runs of

[47] The NetLibrary version of Sklar's text is unusual in not following Sklar's text. In addition to reducing the typical normalizations of electronic texts, it introduces extensive normalization by omitting most spaces in contractions.

[48] Five libraries are listed as sources for the copies used in the microfilm reproduction: Indiana University, Lilly Library; University of New Hampshire, Dartmouth Library; Cornell University Library; Trinity College, Watkinson Library; Brown University Library; and Providence Public Library.

[49] In defense of libraries, which have limited budgets to purchase collections, most scholars do not notice.

these issues.[50] While the loss of original copies is a serious limitation on detailed study, the use of microfilm, reprints, or electronic editions limits serious study as well. There is first the principle that Tanselle makes about all types of reproduction: "Any reproduction, whether clear or indistinct, must be suspect simply because it is not the ultimate source: documentary texts, like all other artifacts, must be examined first-hand if one is serious about approaching them as historical evidence" (34). While I share Tanselle's view, a more common view is that any archival form or reprint form is suitable for serious study.[51] While Tanselle's insistence may be seen as uncompromising, it is perhaps because many scholars fail to realize that these archival resources have serious flaws.

The archival resources that should be least trusted are transcriptions that use optical character recognition (OCR) technology to acquire the text. An OCR process produces a high rate of errors. The APS Online statement on the OCR process and its rate of accuracy is that the "mid

[50] This list is sorted alphabetically by institution and (when applicable) library name: American Antiquarian Society; Boston Athenæum; Brown University; Bowdoin College Library; Buffalo and Erie County Public Library; Cincinnati Historical Society Library; Cornell University, Kroch Library Rare Books & Manuscripts; Duke University; Harvard University, Houghton Library; Howard University, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center; Library of Congress; Northwestern University, Deering Library; Rutgers University, Alexander and Robeson Libraries (2 copies); Stowe-Day Library; Swarthmore College; University of California, Berkeley; University of Indiana, Lilly Library; Trinity College, Watkinson Library; University of Nebraska, Love Library; University of Virginia, Harrison-Small Library; Wisconsin Historical Society, and Yale University, Beineke and Sterling Memorial Libraries (2 copies). While most of these libraries have a longer run of issues, the Northwestern, Indiana and Virginia copies have only the issues that included *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Whole No. 231–74), and the University of Nebraska, Lincoln has only the 1851 volume year (Whole No. 231-260). To locate copies of these *National Era* issues, I consulted WorldCat, RLIN, James P. Danky's *African-American Newspapers and Periodicals: A National Bibliography*, Edna Brown Titus's *Union List of Serials* (1965), and Winifred Gregory's *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List (1937).* For those listed only in Titus or Gregory, I searched online catalogs and contacted institutions (or their successor organizations) whose catalogs no longer list them as holding paper copies. From the combined list of twelve paper copies (in WorldCat and RLIN), twenty-five paper copies in Gregory, four in Danky, and twelve in Titus, the copies listed above (excluding duplicates and institutions listed as not including significant runs of 1851 or 1852 issues) were confirmed either by an online catalog entry designating the copy as paper or by email contact with librarians. The following institutions confirmed that paper copies were no longer among their holdings: Dartmouth College Library; Montgomery County-Norristown Public Library; Kansas State Historical Society; Nebraska State Historical Society; Public Library of Mount Vernon & Knox County; and Worcester Free Public Library. The Minnesota Historical Society, which charges a fee for all inquiries, was not contacted.

[51] Lilly, who remarks on the lack of attention to the *Era* in studies of Stowe, notes that the newspaper "is now preserved in a variety of archival media," but he provides no cautions about the use of such materials (173-74).

90% range is routine for text, except in cases where the original source material had flaws" ("Digitizing"). If the OCR process for the *Era* is routine and its source was flawless, the APS Online searchable newspaper text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has approximately 35,000 errors.[52] Based on an analysis of two sample installments using the per-character accuracy criterion of APS Online, the Accessible Archives (AA) transcription is approximately 97.5 percent accurate, so it is reasonable to estimate that the AA version of the newspaper text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has approximately 17,500 errors.[53] While the rate of error in the APS Online version would distract readers of a printed edition, search software discards insignificant punctuation. If these archival resources are treated primarily as search tools, they serve a purpose, but they should be used with the caution that searches can often produce inaccurate results. For example, a search for *Topsy* will not return all results in an AA search of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. To retrieve all occurrences of the character's name, search for *Tipsy* as well.

The two remaining archival resources for the study of the newspaper edition are the Negro Universities Press (NUP) facsimiles and Kirkham's hand-collation of the microfilm copy of the newspaper against the Jewett edition. The NUP facsimile reprint of the *Era* is seriously flawed. Its reproductions are reduced in size, its print quality is poor, it provides no provenance information, and its use and interlibrary lending privileges may be restricted due to its size. The physical object, like the bound original, can be awkward to read, and its reproduction quality is poorer than microfilm. From a textual perspective, it is troubling that the address lines that typically appear on the top page of a newspaper issue have been removed, presumably during a

[52] The newspaper text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, excluding heading matter, has approximately 700,000 characters. To calculate the errors in the APS Online text, I assume that its characters are accurate at a rate of 95 percent, although Hockey has cautioned that newspapers are difficult for OCR systems (22). In order to not count as errors those features of the text not judged significant for these archival projects, I exclude ligatures, end-of-line hyphens, and quote marks. I am unable to assess the validity of the accuracy claim because the APS Online does not permit users to access the searchable text. It is unlikely that the source was "flawless" because the source was probably the UMI copy.

[53] To calculate the error rate in AA, I sampled two installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* based on the Folio source text converted to a format suitable for collation. I compared the uncorrected AA text against a text

retouching process.[54] Another archival resource for the study of the newspaper text is the manuscript copy of Kirkham's hand-collation of the microfilm copy of the newspaper with the Jewett edition. The collation does not attempt to record all details. Kirkham, for example, omits punctuation variants that he attributes to house styling. This hand-collation manuscript, held at Ball State, contains useful, though undigested, raw data.[55]

As a research tool for the text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the transcription provided in my edition surpasses the text prepared by AA both in recording more detail and recording the detail with greater accuracy. As compared to a rate of 97.5 percent for AA, this edition has a rate of accuracy that exceeds 99.999 percent while recording significantly more typographical detail. My edition's image reproductions surpass the facsimile versions available on UMI, APS Online, and the NUP edition. However, this edition does not supersede any of them. The AA and APS Online versions remain the only resource for searching the text of the newspaper other than *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Aside from the original paper copies, the microfilm (UMI), digitized microfilm (APS Online), and the NUP edition are the only sources for issues of the newspaper before the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* began and after it was completed.

This is not systematic assessment of the supplementary resources provided in these reprints and archival sources, but a few of these works provide access to a wide range of historical and critical resources. Ammons's Norton edition provides a wide variety of early responses and contemporary criticism in an affordable paperback reprint. Stephen Railton's Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture web site provides an extraordinary range of supplementary historical resources at no cost to users. The ProQuest electronic edition of APS Online, though

that had been collated against the AA text, corrected, and orally proofed against the original. As with APS Online, I exclude features of the text that the AA project does not deem significant.

[54] I thus differ from Robbins, who refers to the NUP edition as "reprinted in unaltered form" (538 n. 37).

[55] According to Kirkham, "When we collated, I was looking for major, authorial changes: words, phrases, paragraphs added, deleted, or changed. I ignored anything that was attributable to house rules" ("Re: UTC and the Natio[n]al Era"). The findings are discussed in the *Building of Uncle Tom's Cabin*, chapter 7, "The Novel and Its Revisions" (165-94) and appendix II, "Negro Dialect" (233-44).

available only by subscription, provides a helpful combination of textual search and electronic image facsimiles for a large number of nineteenth-century periodicals.

The thirteen known manuscript pages of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which I examined only briefly for this edition, have been published both by Kirkham and by the Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture web site. Kirkham's appendix provides a detailed physical description of the leaves that he labeled A-I, which represent 12 pages from the manuscript, as well as a transcription and collation of the manuscript pages against the *Era* (*Building* 197-233). The Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture web site, which includes the leaves transcribed in Kirkham's appendix as well as another leaf (two pages) from the collection of Mary Schlosser, provides facsimile images of the manuscript and parallel transcriptions with which to compare the manuscript with the published text ("Uncle Tom's Manuscript").

One of the convictions of this study is that the examination of original objects can provide insight into the circumstances of their production, so I will here turn to a detailed analysis of the issues of the *Era* in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was serialized. The early portion of this analysis is meant to fulfill an obligation to descriptive bibliography in a textually responsible study, and it also provides crucial evidence that the latter portion of this analysis uses to clarify some disputes among previous scholars on dates of issue. I also attempt to correct the widespread prior assumption that Bailey exercised coercive editorial control over Stowe's work, a thesis advanced first by Kirkham and recently endorsed by Lilly. In general, I argue that the relationship between Stowe's work and the *Era* newspaper is a complex dance of competing aims and constraints, in which no person, material form, or social circumstance can be said to "control" the other. The technique used to perform this analysis is to measure the column space devoted to advertisement, the column space devoted to literary works in the front-page section (called Section I), and the column space devoted to Congressional coverage. I thus provide the important background for the more detailed consideration of the rhetorical interaction between Bailey's promotion of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the reception of the *Era*'s readers in the following chapters.

The Barrett Copy and the *National Era*: A Bibliographical Description

This electronic edition is based on a bibliographic study of original numbers (that is, weekly issues) of the *Era* that included installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.[56] Forty-four newspaper installments are bound between blue cardboard covers. The leather spine of the bound Barrett copy has so deteriorated that both boards can be detached.[57] Each gathering of this "book" is a number of the *Era*. Its first gathering is the 5 June 1851 number, and the final gathering is the 1 April 1852 number. The three *Era* numbers that do not have installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are bound with those forty-one numbers that do include installments. A stenciled title "Uncle Tom's Cabin" on the front board suggests that this item was prepared for the purpose of creating a copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in its newspaper form. The deteriorated leather binding is to be replaced following this project. Most of the numbers in the Barrett copy are addressed to Providence, Rhode Island, and I presume that a collector bound this set from a reader's set of filed numbers. The *Era*'s editor Gamaliel Bailey frequently asks subscribers to return back numbers, so storing back numbers was presumably a common practice among readers.

The standard bibliographic reference system for books is the most convenient method of describing the newspaper. Each weekly number of the *Era* consists of a single sheet folded once, a folio. The sheet is approximately 93.0 cm wide and 64.6 cm high.[58] When folded once, the sheet produces two leaves, four pages 46.5 cm wide and 64.6 cm high. In bibliographical reference, "pages" are defined as the recto (front) and the verso (back) of leaves. For the 5 June 1851 number, the front page, page 89, is designated 1R. Pages 90, 91, and 92 are designated 1V, 2R,

[56] While the term *issue* connotes an issue date when describing the newspaper and is used thus throughout the dissertation, the term issue has a specialized sense in bibliography. So I will throughout this bibliographical description use the term *number* instead. In *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (1949), Bowers provides precise definitions for *issue* and *state* to distinguish between a publisher's alterations of printed sheets for purpose of correction—a different state of sheets, part of the same issue—and for purposes of reissuing sheets in altered form—a different issue (407).

[57] The act of editing this edition has contributed to the deterioration of the current binding. During the course of photographing the pages, the frail back binding became fully detached.

and 2V respectively. For all four pages (1R–2 V), the size of the type page—the area of the page on which matter is printed, excluding margins—is 42.8 X 61.5 cm. Each page has seven 5.9 cm wide columns, and a 2 mm gutter with a solid line separating the columns. The front page of each number (1R) has a 6 cm masthead, and 1V–2 V have a short 1.4 cm masthead. Each page has seven columns, which I designate column a through column g.

While column width of 5.9 cm is consistent on all four pages of a number, the column height varies on each page due to the masthead size on the front page and the publisher information box on 1R, column a. With the shorter 1.4 cm masthead on interior pages (1V and 2R) and the back page (2V), columns on these three pages are 60 cm. Because page 1R has the number's prominent first-page masthead, columns b–g have a height of 55.5 cm. At the top of 1R, column a, the publisher information box is 6 cm high, and it displays the addresses of the *Era*'s office and that of the printer Buell & Blanchard. Column a (excluding the box) has a height of 49.5 cm available for printed matter. Thus, the front page (1R) has 379.5 vertical cm of column space, and pages 1V–2 V have 420 vertical cm vertical space. Each *Era* number, then, has a total of 1639.5 cm of 5.9 cm wide column space.

The *Era*'s internal numbering systems have multiple forms, and some numbering systems are inconsistent over the course of the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. All numbers of the *Era* during this period are designated by a whole number and a masthead date. The whole number series is sequential from the first number in January 1847. The *Era* was issued weekly on Thursday, and each number has its date in the masthead. Each annual series of weekly numbers is designated by a volume number. 1847 numbers are part of Volume I, so 1851 numbers are part of volume V and 1852 numbers are part of volume VI. Each year's final number (except in volumes XI and XII) includes an index to the 52- or 53-number annual volume. Pagination is sequential

[58] Measurements are based on a bound volume. The page edges were cut, and some pages were clearly larger when issued as the address line is severed. Page size is not strictly regular throughout this bound volume. The sheet in the Moorland-Spingarn copy (also bound) is 92.0 cm wide and 46.0 cm high.

for all numbers in the annual volume. The volume-wide numbering systems, continuous volume pagination, and the annual index suggest that a set of annual numbers are suitable for binding into a single volume.

Annual volume numbers and page numbers are complemented by two additional numbering systems when *Uncle Tom's Cabin* begins in June of 1851: a week-of-year designation (weekly issue 1 for first number of annual volume, weekly issue 2 for second number, etc.), and a first-section date two or three days prior to the number date. Both of these numbering systems are discontinued during the course of the run of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The newspaper does not formally designate its first-section matter with a label, so I label it Section I to provide a convenient reference for matter that begins at the top of 1R, column a, and continues through 1R column g or onto one or more columns on 1V, until Section I matter is concluded by a subhead with a date and editorial notices. Editorial notices (when present, almost always) appear immediately at the conclusion of the Section I matter. Editorial announcements are immediately preceded (or are immediately followed) by a line "Washington D. C." and a date, but toward the end of the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* "Business Notices" start to appear above the date for the interior section. The date of the interior page matter, either preceding the editorial announcements or following the business notices (as the case may be), matches the number date in the first-page masthead. Through 11 September 1851, Section I is dated, but Section I dates are discontinued with the 18 September 1851 number (discussed with advertisements below). Through 1851, each week's number includes a week-of-year designation for its place in the annual volume, that is, 1 to 52 (or 53). These week-of-year issue numbers are discontinued in 1852 for volume VI. The Whole Numbers, masthead dates, and page numbers are more consistently accurate than the *Era*'s discontinued week-of-year designation or the chapter numbers in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Though Section I dates were discontinued with the 18 September 1851 number, the *Era* continued to print the latest news in the interior pages and the earlier items on the front and back

pages, and a closer analysis of these dates can help clarify some scholarly disputes on the date on which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was first issued. An inattention to serial publication and Section I dates has led to contentious, and sometimes confusing, disagreements among scholars. In a footnote to "Serialization and the Nature of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," Susan Belasco Smith notes that Jean Fagan Yellin gives the initial date of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s appearance in the *Era* as 3 June 1851, an error that is repeated in the Oxford World's Classics edition ("Note on the Text" xxviii).[59] Yellin is incorrect, and Smith is justified to assert that the number "appeared on 5 June 1851" (87 n. 9). However, in "Juxtaposition and Serendipity: Teaching Periodicals in Nineteenth-Century American Literature" (2002), Belasco states that one can "read the first episode of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the 2 June 1851 *Era*" (92). Section I dates help to clarify the inconsistency between Belasco Smith's two articles. The *Era* number date of 5 June 1851 is the date that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was issued, but the first page matter (1R) was printed earlier and, in this case, appears beneath the earlier date of 2 June. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is (with 2 exceptions, discussed below) published with the first-page matter, which has an earlier date. Although Section I dates in the *Era* were discontinued after the 18 September 1851 number, the outer pages were set into type first. This can be confirmed by examining dates on articles with daily updates and by applying basic bibliographical principles of setting by forme.

The outer forme—front page (1R) and the back page (2V)—was printed earlier than the interior pages, and this is demonstrable in items for which a series of dates is presented, such as Congressional Proceedings or the day-by-day account of the Christiana treason trials. The latest items in a day-by-day sequence are printed on the interior pages, and earlier items are printed on the front and back page of the number. For example, Whole Number 267 of the volume VI series, dated 12 February 1852, has four pages, which are numbered 25–28. Congressional Proceedings for 2–5 February appear on the front page, numbered 25 (1R). Congressional Proceedings for 6–9

[59] The "Note on the Text" also gives the ending date of the serial as 2 April, but it was actually issued with

February appear on page 27, an interior page (2R). The outer forme, which includes page numbers 25 (1 R) and 28 (2V), was set in type and printed first. The inner forme, which includes page numbers 26 (1 V) and 27 (2 R), was printed second. For all numbers that print matter with consecutive dates, the matter printed on inner forme pages has later dates. The system enumerated here may seem inconsistent for the dates of letters from readers, but dates of letters are less reliable than Congressional Proceedings, which occur in Washington D. C., the city in which the *Era* is published. For letters, one must take into account the letter's place of origin, the relative speed of transportation, and the possibility that a letter may not have been printed the week in which it the *Era*'s office received it.

Through the 11 September 1851 number, the Section I dates suggest that matter on the first page of a weekly number is typically set into type three days prior to the masthead's date. I believe for subsequent numbers (that omit Section I dates) that the layout for front and back-page matter had to be set up and ready for printing approximately three days before the interior pages were set into formes. Based on this information, we can gather more about the arrival of installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In the numbers in which no installment of Stowe's story appears (21 August, 30 October, and 18 December), editorial notices state that Stowe missed her deadline for the number (Editorial 134, "Mrs. Stowe' Story" 174, "An Apology" 203). However, on two numbers, 15 January and 29 January, Stowe's story begins in the interior section (2R) of the number. We can infer that for these two numbers Stowe's installment arrived too late to be included in its usual location on the front page. These two installments bring the number of Stowe's "late" installments to five.

The 18 September 1851 number marks a significant visual overhaul of the *National Era*. While Section I dates are discontinued (as noted), the date coincides more importantly with Bailey's announcement that the entire number is set in new type. He announces concomitantly

a 1 April publication date.

that the *Era* in the future would "give up much less space to advertisements" ("New Type" 150). The sense of rejuvenation in Bailey's announcement may in part derive from his recent return from a two-month summer vacation.[60] I analyzed the column space that the *Era* devotes to advertisements, to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and serial fiction generally, and to Congressional politics. And I can demonstrate both that Bailey lived up to his promise to reduce advertisements and that the combination of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the start of the Congressional session diminished the *Era*'s ability to print other contributions in serial fiction. But I will first discuss the type.

Throughout all of these *Era* numbers, there are two type sizes for body text matter. The larger type size is used for articles, letters, editorials, and fiction. The smaller type size is used for poetry and advertisements, but smaller type can also appear in fiction to differentiate epigraphs and verse quotations. When Bailey announces the new type on 18 September, the change is to the larger type size used in articles, letters, editorials, and fiction on the front (1R) and interior pages (1V and 2R). The new type notice is slightly misleading. First, the smaller type used for advertisements, poetry, serial fiction epigraphs, and verse quotations remains the same as before. Second, the new type had actually appeared earlier, but its use had been restricted to a small section of back-page (2V) matter, where old and new type had been mixed for a few weeks. Acknowledging these minor caveats, it is nonetheless true that the exclusive use of new type all through the 18 September issue for articles, letters, editorials, and fiction is a noticeable change. Based on the standard reference for type size, John S. Richardson's "Correlated Type Sizes and Names for the Fifteenth through Twentieth Century" (1990), the larger of the two types used

[60] Bailey announced his departure "for the purpose of recreation" in the 26 June issue, and he announced his return in the 28 August issue ("Absence" V:102; "Return" V:138). On his return, Bailey thanks "Dr. Elder and Mr. Gangewar" for serving in his absence (138). The stand-in editors were Dr. William Elder and Mr. Andrew M. Gangewar, who also would serve when Bailey took a trip to Europe in 1853 (Harrold 155-56).

through 4 September is a roman face in brevier size.[61] The type used for advertisements, poetry, and serial fiction epigraphs and quotations is a roman face in nonpareil size.[62]

In the number that Bailey announces the new type, the letterforms are noticeably sharper and larger, and they have greater contrast between thick and thin lines. Despite its larger size (8.5 points versus 7.8), the sharp lines and serifs create an impression of greater horizontal stress than the older type. The less pronounced hooks on the letters t and e in the new type also contribute to horizontal stress. The clean cut of the new type is especially notable, which suggests that the printer Buell & Blanchard's older types had become worn. Prior to 11 September, the wear was so pronounced that printing ink on the lower-left and lower-right serifs on the letters m, h, n, and k frequently connect. According to Richardson, the new roman face type has a size closer to the United Kingdom designation bourgeois (8.5 points), which is between the U.S. designations brevier (7.94) and bourgeois (8.93).[63] This type is Scotch Roman face, and it probably shows the trans-Atlantic influence of Scottish type designers. The Scotch Roman face, originally designed by the Alexander Wilson foundry, is a "lighter type form" that is considered by type historians as an improvement over earlier roman faces (Updike II: 193).[64] Whether for cut or the new design, the *Era*'s editorial staff seems to have thought well of the new type and thus promoted it in an editorial notice for readers.

[61] A 20-line measure of unleaded type, taken from page 97, column b, is 55 mm, which Richardson translates as a type size of 7.8 pica points. The typical United States designation for this type size is brevier (Johnson 256). Due to the poor quality of the type, I have declined to attempt a more specific identification than the roman class of type.

[62] A 20-line measure of unleaded type, taken from an advertisement on page 96, column f, is 42 mm, which translates into a type size of 5.95 pica points. The typical United States designation for this type size is nonpareil.

[63] A 20-line measure of unleaded type, taken from page 161, column g, is 59 mm, which translates to 8.5 pica points. It has an x-height of 1.4 mm and a base-line to capital-line of 1.9 mm.

[64] In the 21 August 1851issue, an advertisement for the Philadelphia Type and Stereotype Foundry promotes its new Scotch Roman face: "Determined to spare no expense in making their establishment as perfect as possible, they have recently got up a complete set of the justly celebrated *Scotch-cut Letter* from Diamond to English, to which they invite attention" (Advertisement V: 132). Philadelphia was also the *Era*'s source for paper ("An Apology" V: 191).

Installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: The *Era* Responds to the 32nd Congressional Session

On 18 September 1851, fifteen weeks after the serial version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* began, while Stowe is introducing the St. Clare household, the *Era*'s editor Bailey announces that the entire issue is set in new type, that the paper will print fewer advertisements, and that Stowe has arranged for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to be published with Jewett "immediately after it completes its run in the Era," ("New Type" 150). I decided to test whether the newspaper lived up to the editor's word to print less advertising and to see if I could quantify how the opening of the 32nd Congressional Session affected the *Era* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The test is devised to assess whether Bailey's choice to grant permission to have Jewett issue *Uncle Tom's Cabin* before the newspaper serial was complete could have been influenced by limited column space because of the printing of Congressional materials. By analyzing column space bibliographically, I illuminate the transforming influence of Stowe's work as the *Era*—over the course of the serial publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—adjusted the space allowed in its columns for advertisements, for Stowe's work, for other literary works, and for political coverage.

My analysis suggests that the editor Bailey's ability to exercise control and restraint over Stowe's work was more limited than others have previously implied. While the *Era*'s space for advertising has not concerned previous Stowe scholars, an examination of column space provides a context in which to reconsider the assumption that Bailey exercised editorial control over Stowe's work. Through 18 September, advertisements averaged 246 vertical cm per issue. After the "New Type" announcement, advertisements averaged only 115 cm per issue through the remainder of the serial, a reduction of more than fifty percent. The *Era* gained approximately two 60-cm columns of space per issue by reducing the space devoted to advertising. It is tempting to speculate that the added revenue from 4,000 new pre-paid subscribers, who joined during the serial run of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* enabled the reduction in advertising space. Individual subscribers prepaid at $2.00 each while clubs of five or more were offered a discount, but the

aggregate increase in subscribers represented a significant increase in revenue for the paper. The *Era* may have reduced the space devoted to advertising because subscription growth offered an alternative source of revenue. This brief example demonstrates that the *Era*'s material form—its layout—responds to subscription growth, and Stowe's work is widely credited with increasing the size of the *Era*'s subscriber base. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* increased the paper's revenue, and the financial advantage of a larger subscriber base allowed the paper greater latitude in its amount of advertising. To say that Bailey "controlled" the space that the *Era* devoted to advertisements is reductive, and we should approach with similar skepticism the argument that Bailey controlled Stowe's work.

Kirkham offered the first statement of this line of inquiry. He presumes, incorrectly in my view, that Bailey "obviously hoped to have the completed manuscript in hand before he began printing" (69-72). Kirkham's presumption is significantly undercut both by an earlier notice that the serial would run longer than the three installments of Stowe's initial letter and by the nature of serial publication.[65] Had Bailey when the serial began still the idea that Stowe planned a two- or three-installment story, he might have been hoped to have the story in hand. But I think it is unreasonable to believe that Bailey expected to have six or eight installments (roughly equivalent to ten chapters) before beginning the serial. My impression from examining multi-installment letters and serial fiction in the *Era* is that delays were common, so it seems more likely that the paper operated with the expectation that correspondents and contributors would follow up as promised. If they did miss an installment, one practice was to issue an editorial notice inquiring about the author's health. An 18 December editorial notice, when Stowe misses her installment, speculates about her health ("An Apology" V: 203). One scholar who has followed Kirkham's suggestion, Belasco Smith, has provided a hint about the influence of available column space—

[65] The 17 April 1851 editorial notice, printed three weeks before *Uncle Tom's Cabin* starts on 5 June 1851, compares the projected length of Stowe's forthcoming story to the "six or eight numbers" of a story by Martha Russell ("A Word" 62).

"as space in the *Era* dictated"—but she does not explore the suggestion ("Serialization" 74). By describing Kirkham's work as the "standard study," Belasco Smith's hint provides little in the way of corrective for those not attentive to the competing demands of column space in the *Era* (86 n. 2). Others who have followed Belasco Smith's work—notably Thomas Lilly—return to Kirkham's emphasis on Bailey's effort to exert editorial control over Stowe's work.[66] The *Era*'s editorial notices explain that a lack of available column space—especially during the Congressional Session—limits the paper's ability to print correspondence and poetry, and I can quantify the effect of the limited column space on Stowe's work by measuring with a ruler.[67]

I measured and compared the column space for a group of separate concerns: advertising as a percentage of each number's available column space, literature (serial fiction and poetry) as a percentage of Section I and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a percentage of literature in Section I. When these measurements are correlated to the opening of the Congressional session, the comparative measurements provide a fuller description of the complex interaction between *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the *Era*'s other printed materials. Although these measurements may seem artificially exact—for example, the line separating news from letters can be difficult to draw—they are nonetheless a useful tool for comparison. The comparative measurements suggest that Bailey's

[66] A subject of Lilly's dissertation chapter is the editorial reception of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era*. While I am in general agreement that Stowe echoes the concerns of the *Era*'s editor, Lilly accepts too readily that Bailey was able to implement his desire that periodical editors exert "near total control over national literary productivity," a statement that conflates periodical editors' desires and their powers (185). I cannot accept Lilly's notion that Bailey tried to exercise this control over Stowe but was unable to succeed because she had secured copyright, which made him "at least legally bound not to excise, alter, or revise the actual contents of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" (186). Faced with an impasse that I do not believe his evidence fully supports, Lilly reads Bailey's every act as a frustrating and futile attempt to exercise editorial control over *Uncle Tom's Cabin:* "implicit threat to Stowe" (193), "under significant editorial surveillance and restraint," (195) and "context of response manufactured to conventionalize the serial" (195). The grounds for my disagreement with Lilly are explored in more significant depth in the following chapter on Bailey's promotion of Stowe's work in the *Era*.

[67] For example, see the explicit editorial notices on lack of space in the following issues: 25 December 1851 (V: 206) and 1 January 1852 (VI: 2). The notice on Kossuth's lengthy speech in the 18 December issue is similar ("An Apology" V: 203). On 29 January, advice to would-be poets and correspondents is similarly instructive on the *Era*'s selectivity. The editor reminds poets of the *Era*'s policy "to decline all pieces not decidedly better than anything we could write ourselves" and provides a set of advice for correspondents on paper size, clear handwriting, proper punctuation and spelling. The editor explains that

coverage of politics meant that the paper's ability to print fiction had to be reduced, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* demanded an increasing portion of the space that remained for fiction. While Bailey claimed to have reversed his original stance that Stowe's work would not appear in book form until its serial run was complete, the analysis of column space suggests that he may also have been motivated by an unwillingness to sacrifice other items to a degree necessary to provide sufficient space for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to complete its run in the *Era* prior to book publication.

If Bailey was motivated to reduce advertising, it is probably the coverage of the Congressional session, rather than Stowe's work, that placed the greatest demand on the paper's column space. Each issue's coverage of the Congressional session included speeches and daily summaries of the Congressional Record. Bailey drew attention to the demands for official matters in the 11 December issue: "The usual pressure of long official documents at this season of the year leaves small space for communications" ("The Usual Pressure" V: 198). The *Era*'s coverage opened with President Millard Fillmore's address on 4 December, and thenceforth Bailey filled the *Era*'s columns with Congressional coverage. Below are the number of columns demanded by "long official documents" through the end of the serial run of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: Fillmore's address (7 columns), the Congressional Record of daily events (43 columns), speeches by Giddings, Seward, and Rantoul (25 columns), and debates (7 columns). In 18 issues (4 December 1851 through 1 April 1852) with a total of 504 columns, Congressional coverage demanded 82 columns, approximately sixteen percent of the *Era*'s total available column space in these issues.

On one hand, Bailey as the *Era*'s editor had a choice to print what he saw fit. On the other, the *Era*'s coverage of Congress might be viewed as part of Bailey's broader effort to wrest the public printing contract from the Washington D. C. party dailies and to insist on the moral

contributions that do not conform are discarded and are not returned to writers ("To Correspondents" VI: 18).

strength of the antislavery argument.[68] In the 4 December 1851 number that includes Fillmore's address, a portion of which claims that disobeying the Fugitive Slave Law is a threat to Constitutional law, Bailey presses his claim that he should be entitled to the National Government's "public printing" ("To Our Friends" V: 194). Bailey applied for the public printing contract, and the office of Attorney General John J. Crittenden agreed that the law stated that "all notices &c., issuing from any of the Executive Departments shall be published 'in the *two largest papers at the seat of Government having the largest permanent subscription*.' " Bailey argues that the refusal of public printing despite the *Era*'s having the largest circulation of any Washington D. C. weekly has similar motives to the Fillmore administration's enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. In Bailey's view, the administration is willing to "enforce" the Fugitive Slave Law but will not "obey" the law for government printing since "official advertisements" in an antislavery paper would offend the south. Bailey believes it is unlikely that he will gain the printing contract despite the the Attorney General's opinion, but he believes the case of executive department printing contrasts represents a larger principle that applies to the Fillmore administration's approach to the Fugitive Slave Law as well: "anti-slavery men must expect a rigid execution of the law, only when it is *against them*."[69] The *Era*'s coverage of Congressional records and speeches adds moral force to Bailey's argument that the paper deserved the printing contract, and the editor's moral conviction plays no small role in motivating the paper's actions.

[68] Lilly notes this argument for the public printing as well, though he does not draw the connection to Fillmore's address on the Fugitive Slave Law in the same issue (172 n. 20).

[69] In the previous week's number, 27 November, Bailey had derived significant pleasure from pointing out the math that the Washington D. C. dailies used to insist that their circulation exceeded the *Era*'s. Bailey prints circulation figures as reported by the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, which compares the circulation figures of the *Era* with other D.C. papers: the *National Intelligencer*, the *Union*, the *Republic*, and the *Southern Press*. By Bailey's calculation for the largest of these papers, one adds the *Intelligencer*'s daily circulation of 2,088 papers, its tri-weekly circulation of 4,620 papers, and its weekly circulation of 2,322 papers together to get 9,030 subscribers, far fewer than the *Era*'s weekly circulation of 14,500 ("Statistics of Newspapers" V: 190). In order to exceed the *Era*'s weekly circulation purpose of the government printing contract, the *Courier and Enquirer* correspondent multiplies the *Intelligencer*'s daily number circulation by six, multiplies its tri-weekly number circulation by three, and adds the sum to its weekly circulation, for a total of 28,710 papers. Bailey responds that the correspondent conflates "copies"

We can now begin the analysis of column space with three assumptions. First, Bailey had a reason to reduce advertising, to increase column space available for Congressional coverage. Second, the paper had the financial means to do so, which was provided by the sharp increase in the number of subscribers partially in response to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and perhaps in response also to growing antislavery sentiment following the Fugitive Slave Law's passage. Third, the *Era* has a compelling reason to devote a significant amount of space to reporting on national politics, to demonstrate the *Era*'s fitness to disseminate the executive department printing, a contract to which the *Era*'s editor thought his paper was legally entitled. So what happened to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as Congressional Proceedings increasingly demanded a portion of Section I, which was dominated previously by serial fiction?

I divided Section I into "Literary Matter" (poems and fiction) and "Non-Literary Matter," and then I further divided the "Literary Matter" into *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and non-*Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Then I measured the column height devoted for each section. I divided the entire serial version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* into two sections: when Congress is out of session (through 27 November 1851) and when Congress is in session (4 December 1851 through 1 April 1852).

with "subscribers," so by the same logic he could multiply his weekly circulation figures by four to get a monthly circulation of 60,000 subscribers.

Table I : Average Column Height in "Section 1"

	Congress Out of Session 5 Jun. 1851– 27 Nov. 1851 (26 issues)		Congress in Session 4 Dec. 1851 – 1 Apr. 1852 (18 issues)	
	Cm	**Proportion**	**Cm**	**Proportion**
Literary	**296**	**70%**	**195**	**49%**
UTC	127	30% [43% of all Lit]	122	31% [63% of all Lit][70]
Non-*UTC*	169	40%	73	18%
Non-literary	**129**	**30%**	**205**	**51%**
Total	**425**	**100%**	**400**	**100%**

A comparison of the left column and the right column shows that Congressional coverage had an impact on the *Era*'s ability to print literary matter. The amount of literature per issue was reduced from 296 cm to 195 cm per issue, a reduction of almost one-third. But the average installment length of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appears to remain steady at slightly over 2 columns, 140 cm, which translates into 480 lines. Because literature as a whole had been reduced significantly, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a proportion of the paper's total literary matter increased from 43 percent to 63 percent of Section I (See brackets beneath "Proportion").

Although column height of literary matter as a proportion of Section I can indicate a broad trend, the choice of the date on which one trend ends and the other begins can skew the data in one direction or another. Chart I provides an alternative view that averages each set of 4 installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. This chart, in which lines are counted, shows how the *Era* reduced the space for Stowe's work as Congressional Proceedings demanded part of the front page.

[70] The installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that appeared on 15 and 29 January are excluded because Section 1 is defined as the matter that begins on the first page. These two installments—161 cm and 79.5 cm respectively—presumably arrived late. They appear in the interior section of the paper, not in Section 1, as explained in the previous section.

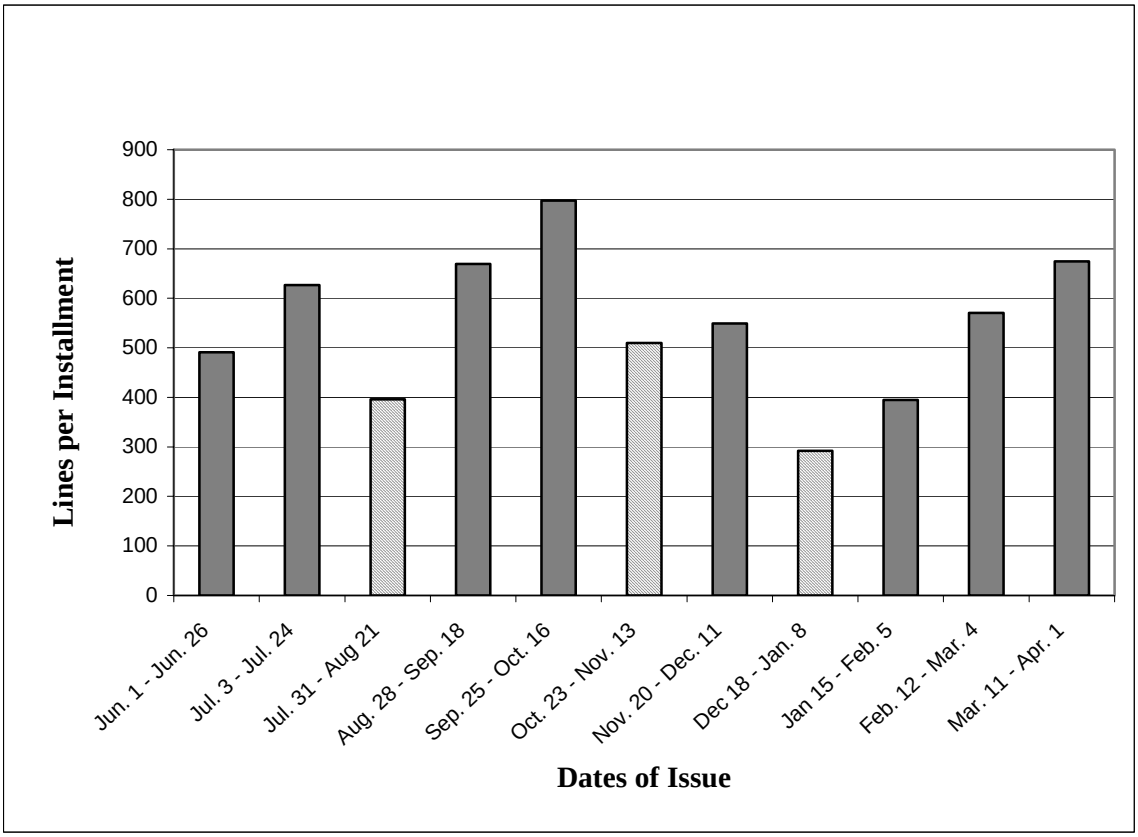

Chart I: Average Number of *UTC* Lines in Four *Era* Numbers[71]

Prior to the opening of the Congressional Session, in the four week period from 25 September through 16 October, four long installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* began with the introduction of Marie St. Clare and concluded with "Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions." These four installments averaged 798 lines. In response to the December opening of the 32nd Congressional Session, the *Era* significantly reduced the amount of space devoted to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, at least in part because Congressional Proceedings demanded a significant amount of space in Section I. During the eight-week period from 18 December 1851 through 5 February 1852, the installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* average only 343 lines. Stowe's missed installments provide

[71] The bars shaded with downward diagonal lines include Stowe's three missed installments (21 August, 30 October, and 18 December 1851) within the 4-number average. The two late installments (15 and 29 January 1852) are included in the 4-number average.

part of the explanation, but the shaded bars show that in earlier sets of installments in 1851—31 July to 21 August and 23 October through 13 November—the *Era* made up most of a missed installment by printing more in the following week. The average installment length increased steadily in the last three four-installment periods. The final bar on the far right of chart I shows the *Era*'s catch-up act that followed the publication of the Jewett edition. The 4-installment average at 674 lines includes the final 1 May installment, which at 935 lines was the longest single installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Although it is a stretch to conclude that Bailey agreed to have Jewett publish *Uncle Tom's Cabin* before the serial run was complete because the *Era* did not have room, previous scholars have too readily assumed that Bailey simply chose how much to print in defiance of the author's wishes. As the following chapter shows, while the *Era* promoted *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and its readers were enthusiastic about it, the editor Bailey had other interests as well. He had a sense of moral duty about the Fugitive Slave Law and possibly a financial incentive to cover Washington D. C. politics, especially if he hoped that the succeeding presidential administration would have been more receptive to his claim for Executive Department printing. If Bailey's financial interest figured into the printing of installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, it must be realized that his financial interest consisted of the ability of Stowe's work to induce new subscribers to sign up and to cause current subscribers to renew.[72] If the *Era*'s ability to feed its readers' interest in Stowe's work coincided with the *Era*'s financial interest at the start of the serial, the amount of space that Stowe's work demanded late in its run (while no longer having as much power to draw new subscribers to the *Era*) was directly in conflict with Bailey's financial and moral incentives to cover Congressional and antislavery politics.

The comparative measurements provide a fuller description of the complex interaction between *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the *Era*'s other matter. Bailey sacrificed advertising revenue for

the subscription revenue that Stowe's work gained. To cover Congress extensively, he had to reduce the space for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but he made up for it at the end. When the serial run ended two weeks after Jewett published, Bailey stated that "With our consent, the Boston publishers issued an edition of five thousand on the 20th of March" ("Uncle Tom's Cabin" VI: 54). While Bailey reversed his stance that Stowe's work would not appear in book form until its serial run was complete, he seemed to be chafing under the layout restraints in the two weeks before the final installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is published, much as he had in late December and early January when the paper was dominated by Congressional coverage. On 18 March, he announced that the *Era*'s files contain "several sketches and tales" ("Our Correspondents" VI: 46). On 25 March, he announced "several contributions of rare value" ("Mrs. Stowe's Story" VI: 50). Both times the notice continues with an explanation that these must wait until the "completion" of Stowe's work (VI: 46; 50). Bailey may have consented for Jewett to publish his edition before *Uncle Tom's Cabin* completed its serial run in the *Era* because he was unwilling to provide sufficient space to complete the serial run in time for the book issue. We must not ignore the fact that this financial sacrifice of advertising suggests the power of Bailey's moral conviction that the *Era* had a responsibility to cover Congressional matters and antislavery politics. But even if our conclusion cannot reach into Bailey's mind to dissect his editorial intentions, we gain a number of possible motivations for the *Era* to limit the space devoted to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

As one of the grounds for this study, I seek to show that attention to the serial publication form can contribute to the contemporary scholarly interest in Stowe's work. I am led by the conviction that textual scholarship and bibliographical analysis of material publication forms reveal a complex web of influences on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a serial publication. However, Stowe's work should not be viewed as typical of newspaper serials. I agree with Winship that the Jewett edition was "unlike anything else that had ever been published in the United States"

[72] The promotion of the serial as a subscriber draw—a process that extended over three months—is

(“ ‘Greatest Book’ ” 309-10). And that is true of the *Era* serial as well. Like Jewett’s edition, the serial version of Stowe’s work benefited both from shrewd marketing and enthusiastic reader responses. In the following chapter, I will extend this analysis to Bailey’s effort to promote Stowe’s serial as a subscription draw and to the *Era* readers’ enthusiasm for it. While Stowe’s work was a sensation when Jewett published it in book form, the sensation was predictable in some measure given the reception of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in the *Era*.

discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 2: The *Era* Promotes and Readers Respond: the Periodical Reception of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

According to Susan Belasco Smith, "To read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* column by column in issue after issue is a very different experience from reading the novel in book form, in part because one is constantly reminded of the presence of the many voices and speakers" ("Serialization" 78). Based on her reading of other stories in the *National Era*'s 5 June 1851 issue, she finds suggestive thematic parallels to Eva's death and Cassy's escape in two of that issues' other stories, and Sarah Robbins performs a similar excavation of the 12 May issue to find parallels for little Harry's clinging to Eliza and for Eva's kissing Uncle Tom.[1] These scholars have shown that the *Era*'s pages are a remarkable resource for enriching our understanding the generic and historical context in which Stowe's work was read as a newspaper story.

The 6 November 1851 issue, the date on which Stowe's installment, Chapter XIX, introduces readers to Topsy, also has remarkably suggestive parallels to themes in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Stowe's protagonist, after Augustine St. Clare purchases him in the 11 September issue, has been shunted into the background while St. Clare, Marie, Miss Ophelia, Adolph, and Dinah are introduced. On 2 October, the story had also turned back to George and Eliza Harris. But if Tom is in the background of Stowe's story, other items in the *Era*'s 6 November issue offer two possible futures for Southern slaves, and they provide alternate views of Uncle Tom's future. One brief story, which is named "Old Tom," describes a slave from Clarke County, Georgia, and he is an "instance of longevity" that is "no fiction" (V: 181).[2] This Tom, whose age is reported at 114 years, shares at least two characteristics with Stowe's fictional character: he is a "professor of

[1] The story that Belasco Smith cites as resembling Eva's death is Patty Lee's "A Reminiscence." A news account of a slave girl who murders her master has parallels to Cassy (79). In the 5 May 1851 issue, according to Robbins, "The Story of a Violet," by Grace Greenwood, "limns in miniature an ideology the *Era*'s readers would soon be seeing reconfigured to include the slave mother Eliza clinging to her son, and the angelic mother-child Eva kissing Uncle Tom. Here, for instance, the refined maternal heroine returns from her European tour with many mementos, but 'the most valuable' had been carried along the entire journey: it was 'a common garden violet, carefully pressed,' under which she had written, ' "a violet from home, which has been kissed by Willie' " (538; *Era* V: 75).

religion," and he "abjured *whiskey* in early life." He also "thinks General Washington was the greatest man that ever lived," which might remind Stowe's readers of the wall hanging of the first president in Uncle Tom's cabin. This man—a living text on the importance of Christianity, temperance, and patriotism—has transcended his status as a slave on the plantation of "*Mass Lemmy*." (V: 181). "Old Tom," whose state of origin is given as Virginia, was presumably sold south to Georgia some years earlier, but his significant parallels to Stowe's fictional Tom may have led the *Era*'s readers to hope that Uncle Tom's religious piety would be rewarded, at least if this nearly mythic portrait of the indigent but contented "Old Tom" is a parallel to Stowe's sentimental fiction.

A political editorial in the same issue offered an alternative future for a slave. In the interior section of the paper, which often featured Bailey's vehement antislavery editorials, the 6 November issue includes a report on a Southern trial in the case of a slave's violent death at his master's hands. The *Era*'s editorial included three parts: a reprinted report on a trial from *Spirit of Jefferson* (a Virginia newspaper), a commentary on the trial's injustice from an *Era* correspondent "J. W.," and an editorial commentary that provided context with which to interpret these two irreconcilable accounts of the "Homicide Case in Clarke County Virginia." James Castleman was accused of beating his slave Lewis to death. Lewis had allegedly stolen alcohol, and he was—according to trial testimony—beaten with a leather strap, "punished severely, but by no means disproportionate to his offence" (V: 178). After the beating, Lewis was made to stand on a box. An iron collar was fastened around his neck, and the collar was suspended from a chain attached to joist above. Lewis was later found dead. Castleman was acquitted on the grounds that Lewis had committed suicide.[3] The *Era*'s analysis of the trial report is tinged with incredulity: "They wish it to appear that he hung himself " (V: 178). The *Era*'s summary is also skeptical of a

[2] The *Era* attributes this reprinted article to the *Temperance Banner*.

physician's report that determined suicide as the cause of death: "We know something of the fallacies and fooleries of such examination" (V: 178). The letter from "J. W.," which is embedded in the *Era*'s editorial commentary, states that even slaveholders were horrified at the sounds from the beating. After they objected to the slaveowner, even Castleman expressed his regret, when he learned that Lewis was innocent of the crime. These somewhat humane slaveholders—the ones who had objected to the beating—communicated their information to the prosecutor, but their testimony was not sought for the trial (V: 178). The editor's concluding commentary might well have come from Stowe's narrator: "The result of the trial shows how irresponsible is the power of a master over his slave, and that whatever security the latter has is to be sought in the humanity of the former, not in the guaranties of law. Against the cruelty of an inhuman master, he really has no safeguard" (V: 178). The readers of Stowe's story had learned of Prue's beating death merely three weeks before. In that issue, St. Clare had voice similar words on the inadequacy of slave law: "If low-minded, brutal people will act like themselves, what am I to do? They have absolute control; they are irresponsible despots; there would be no use in interfering; there is no law that amounts to anything practically, for such a case" (V: 165). If Stowe's readers did not connect *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to the falsely accused Lewis and the cruel slaveholder Castleman, they eventually might have seen it as portentous of Uncle Tom's future, as he will be beaten to death by the cruel Simon Legree.

Though the work of Belasco and Robbins has provided a partial corrective by alerting us to the resonance of some of the *Era*'s other stories, the serial version of Stowe's work is embedded in the newspaper as a material form of publication to a degree seldom acknowledged in current scholarship on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a literary text or a cultural event. This chapter builds on previous examinations of the *Era* and seeks to provide a considerably expanded and

[3] According to those who had engaged in the beating, Lewis expressed his fear that he would be whipped again. He said that he would "cut his throat" rather than suffer again, and those who had whipped Lewis left him alone in the room. When they returned, Lewis had suffocated (V: 178).

corrected account of the serial context of reception for Stowe's work. Following a brief account of Stowe' personal circumstances during the composition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, I provide new evidence which suggests that the *Era*'s promotion of Stowe's work as a subscription draw was quite sophisticated, and I provide a broader account of the reception of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* within the pages of the *Era*. While a contemporary reading of the serial version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is inflected by the subsequent history of the book version, I nonetheless attempt to imagine the *Era* version of Stowe's work as a series of weekly installments, each surrounded both by accounts of people and events of contemporary interest and by works of fiction and poetry, and each read by a large number of readers who brought with them an intimate familiarity with serial publication form.

Newspapers have been cited as influential in Stowe's composition of the work. Joan D. Hedrick's biography describes Stowe's simmering indignation following the passage of The Fugitive Slave Law.[4] According to Hedrick, Stowe responded viscerally to newspaper reports of what seemed like open season on free blacks and fugitive slaves in the northern states. Most scholars, including Hedrick, assume that Stowe began writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin* after 8 January 1851 when her brother Henry Ward Beecher visited her in Brunswick, Maine (Wilson 254).[5] One of Stowe's most important sources was Theodore Dwight Weld's *American Slavery as It Is* (1839), a collection of slavery accounts in which a large portion of the evidence is drawn from accounts printed in southern newspapers.

In Brunswick, Stowe's home life was hectic. Her husband Calvin E. Stowe and her sister Catherine Beecher contributed to the chaos. Calvin had resigned from his position at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati when he accepted an appointment at Bowdoin College. Lane

[4] This discussion of Stowe's home life is indebted to *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Life* (1994), especially chapters 17 and 18 (186-217).

[5] A letter that Stowe wrote to Alexander Milton Ross in 1875, which describes Henry's visit and is reprinted in Ross's *Recollections* (1876), is the basis for this earliest possible date (c.f. Kirkham *Building* 65). The date of the visit is not certain. In his 1969 dissertation, Kirkham questions the exactness of

Seminary requested that he stay on until the college could find a replacement. Just as he agreed to splitting terms between Lane Seminary and Bowdoin College, Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts offered him a chair that included a "handsome salary and a house," which he also accepted (Hedrick 207). To satisfy all three commitments, Stowe taught at Lane in Ohio from November 1850 to March 1851, at Andover during the 1851 winter term, and at Bowdoin during the summer terms (208). As Stowe was writing, her sister Catherine Beecher ran a small school in the house. The Beecher school's term, which began in January 1851, ran for four months. Catherine "was in residence in the fall and winter," and she "assisted by relieving Harriet of household supervision so that she could get on with her book" (221). Catherine may have provided Stowe some respite from the duties of childcare and household chores, but a letter from Stowe's niece Catherine Beecher Perkins suggests that Stowe's sister "maintained her distance in the upper regions of the house" (221). Though Stowe had planned to finish *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by the start of the next Beecher school term in October of 1851, the story was incomplete as Calvin and Harriet departed Brunswick for Andover in February of 1852. When the couple left for Andover, Catherine Beecher remained behind with the care of Calvin and Harriet's children Harriet, Eliza, Henry, Frederick, George, and Charles as well as their nieces Fanny Foote and Catherine (Hedrick 221).[6]

Although Stowe's family presented significant complications during her writing process, members of her family participated in the research for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as well. This story is well told in Kirkham's *Building of Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1977). She drew on the experience of her brother Charles Beecher. He had worked in New Orleans, and he provided information about the city. Stowe's other sources included Josiah Henson's *Life* (1849), Henry Bibb's *Narrative* (1849),

Wilson's date ("Harriet" 179). He suggests early March as a possible starting date (119). In *Building*, he says "sometimes after" (69).

[6] Based on the birth dates provided in White's *The Beecher Sisters*, Stowe's daughters Harriet and Eliza were then sixteen and fifteen, and her sons Henry, Fredrick, George and Charles were thirteen, twelve,

and the experience of her cook, Eliza Buck, who was raised in Virginia, sold to New Orleans, and resold in Kentucky to a man who "was the father of all her children," as Stowe explained in an 1852 letter (reprinted in Kirkham 136-37). As Kirkham, Hedrick, and Stepto have traced the influences on Stowe's composition, I turn to a consideration of the serial publication for which she composed, Bailey's *Era*.[7]

The *Era*'s Subscription Growth and its Promotion of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

Bailey played a role in initiating the work as a serial for his paper: he sent Stowe $100 in January of 1851 with a note urging her to supply material.[8] Historian Stanley Harrold, whose biography *Gamaliel Bailey* (1986) provides an authoritative account of the *Era* and its editor, explains that the relationship between the *Era* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was mutually beneficial. The *Era* gave Stowe's work a large audience from the very first installment. In June 1851, the *Era* advertised a circulation of 15,000 subscribers and was the most widely circulated antislavery newspaper in the United States (Harrold 139). Harrold has attributed the "precipitous rise in the *Era*'s circulation during 1852 and 1853" to the enthusiasm following the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and Bailey's subsequent decision to sign Stowe as a contributor (143). In the 22 January issue, Bailey claimed an audience of almost 18,000 subscribers.[9] When the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ended on 1 April 1852, the *Era* had nearly 19,000 subscribers. The newspaper would reach 28,000 subscribers in 1853, a peak after which it would decline (139). Subscribers in New York, Washington D. C., Boston, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati likely formed

nine, and two respectively (xii). Stowe's son Charley had died on 26 June 1849 while not yet two years old (Hedrick 190).

[7] On Bibb and Douglass, see Stepto.

[8] See Hedrick 206.

[9] Following a letter on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the response, signed "*Ed. Era*," states the following: "On an average, there are probably five readers to one copy; which would give us a weekly audience of near ninety thousand souls" ("Extract of a letter . . . " VI: 16). In all subsequent references to editorial notices or notes in responses to letters, the works cited entries are organized alphabetically by title. Even in cases in which they are signed with the abbreviation "Ed.," they are listed in the primary resources by title as one cannot

a significant portion of the book buyers who helped John P. Jewett, publisher of the 1852 book edition, to sell out the first printing of 5,000 copies in little more than a week.[10]

While the growth of the *Era*'s subscriber list during the serial was remarkable, Bailey had built a successful paper before he serialized Stowe's work. According to Harrold, the *Era*'s success was attributable to Bailey's business acumen, social conscience, and political outlook as well as the strength of the paper's literary contributors. Bailey began publishing the *Era* in Washington D. C. in January of 1847 with the support of Lewis Tappan and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, but "Bailey's independent nature soon led him to take control of the paper" (93). The *Era* began with 8,000 subscribers, a significant portion from Bailey's discontinued Ohio newspaper, the *Herald and Philanthropist* (90). Beginning with this strong base in the Midwest, the *Era* grew rapidly. It "gained five hundred [subscribers] in Maryland and Virginia when it absorbed [Joseph Evans] Snodgrass's *Baltimore Sunday Visitor* in April of 1847" (Harrold *Abolitionists* 142), but most of the *Era*'s growth was attributable to a steady increase in the subscriber list. To reach 15,000 subscribers when Stowe's serial began, the *Era*'s annual subscription growth from 1847 to 1851 had to average close to 20 percent. By 1853, when the *Era* reached 28,000 subscribers, it was "the most widely read purely antislavery newspaper of all time" (*Abolitionists* 142).

Put within the context of raw annual percentage increase in subscribers, the *Era*'s 27 percent increase in subscribers (4,000) during the 10-month serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a marked achievement. Of more significance than the rate of increase, the growth in raw numbers allowed the *Era* to compete briefly with Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* as the nation's preeminent newspaper in the early 1850s (*Gamaliel* 89, 142). Harrold has credited the broader

be certain that Bailey wrote them. The paper had assistant editors, and words spoken by the "editor" are generally given in the possessive pronoun "we."

[10] The *Era* had agents in these cities (see "To Merchants and Businessman" V: 151), and advertisements are predominantly from these cities. A 1 April 1852 editorial notice, probably by Bailey, states that the first printing of 5,000 copies had sold since 20 March ("Uncle Tom's Cabin" V: 54).

literary department as a significant factor in the *Era*'s success (*Gamaliel* 89). But we should perhaps approach the link between the success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the success of the *Era* with more caution.[11] When the annual rate of growth during the serialization of Stowe's work (27 percent) is compared with the average rate of annual growth for the preceding four years (20 percent), it is difficult to distinguish Stowe's contribution to subscriber growth from other factors such as the *Era*'s prominence as a national antislavery paper following the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. In the annual prospectus for 1851, Bailey advertised the following contributions to the "Literary Miscellany" most prominently: regular contributions by poet and corresponding editor John G. Whittier, an exclusive arrangement with Grace Greenwood (pen name for Sarah Jane Clarke), and a forthcoming serial by E. D. E. N. Southworth. Following these, a separate paragraph lists Stowe last among the other named contributors. Her name follows Dr. William Elder, Hon. Henry B. Stanton, Martha Russell, Mary Irving, and Alice and Phoebe Carey ("Prospectus [. . .] Vol. V—1851" 3).[12]

Bailey's paper has also been labeled with the party "Free Soil." While this is accurate prior to the 1848 elections, the *Era* is not closely affiliated with a party when *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is serialized. As historian Harrold explains, Bailey had supported the Liberty Party and the rise of a Free-Soil Party allied with Democrats, but the split of the vote between Democrat Lewis Cass and Free-Soil Party candidate Martin Van Buren in the 1848 election brought Zachary Taylor, a slaveholding Whig, to the presidency. Following the electoral defeat for the antislavery movement, Bailey hoped that a majority party, with the remnants of Free Soil, could be built by drawing support both from northern Whigs and northern and southern antislavery Democrats (144). Bailey's hopes were dashed. In September 1849, New York Free-Soil Barnburners aligned

[11] Thomas Lilly provides an example of a lack of caution. He errs when he states that the "*Era*'s subscribership doubled in the 10 months that the serial ran. (189). Presumably, he compares 15,000, the number of subscribers when the serial began, and 28,000, the number of subscribers when the *Era*'s circulation numbers reached their height in 1853, the year *after* the serial ended.

with Hunker Democrats and abandoned antislavery principles (144-46). The Whig Party was traditionally more reliable for antislavery sentiment in the north, but the *Era* is not a Whig paper. If anything, Bailey had "his own bias in favor of Democratic party principles" (144). Because Bailey was disenchanted with both the Whig and Democratic parties in early 1852, he attempted to "prepare a broad-based party of antislavery men, disaffected Whigs and Democrats, land reformers, and philanthropists, which might gain enough votes to influence the national election" (150). He failed, but he blamed the defeat in the 1852 election on the Whig's choice of a procompromise platform, which "lost their edge in the North and gained nothing in the South" (V: 153). If Bailey is inconsistent in his party loyalties, he nonetheless tried repeatedly to build a movement founded on antislavery sentiment.

Although Bailey could not have anticipated that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* would help propel the *Era*'s subscription growth at the rate that it did, Bailey was a shrewd editor who actively promoted serials because he recognized the contribution that serials made to subscriber growth.[13] Bailey's use of editorial notices to promote Stowe's forthcoming work was extremely effective, and he was aware of a popular serial's potential because he had previously increased his subscriber list between 2,000 and 3,000 by promoting a work by Southworth.[14] The serial publication success of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was neither unpredictable nor unanticipated.

Stowe was known to antebellum periodical readers. Margaret Holbrook Hildreth in *Harriet Beecher Stowe: A Bibliography* (1976) lists 46 "Sketches and Stories" that appeared in

[12] Harrold has noted that the following contributions were also instrumental in the *Era*'s success: William Cullen Bryan, Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Gallagher, and Harriet Martineau (89).

[13] Bailey was not as garish as other newspaper and magazine publishers from the same period, whom Mary Kelley describes in *Private Woman, Public Stage* (1984, 2002). For the 1850s, see, for example, Robert Bonner's relationship with Sara Parton (Fanny Fern) and Henry Peterson and Bonner's relationship with Southworth (20-23). In contrast, Bailey's form of promotion was straightforward and above-board. He was nonetheless effective in increasing the *Era*'s subscriber base.

[14] In the 30 October 1851 issue, the *Era* prints a reminder that bills are enclosed in the papers of some "two or three thousand" subscribers (172). The editor then directly connects the expiration of these subscriptions to the start of a previous serial by E. D. E. N. Southworth: "It will be observed that these subscriptions expire about a month before the close of the volume, having been commenced last year with the beginning

periodicals prior to the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Stowe had received tributes based on her periodical contributions, especially to *Godey's Lady's Book*. The entries on Stowe that Sarah Josepha Hale prepared for *Woman's Record; or, Sketches of all Distinguished Women* (1852) and John S. Hart prepared for *Female Prose Writers of America* (1852) were based on her periodical publications.[15] Because the *Era* was advocating a writer with a reputation within its own pages, editorial notices praised Stowe highly as it promoted the forthcoming serial. Throughout the run of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the paper encouraged readers' enthusiasm by publishing letters of praise for the work and by keeping readers apprised of the forthcoming book publication. As serialization neared its end, Stowe's publisher John P. Jewett and numerous booksellers advertised frequently in the *Era*'s pages.

Bailey was an astute promoter of the connection between Stowe's work and subscriptions.[16] One clever tactic was to provide new subscribers, those who signed up after the serialization began, all back issues that included Stowe's work. Another tactic, which is telling of Bailey's financial interest in maintaining current subscribers, was to remind subscribers that they would miss installments of Stowe's work if they failed to renew. Bailey's inflexible policy for maintaining an annual subscription was payment in advance, so individual subscribers had no choice but to pay the *Era*'s $2.00 annual subscription to continue receiving installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

of a story by Mrs. Southworth. (V: 174). The story was *Hickory Hall: Or The Outcast.; A Romance Of The Blue Ridge* (cf. *Era* 26 Dec. 1851).

[15] Though the entries on Stowe for these laudatory volumes were prepared based on her pre-*Uncle Tom's Cabin* writings, neither appeared in print until after *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published. The preparation of these entries is noted by Hedrick (*Harriet* 198-99).

[16] I have presumed here, for convenience, that Bailey is the predominant voice in editorial notices when he is in the office of the *Era* and that he guides the promotion of Stowe's work. But my practice on citation, as explained in note 9, is to cite by title. He was absent, on summer vacation, from the 3 July 1851 installment through the 28 August. He thanks William Elder and Andrew M. Gangewer for their contributions during his absence ("Return" V: 138). The quality of the paper (especially layout) declines a bit when he is absent. Stowe's work suffers too. A chapter is mis-numbered, the continuation notice is omitted, and the copyright notice disappears.

The editorial notices that precede Stowe's serial suggest a more calculated process of promotion than E. Bruce Kirkham's standard account in the *Building of Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1977) suggests. The editorial notices complement Stowe's oft-noted 9 March 1851 letter to Bailey. In the letter, Stowe describes the anticipated "story" as "a series of sketches" and predicts that the "thing may extend through three or four numbers. It will be ready in two or three weeks" (reprinted in Kirkham 66-67). The "may" suggests that Stowe was uncertain about the length, but Stowe's commitment to finish soon seems clear enough. While the delay may have allowed Stowe time to advance her story, I believe that the *Era*'s delay of the initial installment was related primarily to Bailey's interest in promoting the new serial as a subscription draw.

Through a series of editorial notices, the *Era* fans readers' interest in Stowe's forthcoming serial and keeps them well informed about its status. The *Era*'s first notice, issued on 17 April 1851, calls into question those accounts of the serial which suggest that Bailey was exasperated by Stowe's delay. Kirkham refers to a delay between Stowe's 9 March 1851 letter and the *Era*'s 8 May editorial notice: "it was not until May 8 that Bailey inserted the following notice in the *Era*" (69). Kirkham draws attention to the discrepancy between Stowe's 9 March letter's predictions—that the story would be "ready in two or three weeks" (66)—and the 5 June appearance of the first serial installment. And he implies that the delay would have been troubling to Bailey (69-72).[17] But the *Era* offers significant evidence to counter the claim that Bailey was

[17] Kirkham's primary evidence is the one-month delay between an 8 May notice that announced the title *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (discussed below) and the 5 June start of the serial. He speculates that the delay could have been related to Stowe's attempt to secure copyright (70). No subsequent study of the serial has questioned this portion of Kirkham's account. Belasco Smith calls Kirkham's book the "standard study of the writing, serialization, and publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" (86 n. 2). Robbins also refers to the 8 May notice as the work's "starting point" in the paper (538). Lilly cites Kirkham's account of Stowe's attempt to gain copyright when he notes the "one-month delay between the initial announcement of the serial and its June 5th appearance" (186). Kirkham's language to describe Bailey's attitude toward Stowe implies that the editor was exasperated with her delays. He suggests that by 22 May Bailey "obviously hoped to have the completed manuscript in hand." (72). By 29 May, Bailey "apparently despaired of gettting the manuscript in before he started" (72). I place greater significance on Bailey's effort to promote the work in order to increase the *Era*'s subscription list, which is in the paper's financial interest and is a more likely cause for the delayed start of the serial. The title of Stowe's work was entered on 12 May 1851 in the Maine records in the Library of Congress (Winship "Greatest Book" 328). Given the *Era*'s 17 April

not aware of the story's increasing length. Under the heading "A Word or Two to Our Subscribers," a little over a month after the date of Stowe's letter, Bailey begins his promotional efforts for Stowe's forthcoming story. He indicates the expected length of Stowe's unnamed story:

> We have on hand a story by MARTHA RUSSELL, ever welcome to our readers, which will run through six or eight numbers of the *Era*; and Mrs. H. B. Stowe, whose writings are so well known and appreciated that we need say not one word about them, is engaged in preparing another story for us, of similar length. (V: 62)

The story's projected length, by its comparison to Russell's story, has at least doubled from the "three or four numbers" in Stowe's letter to six or eight. Bailey must have received further communication from Stowe following the original letter. In the first part of this notice, Bailey reminds his readers of the *Era*'s commitment to literature: "Probably it costs the *National Era* more than any other American newspaper to provide for its literary miscellany" (V: 62).The language that the notice uses to describe Stowe's progress—"engaged in preparing"—does not suggest a work near completion, and the high compliment—"whose writings are so well known and appreciated that we need not say one word about them"—is the first of the editorial puffs that would characterize subsequent notices.

Three weeks later, in the 8 May 1851 issue, "A New Story by Mrs. Stowe" is a brief notice that is the first to include a title for the serial:

> Week after next we propose to commence in the *Era*, the publication of a new story by Mrs. H. B. Stowe, the title of which will be, "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN, OR THE MAN THAT WAS A THING." It will probably be of the length of the Tale by Mrs. Southworth, entitled Retribution. (V: 74)

notice and Winship's definitive evidence that the title was entered on 12 May, Kirkham's surmise about copyright delay has no evidentiary support. The *Era* may also provide corroborating evidence about copyright approval. From 5 June 1851 to 14 August, the *Era*'s copyright notice preceding *Uncle Tom's Cabin* reads "Copyright Secured by the Author." No copyright notice appears on three installments, from 28 August to 11 September. When copyright notice resumes on 18 September, the notice is different: "Copyright Secured According to Law." However, the changed copyright notice may reflect, as Winship reports, that the arrangements for book publication had been concluded in September (318). The Jewett edition has the following copyright notice: "Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1851, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Maine."

This notice is the only appearance of the earlier subtitle *the Man that Was a Thing* in the *Era*: the subtitle that appears with the first installment is *Life Among the Lowly*. This editorial notice increases the length of the forthcoming story to more than triple that which Stowe had indicated in her 9 March letter. Southworth's *Retribution*, to which Stowe's story is compared, had run for fourteen issues. The notice continues into a second paragraph:

> Mrs. Stowe is one of the most gifted and popular of American writers. We announce her story in advance, that none of our subscribers, through neglect to renew their subscriptions, may lose the beginning of it, and that those who desire to read the production as it may appear in successive numbers of the *Era*, may send us their names in season. (V: 74)

The editorial puff connects subscription status to both the beginning and to the continuation of Stowe's story. The notice is calculated to promote Stowe's work as a subscription draw. In the 15 May issue of the *Era*, the notice is repeated: "Week after next [. . .]" ("A New Story"V: 78). The reprint of the same notice appears to push off the date of the initial installment for one week.

The following week, in the 22 May issue, a new notice absolves Stowe of guilt for the delay: "The first two chapters have been received, but we shall not be able to begin their publication till week after next" ("Mrs. Stowe's Story" V: 82). Again on 29 May a brief notice dutifully reminds readers about the delay: "MRS. STOWE'S NEW STORY.—The first chapter will appear next week" (V: 86). Although no explanation is given for the delay in starting the serial after the first two chapters were received, a possibility, if one considers the paper's financial interests, is that the editor viewed the delay as an opportunity to press for more subscribers. The final two notices on Stowe's forthcoming work are accompanied by reminders of annual payment terms and addresses to "Subscribers about to renew [. . .]" (V: 82; V: 86). The duly announced delays allow the *Era* to extend its effort to build the subscription list in anticipation of the start of

Stowe's work.[18] As the 22 and 29 May editorial notices had promised, chapters I and II appeared in the 5 June issue.

As I indicated at the beginning of this chapter, the *Era* provides a surfeit of material with the potential to inflect the reading of the serial version of Stowe's text. For example, consider how the 8 May subtitle *The Man that Was a Thing,* which is not revised until the 5 June issue appeared, might have inflected a reading of Stowe's first installment. The two opening chapters provide a marvelously nuanced set of observations on the usefulness of abstraction to disguise the truth about slavery. Haley uses the blunt power of the words *thing* and *nigger* to dismiss Tom's religion: "Yes, I consider religion a valeyable thing in a nigger [. . .]" (V: 89).[19] Haley also uses *thing* as a useful abstraction for the act of destroying families. To smooth the process of separating little Harry from his mother Eliza, Haley recommends that the "thing's done quickly." He explains the difference between "these critters" and "white folks": "they gets over things." Haley apologizes for not being able to "do things up" like other traders because he dislikes trade that damages the articles: "It's always best to do the humane thing." Haley's preference for the word is picked up by Shelby, but he turns it derisively on Haley: "It's a happy thing to be satisfied." When Haley departs, Shelby recalls Elisha's prophecy of the destruction of Israel and its people, including women and children: "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?"[20]

[18] Thus, I disagree with Harrold's assertion that "because he [Bailey] had been unaware of the length of the serial, he had not realized the profits from it he might have if he had been able to advertise it in advance" (*Gamaliel* 143). I contend that *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s length beyond the announced 14 installments was unlikely to have enabled Bailey to attract more subscribers, especially, as I discuss next, since part of the process for building the subscription list included sending back issues to subscribers who join after the serial begins.

[19] In the *Era*, two chapters of Stowe's work can easily fit on one page if the installment starts in the upper left-hand corner. Therefore, I will only include page numbers with the initial citation from an installment. I will also include page numbers when an intallment crosses the page break, as it does in twelve cases. See Appendix A.

[20] Elisha replies to Hazael in the second book of Kings, chapter 8. After informing Hazael that that Ben-hadad, the king of Syria, will die, Elisha weeps. In response to Hazael's question "Why weepeth thou?" the prophet's reply summarizes "the evil that thou wilt do to the children of Israel: their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, their young men wilt thou slay with sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child." (*Holy Bible*). I cite Noah Webster's 1833 Durie and Peck edition, which among the Bibles that I have examined seems most closely to match Stowe's usage.

To the narrator, the slave can be called a *thing* because the "law considers all these human beings, with beating hearts and living affections, only as so many *things* belonging to a master (VI: 89). The second chapter, which also appears in the first installment, continues the theme as George Harris is "in the eye of the law not a man, but a thing." But George's "natural language," his eye and brow, "showed too plainly that the man could not become a thing." Although the subtitle *The Man that Was a Thing* is a foot note for readers of the book version, readers of the *Era* version who were guided by expectations from the earlier announcement may have allowed the discarded subtitle to exercise considerable influence on the reading of the 5 June 1851 installment.

The Reception of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era*

Although editorial notices that appeared before the *beginning* of the story would have inflected its reception in the serial publication environment, the particular issues of the *Era* in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was serialized offer a detailed record of the reception of Stowe's work in serial form. I read this record of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s reception (in letters, editorial notices, and advertisements) to supplement and clarify three useful studies on the reception of Stowe's work within its serial context: Hedrick's "Parlor Literature: Harriet Beecher Stowe and the Question of 'Great Women Artists' " (1992), Harrold's *Gamaliel Bailey*, and Sarah Robbins's "Gendering the History of Antislavery Narrative" (1997). Hedrick reads from personal letters and from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to construct Stowe's domestic audience as including male and female, old and young, family members and domestic servants.[21] Harrold interprets Bailey's attempt to use the national antislavery audience for his paper to foment political reform. Robbins offers an important reminder in her account of the *Era*'s mixed-gender audiences: "[T]hough we sometimes oversimplify the position of middle-class women's writing nineteenth-century American culture by imagining their audiences to have been exclusively female, studies of parlor

culture, of particular families' reading habits, and of specific periodicals' content show that white males were part of the readership for these texts—if only through indirect consumption by way of conversations with their wives, mothers, and siblings" (537). The material form of the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* clarifies the intersecting and diverging aims of the author and the newspaper. In each issue, the newspaper enacts itself and Stowe's story on physical pages, and these pages reveal much about the reception of Stowe's work in its original publication context.

In "Parlor Literature," Hedrick describes the antebellum parlor as "Several generations of men, women, children, servants, and boarders typically gathered in the warmest room of the house to exchange tidbits of news, knit in rocking chairs, and warm themselves by the fire or stove" (278-79). Hedrick distinguishes the more informal American parlor, this "prosaic room" of the antebellum period, from the Victorian parlor (278 n. 10).[22] In the final installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1 May 1852), Stowe's closing address to readers figures the *Era*'s audience as an intimate gathering, a "circle of friends" within "pleasant family circles" (VI: 53). The address is a necessary social formality: she "cannot leave them without a farewell." Stowe and her readers' weekly meetings embed the act of reading the newspaper within a domestic space. Though Stowe figures her story's readers as inhabiting the domestic parlor, the full title of the venue in which they read the story, *The National Era,* points to the American nation as a larger space.

In the editor's vision of the paper, the newspaper occupies a rhetorical and geographic space in the national debate over slavery. Bailey attempts to define a rhetorical middle ground in which he believes a broad political consensus can be established, one not possible with more extreme abolitionist views. While Bailey is keenly aware of national political dynamics, it is also helpful to think of Bailey's audience in terms of his subscribers. While Bailey may have had

[21] For an account of an interaction between female authorship, the *Era*'s audience, and the larger cultural trend toward women in the roles of both authors and teachers, which Robbins defines with the genre of "domestic didactics," see 536-41.

[22] The latter was a "vehicle for display and a venue in which the middle-class woman exercised her increasingly important function as a consumer" (279).

some hope that he could encourage antislavery sentiment among Democrats in the South, southern Democrats are a small part of the *Era*'s audience. The newspaper's national audience, according to Harrold, is divided into three major geographic sections: the Old Northwest (Midwest), the North, and, marginally, the South. Approximately half of the subscribers were from the Midwest, a third from New York, most of the remainder in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and some in the South (139). These sectional divisions are further refined according to the perceived support for slavery in these diverse regions. As Bailey's original *Philanthropist* subscriber list was concentrated in Cincinnati, Ohio, the *Era* addresses states north of Washington D. C. and the Midwest as the core regions of antislavery support. When Bailey addresses Southern readers, he focuses on border states between the North and South—Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky—where antislavery opinion is presumed to be more malleable. Though the *Era* had at best a small subscriber base in the South, what Bailey on 13 November 1851 described as "a considerable number of subscribers scattered throughout all the States of the South," the *Era* was viewed with alarm by pro-slavery interests ("Postmaster" 182).[23]

The *Era*'s sense of audience is reflected in the final 1 April 1852 installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In Chapter XLIV, "Concluding Remarks," Stowe addresses a southern audience as a select group of like-minded but geographically "scattered" people: "To you, generous, noble-minded men and women of the South . . ." (V: 53). These Southerners, social peers of the fictional Mrs. Shelby and St. Clare, have no particularized geographic location. When Stowe addresses the audiences of the North and Midwest, she addresses individualized (though stereotyped) members of the middle class from specific regions: "Farmers of Massachusetts, of

[23] According to "Postmaster at Eufaula," which appeared on 13 November 1851, the *Era* exchanged with "about two hundred newspapers in the slaveholding States" (182). Bailey also exerted influence in other ways. The presence of the *Era*'s office in the nation's capital led to mob violence directed at the paper and to the formation of the rival *Southern Press* to promote slavery interests (Harrold *Abolitionists* 143). Furthermore, Bailey "served as a role model and mentor" for southern antislavery journalists including "John C. Vaughan and his successors as editors of the *Louisville Examiner* [and] Thomas C. Connolly of the Leesburg, Virginia *Chronicle*" (142–144). The "*Times* of Montgomery, Alabama warned its readers

New Hampshire, of Vermont, of Connecticut [. . . .] generous sailors and ship-owners of Maine [. . . .] Brave and generous men of New York, farmers of rich and joyous Ohio, and ye of the wide prairie States." Although by this date the book version has been issued, the *Era*'s sense of audience still inflects Stowe's work. Stowe's choice of geographic areas is hardly accidental. The location of subscribers and the *Era*'s agents and advertisers reinforce Stowe's choices. The *Era* has no agents or advertisers, and few subscribers, in southern states.

Within the pages of the *Era*, the letters, editorial notices, and advertisements on Stowe's work are numerous, and they help to round out Stowe's and Bailey's idealized audience of readers. From the brief editorial notice that Stowe's "new story opens this week on our first page" on 1 June 1851 ("Mrs. Stowe's New . . ." V: 90) to the announcement that "Mrs. Stowe has at last brought her great work to a close" ("Uncle Tom's Cabin" V: 54) on 1 April 1852, the *Era* prints seven letters or extracts from longer letters praising *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, two letters and one editorial address to Stowe requesting information about book publication, two editorial notices that report on comments from letters received, nine bookseller and publisher advertisements for the Jewett edition, and thirteen additional editorial notices or comments related to Stowe's work.[24]

I trace the progress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a serial text and divide the letters and editorial notices into three major conceptual sets.[25] The earliest letters, from July through October, pick up on the praise of Stowe in Bailey's promotional announcements and express a marked enthusiasm for the work. Beginning in late October, the letters anticipate book publication with simultaneous excitement and anxiety. The excitement is expressed as a desire to

that Bailey's ability to attract a southern audience 'is furnishing the axe which is to cleave your heads and dismember the very cord of national existence' " (*Abolitionists* 142).

[24] Of these thirteen additional notices, two remark on the number of letters of praise received; four explain that the current serial installment was either not received or was received late; one informs that Stowe has arranged to publish with Jewett; four connect subscription status to the receipt of Stowe's work; and two promise that the *Era* will print new contributions following the completion of Stowe's work.

[25] Kirkham and Belasco Smith have noted many of these letters and editorials, but neither has offered a scheme with which these responses and notices could be grouped.

purchase the book or to imagine its publication form. The anxiety concerns the approaching end of the 1851 volume of the *Era*, which readers fear might result in a premature or hasty end to Stowe's story. Following reassurance from the editor and the beginning of the 1852 annual volume, the *Era* through letters, editorial notices, and advertisements enters its third stage of reception. The paper celebrates itself for printing the work, anticipates book publication, passes through a period of weary resignation as the end of the serial drags past the appearance of the Jewett edition, and ends with a celebration of Stowe's contribution to the antislavery cause. Although these themes characterize relatively distinct periods of reception, my purpose is to highlight general characteristics and not to suggest that these periods form rigidly divided periods. To a significant extent, the periods intersect. For example, the arc of initial enthusiasm is in its decline as the anxiety about a premature end increases. As serialization ends, new anxiety about Stowe's further contributions to the *Era* surfaces in the editorial note that the work has concluded. I recount the reception within the pages of the *Era* to expose ways in which periodical publication format may have inflected the earliest readings of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The two longest printed letters and a letter by the correspondent Grace Greenwood demonstrate the enthusiasm with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was read in the paper. The earliest letter, which is dated is 1 July 1851, is in the 17 July issue. The latest chapter to which the reader could refer is Chapter V, "Showing the Feelings of Living Property on changing Owners," which appeared as the fourth installment on 26 June. Placed beneath the headline "A Word of Commendation," the letter is addressed to the editor:

> SIR: "Uncle Tom's Cabin" increases in interest and pathos with each successive number. None of thy numerous contributors, rich and varied as they have been, have so deeply interested thy female readers of this vicinity as this story of Mrs. Stowe has thus far done, and promises to do. (V: 116)

This issue of the *Era* in which this letter is printed includes Chapter XVII, "The Mother's Struggle," in which Eliza crosses the Ohio on the ice. After praising Mrs. Shelby and "the case of Eliza and her boy," the writer asserts that Stowe's work is "peculiarly calculated to enlist the

moral and religious sympathies, and call to action the latent energies of the female heart." The writer encloses payment for a 3-month subscription to the *Era* for an enclosed list of 21 "ladies." By purchasing trial subscriptions, the writer probably improved the chance that her letter would be chosen for publication. She echoes the message of editorial notices from the three preceding issues. The notices—"Close of the First Half" on 26 June and "To New Subscribers" on 3 July and 10 July—had promised that all new subscribers to the *Era* would receive back issues from the commencement of Stowe's story (V: 102; V: 106; V: 110). The *Era*'s ability to extend the "start" of the serialization for new subscribers is astonishing. Readers who subscribed in mid-July would receive, in addition to the 24 July installment that printed Chapter IX, "In which it appears that a Senator is but a man," the seven previous weekly issues. The 10 July notice that the *Era* would send back issues with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appears a full nine weeks after the 8 May notice that the serialization would begin in two weeks. The *Era*'s new subscribers were nonetheless sent Stowe's work from the beginning of its serial run.

While the majority of the *Era*'s subscribers would have read Bailey's early announcements of Stowe's story and would have been able to read each installment as it appeared on a weekly basis, the practice of sending back issues to new subscribers means that "serial reception" could describe a variety of situations. The *Era*'s new subscribers may not have read the editor's puffs or the earlier subtitle. For subscribers who joined in July, the "beginning" of the serial might well have meant sitting down with a stack of weekly issues to catch up in anticipation of the following week's issue.

On 28 August, six weeks after the *Era* printed "A Word of Commendation," another letter inquires whether *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is "to be published in book or pamphlet form," describes the serial as "the best thing ever published," and requests "a half-dozen copies whenever published in either form" ("Is not *Uncle Tom's Cabin* [. . .]" V: 138). This letter, although it is also an expression of enthusiasm, marks the beginning of the second stage of reception in the *Era*, a concern with book publication. At this point, with no word from the

author, book publication is by no means certain, despite the editor's brief response: "It will be published, we doubt not" (V: 138). The editor attempts to reassure readers, but many of the paper's correspondents apparently shared the same concern. In the next issue, an editorial notice describes the "letters by every mail" inquiring about book publication and requests information from the author about the date of publication ("Uncle Tom's Cabin" V: 142). The matter of book publication is resolved rather speedily, while the initial enthusiasm is still growing. Three weeks later, on 18 September, a notice reports that Stowe has "engaged" with Jewett of Boston and that the work "will be corrected, complete, from the press, immediately after its close in the *Era*" ("Mrs. Stowe's" V: 150). On this week, the *Era*'s installment, which includes Chapter XV, "Of Tom's new master, and various other matters," is accompanied by a revised notice that copyright is "Secured According to Law" (149). *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is far from complete, but the readers' enthusiasm approaches dizzying heights.

In two letters in October of 1851, one by *Era* correspondent Greenwood and one by a writer signed "G.," the enthusiasm for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is so profound that its eventual status as a best seller seems quite promising. The first, by Greenwood, is dated 22 September. As it appears in the 2 October issue, the latest chapter that Greenwood could have read before writing her letter is Chapter XVI, "Tom's Mistress and Her Opinions." Greenwood offers unqualified praise of Stowe's work, which she reports, "among the friends of the 'Era,' " is "read with pleasant smiles and gushes of irrepressible tears" ("Letter from Grace Greenwood" 158). After noting the absence of her own contributions to the *Era* in recent weeks, Greenwood contrasts herself to Stowe. She is the "chorus-singer looking out from the side-scenes, while the Prima Donna stands in front." In her closing paragraph, Greenwood, in marked contrast to the stance of ironic observer that she usually cultivates, reaches toward images of the sublime to provide sufficiently high praise for Stowe's work. Because she "consecrate[s] genius to a just, but unpopular cause," her sacrifice has its reward: "It comes in an almost miraculous increase of

power—in the deepening of sentiment, and the exaltation of passion—in the concentration, the mastery of thought—and in glorious renewal of the beautiful first enthusiasm of life" (V: 158).

Four weeks later, 30 October issue lacks an installment because Stowe's chapter had arrived late.[26] A correspondent "G." recommends a recent scene as a "good subject for a painting":

> It is that where Uncle Tom is discovered seated in his loft over the stable, "containing a bed, a chair, and a small, rough stand, where lay Tom's Bible and Hymn-book" intently engaged over the slate, with Eva peeping over his shoulder, "each one equally earnest, and about equally ignorant," yet both engaged in the mysteries of pot-hooks and hangers, trying to write a letter to Chloe and "the chil'en"—the golden-haired sinless child, and the dark-browed single-minded Tom. (V: 175)

G. recommends that the painting be "executed in the style in which the grammatical Foy used to do his horse-shoing," and he suggests further that the scene "might be engraved as a suitable embellishment to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' when it shall be published in book form." An advertisement appears to confirm that the moment of book publication is fast approaching. In this issue, Jewett, Proctor and Worthington, a new Cleveland publisher, bookseller, and stationer, prints the first advertisement for the book version. The new bookseller accepts "all orders from the West" for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (V: 176).

Imagine a family that has followed Stowe's story with interest has just received the 30 October 1851 issue of the *Era*. In the previous three installments, the St. Clare household and Miss Ophelia have been sketched, and George Harris has exhibited his mettle in "The Freeman's Defence." If an older child complains that there is no installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a parent might share the editorial notice which explains that the "nineteenth chapter of Mrs. Stowe's Story did not reach us till the morning of the day on which the *Era* goes to press" (V: 176). If this midwestern family decides to place an order for the book with Jewett, Proctor and Worthington, when could the family expect to receive it? Many narrative threads are unresolved: Tom has sent

[26] The paper printed an editorial notice, which began "Stowe's Story Late . . . " (V: 174).

a letter to the Shelby's, all of the characters in the St. Clare household (save Topsy) have been introduced, and Marks, if not Loker, is presumably still in pursuit of George and Eliza Harris. In retrospect, or from the perspective of a reader of the Jewett edition, the second volume has just opened, one chapter is complete, and one is just past the mid-point of the story. While they lamented the lack of a serial installment in the 30 October issue, the *Era*'s readers had no way of knowing that twenty-one installments were still to come.

The act of reading the serial was far different from the experience that Samuel Otter describes in the recent *Cambridge Companion to Harriet Beecher Stowe* (2004). He emphasizes the point at which the Jewett edition splits the volumes: "Ophelia is at the center of the book. The two chapters that bridge the end of the first and the beginning of the second volume, Chapters XVIII and XIX, are both titled 'Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions' " (24). Otter's argument is inextricably bound to the material form of the two-volume Jewett edition. In the serial, "Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions" was one chapter split between two installments (9 October and 16 October), and "St. Clare's History and Opinions," which is a separate chapter in the serial version (16 October and 23 October), does not appear as a chapter division in the book version. Stowe's work as a serial has no "center" until one can with reasonable certainty predict the distance to (and in serial terms, the time until) the end. On 30 October 1851, readers of the serial had to think in other terms, and it is well to consider these terms before continuing inexorably toward the deaths of Eva, St. Clare, and Tom.

Our imaginary family of readers might well have believed that external evidence suggested the serialization would end soon. The Cleveland bookseller associated with Stowe's publisher is taking orders for the book version, the story has run much longer than originally promised, and the annual volume of the *Era* will close in December. At the beginning of the serial, the length of Stowe's story had been estimated as the length of Southworth's *Retribution*, which had run approximately 4 months. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had already run 19 installments, almost 5 months. Since the close of the 1851 annual volume is two months away and since the

paper had advertised forthcoming serials in the prospectus to previous annual volumes (Southworth for 1851), it seems reasonable to infer that the paper might be putting pressure on Stowe to wrap up her story shortly. A week later, with the introduction of Topsy in the 6 November installment, the story—rather than winding down—seems either to be returning to its beginning (Topsy's dance as an echo of Harry's in the first installment) or heading toward catastrophe.

The family of readers is imaginary, but the *Era*'s readers were anxious that the story would end prematurely. Their anxiety is reflected in letters to the editor. In the 13 November issue, the first chapter returns readers to "Kentuck" and Aunt Chloe's poetry for poultry while in the following chapter they are warned that Eva is destined for death: "Even so, beloved Eva! fair star of thy dwelling! Thou art passing away, but they that love thee dearest know it not" (V: 185). The *Era* also prints a letter from "J. D. L." that voices readers' concerns in its first sentence: "Please signify to Mrs. Stowe that it will be quite agreeable to the wishes of very many of the readers of the Era for her not to hurry through 'Uncle Tom' " ("Please signify . . . " V: 183). The editor prints a note at the bottom to assure readers that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* will not end prematurely: "When Mrs. Stowe commenced her admirable story, we did not suppose, nor did she, that it would run though so many numbers as it has already done. She will take good care not 'to hurry through it,' but will complete what has been so well begun" (V: 183). Two weeks later, on 27 November, an editorial notice reports on renewing subscribers' enthusiasm:

> Our subscribers in renewing their subscriptions are unanimous in their praise of this admirable production. They are not anxious to see it closed very soon. "We hope," says one, "she will not be in a hurry to finish it;" and another prays that ["]she may keep it going all the winter" ("Uncle Tom's Cabin" V: 190).

The enthusiasm of the readers, and Bailey's earlier assurance that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* will continue into the 1852 annual volume, appears to resolve readers' fears that the forthcoming book publication or the end of the *Era*'s annual volume might result in a premature end, so I use this point to mark another shift in the reception of Stowe's serial work. The letters that follow begin

the process of celebrating *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and its contribution to the antislavery cause, a celebration that the editor will join in the final 1 May installment.

On 1 January 1852 the *Era* begins its sixth annual volume, and the date marks a significant turning point in Stowe's story and its reception. In the serial, chapter XVII is split into two installments. In the first half of the chapter, in the 25 December 1951 issue, Uncle Tom's emancipation seems near. In the second half of the chapter, in the 1 January 1852 issue, St. Clare dies. Tom's hope is eliminated, and the serial and turns irrevocably toward his final descent. In the issue in which St. Clare dies, an editorial notice that remarks on readers' letters provides a marked contrast. It describes the "hundreds of warm, hearty, [*sic*.] compliments paid her in our letters" ("Mrs. Stowe's Story" VI: 2). In the same notice the *Era* also prints a part of a letter from across the Atlantic, by *New York Anti-Slavery Standard* correspondent Richard D. Webb, who "anticipate[s] great popularity for the book when completed" (VI: 2).

Three more letters are printed in January issues, and what led to their being printed as opposed to one of the "hundreds" of others seems to be a shared ability, in brief space, to praise both the *Era* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The letters pre-date the serial installment with St. Clare's death. On 22 January, two letters appear, both praising the *Era* and Stowe, one dated 15 December from a teacher in Fulton, New York, and one undated letter from Kentucky. The teacher says,

> Weekly, as the *Era* arrives, our family, consisting of twelve individuals, is called together to listen to the reading of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." This, probably, is all the comment necessary on the acceptability of Mrs. Stowe as a writer. The other matter contained in your paper is also *very* acceptable. It is really refreshing, after the labors of the week [. . .] to sit down Friday evening to peruse your excellent paper. ("Extract from a letter [. . .] " VI: 16)

The letter from Kentucky is crisp in its praise of both: "The *National Era* is the best paper in the Union; and '*Uncle Tom's Cabin*,' for length, breadth, finish, and furniture, goes ahead of all Cabins" ("The National Era is [. . .]" VI: 16). On 29 January, a letter from "S. E. M." in Illinois,

dated 29 December, repeats the praise of Stowe's work and suggests its influence on antislavery feeling:

> Anti-Slavery sentiments are gaining ground rapidly among all classes in this vicinity; and your paper is also growing into favor among intelligent persons who are as yet not political Abolitionists.
>
> The story of Mrs. Stowe, "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*," is read with interest by persons heretofore violently opposed to everything of an Anti-Slavery nature, and is more or less enlisting their sympathies and removing their prejudices, more especially among the young. ("To the Editor [. . .]" VI: 20)

Allowing for the lapse between when these letters were written and when they appear in the *Era*, the reader's response to Stowe's work is suspended with Tom in the St. Clare household in New Orleans. With the 29 January issue, letters of response from readers cease until after the serial is complete.

Tom's descent to Legree's plantation and to his inevitable death have no counterpoint of letters from readers expressing their enthusiasm for the work. A period of resignation sets in, both in Stowe's work and in the *Era*'s acknowledgment that the serial run will soon end. Though an installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appears weekly for five issues from 5 February through 4 March, not a single letter, editorial notice, or advertisement mentions Stowe or *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. When Bailey's 18 and 25 March editorial notices again mention Stowe, the *Era* is moving on and promoting future attractions in the newspaper. Its earlier enthusiasm for Stowe's work subsides into resignation as the serial version can no longer attract subscribers, especially when the Jewett edition becomes available two weeks before the run in the *Era* concludes. On 18 March, an editorial notice appeals to "Our Correspondents" for patience: "We have on hand several sketches and tales, accepted and filed away for publication. After the completion of Mr. Stowe's story, their authors will hear from us" (VI: 46). A week later the editorial notice "Mrs. Stowe's Story" seems relieved to promise that "The last chapter of this story will appear in the *Era* of next week" (VI: 50). The editor again promotes forthcoming "contributions of rare value." If letters of praise are no longer printed and editorial notices appear to be concerned only with

getting the work completed, Boston and Cleveland booksellers take up the process of promoting the book version.

On 11 March, the *Era* prints Chapter XXVIII and a portion of chapter XXXIX, "The Martyr" as well as the second Jewett advertisement for the book (VI: 44). The installment concludes with Tom's defiant answer to Legree's query about the escape of Cassy and Emmeline: "I know, mass'r, but I can't tell anything—I can die" (VI: 41). For installments that appear the following week (18 March) and all remaining issues, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is available in book form, and the columns are peppered with notices from Jewett and booksellers (Advertisement VI: 47, 51[2], 52, 55[2], 56). Jewett advertises the book as available on 20 March, but two other notices announce that it will also be available on 18 March in the Washington D. C. *Era* office as well as in the Boston office of *Era* agent G. W. Light.

When the serial run of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ended on 1 April 1852, Bailey's editorial notice recapitulates the themes that have characterized the reception from the start: initial enthusiasm, antislavery celebration, and excitement mixed with anxiety. The cause of the new enthusiasm is the stunning sales of the book publication: "With our consent, the Boston publishers issued an edition of five thousand on the 20th of March, but it has already been exhausted, and another edition of five thousand has appeared" ("Uncle Tom's Cabin" V: 54). The celebration and excitement is for the *Era*'s contribution to the success of Stowe's work: "We do not recollect any production of an American writer that has excited more profound and general interest. Since the commencement of its publication in our columns, we have received literally thousands of testimonials from our renewing subscribers, to its unsurpassed ability" (V: 54). An anxiety about Stowe's future contributions is mixed with a celebration of their shared antislavery cause: "We hope that this grand work of fiction may not be the last service to be rendered by Mrs. Stowe to the cause of Freedom, through the columns of the *National Era*" (V: 54).

The effort to re-contextualize *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a work of a particular historical moment and in the newspaper's particular material form shows that the *Era* provides significant

evidence about changing attitudes as Stowe's work was promoted, celebrated, and generated anxiety over the course of its serial publication. The next chapter explores the shifting contours of public and private spheres during the period of serial publication. I illuminate the power that sentiment was believed to hold in a Connecticut legislative debate and a Cuban bond scheme, both of which also have oblique but suggestive connections to Stowe's work as well. Furthermore, I explore a metaphor that has been overlooked by readers of Stowe's work in book form, the newspaper. Stowe's engagement with material publication form, the newspaper as an object whose metaphorical purpose in the fiction is to divide the male reader from the domestic sphere, creates a moment of considerable emotional resonance for a reader of her work in its newspaper form.

Chapter 3: Sentiment in the Public Sphere

> I know nothing of the "*politics*" of the ladies, or of their sharing sentiments upon slavery; but I know or learn they have a *woman's heart*, highly cultivated, and alive to every appeal of human want or woe, and exert an influence corresponding to the commanding position they occupy in society. ("A Word of Commendation" V: 116)

The quote above is from the first published reader response to the serial version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which appeared in the *National Era* only six weeks after the first installment 5 June. When the writer disclaims knowledge of the ladies' sentiments about antislavery politics, she rhetorically invokes separate spheres to detach Stowe's work from political discussions of slavery in the newspaper. The writer remarks that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is especially interesting to female readers: "None of thy numerous contributors, rich and varied as they have been, have so deeply interested thy female readers of this vicinity as this story of Mrs. Stowe has thus far done, and promises to do" (V: 116). Based on the letter's 1 July date, at the time of writing the reader had yet to encounter Senator and Mrs. Burr (Bird in Jewett edition), Rachel Halliday, or the St. Clare family. Nonetheless, the writer's attitude toward separate male and female spheres and the importance of sentiment in the female domestic sphere is commonplace for the period and for the *Era*'s readers.

In the past few decades, discussions of sentiment and separate male and female spheres have become commonplace in scholarly discourse on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as well. For scholars of nineteenth-century American literature, history, and cultural studies, these related notions of *spheres, domesticity,* and *sentiment* or *sympathy* have been some of the main areas of cross-disciplinary engagement. Despite a recent trend to question the concept of separate spheres,[1] the model of separate spheres can be usefully, if cautiously, applied to the *Era* as a material publication form. By attending to Stowe's engagement with the newspaper as a metaphor within her fiction, to the deployment of sentiment in the male public realm, and to the act of reading

Uncle Tom's Cabin in its material newspaper form, I reconsider the sophistication with which Stowe advocates for political power of sentimentalism and resists the confinement of her story to the female domestic sphere of sentimental fiction.

Given that Stowe originally composed *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for publication in a newspaper, it is not surprising that Stowe uses the newspaper as an important metaphor within her fiction. But Stowe's work in contemporary criticism is read almost exclusively as a book, and perhaps becuase of the form in which it is read critics have not been sensitive to the sophistication with which Stowe deploys the newspaper metaphor. The act of reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in its newspaper form enriches the resonance of Stowe's metaphor. The newspaper as material object functions as a symbolic boundary for the separation of male readers from the domestic sphere. And Stowe's work exploits the newspaper's power as a symbol for engagement with the public sphere. More importantly, the work in its *Era* form deploys both material form and symbolic value simultaneously. Stowe's work actively promotes the interaction between a newspaper's symbolic meaning within her fiction and the *Era* as a publication medium to expand the concerns of the domestic sphere and to confound, at least rhetorically, all attempts to limit the power of sentimentalism to domestic concerns.

During the feminist revaluation of the 1970s, domesticity was discussed in two competing formulations. In one, which drew on the popular discourse of the mid-nineteenth century, home is primarily a retreat from the public sphere. Women, separated in a domestic space, were restricted to exercising moral and religious influence over male members of their family. Barbara Welter viewed this model of oppressive domesticity as confining women into the physical space of the home and as excluding them from economic activities and political

[1] The command "no more" is applied to it in the titles of two recent essay collections. See Elbert; Davidson and Hatcher.

concerns.[2] Welter's prevalent view in the mid-1970s and early 1980s was challenged in Jane Tompkins' landmark essay "Sentimental Power," which used Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to suggest the most ambitious reformulation possible. Tompkins claimed that Stowe's aim was no less than to argue that woman's and especially the mother's moral and religious influence over her family would lead to a transformation of the entire public sphere, including government and commerce. The Christian transformation of society in Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Tompkins argued, is the "most dazzling exemplar" of a "myth that gave women the central position of power and authority in the culture" (125). While I draw on Tompkins's influential concept of "sentimental power" and agree that Stowe intended a radical transformation of society, I focus attention on the forms of sentimental transformation that are pronounced in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a newspaper object.[3]

As the term *spheres* has diverse applications in contemporary critical discourse, my use of it most closely resembles the sense advanced by historian Mary P. Ryan in "Gender and Public Access: Women's Politics in Nineteenth-Century America" (1992), a reconsideration of Jürgen Habermas's concept of public spheres. Ryan, in an important synthesis of previous work, argues that the lives of American women in the period from the 1830s to the Civil War were marked by a transition in roles.[4] In the early part of the period, the "proliferation of publics—convened around concrete, localized, and sometimes 'special' interests—also opened up new political possibilities for women" (269). Female Moral Reform Societies, which campaigned against male sexual immorality and achieved concrete political results in changes to some state laws, were one

[2] For domesticity as stifling confinement, see "Cult of True Womanhood: 1800-1860" 21-42. For "separate spheres" in literary history, see Baym and Kelley.

[3] "Sentimental Power" is the title of the fifth chapter of *Sensational Designs*. In this highly influential analysis of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Tompkins argues that Stowe's seeming conservatism, placing power in the home, is meant to foment a "radical transformation of her society. The brilliance of the strategy is that it puts the central affirmations of a culture into the service of a vision that would destroy the present economic and social institutions; by resting her case, absolutely, on the saving power of Christian love and on the sanctity of motherhood and family, Stowe relocates the center of power in American life, placing it not in the government, nor in the courts of law, nor in the factories, nor in the marketplace, but in the kitchen" (145).

public venue in which women acted to transform society (272). By 1850, female participation in moral reform movements had retreated from public venues into the "secluded domains" of churches, family visits, and the home (272). The home at mid-century, however, is not the same home as it had been in decades previous. In Ryan's words, the return to the home at mid-century "expanded and engendered a realm that bourgeois political theory regarded as the uncontaminated wellspring of civic virtue" (273). Ryan thus offers a model by which Stowe's expansion of the domestic sphere is not solely a literary conceit. The emphasis on home is thus itself a form of political engagement.

Separate Spheres and the Material Form of the *Era*

Just as Ryan shows that the concept of the mid-century home presents a complication for the neat binary between the male public and the female domestic sphere, the *Era* as a newspaper form presents complications by what some critics see as its scattering of sentimental fiction and poetry alongside political stories and editorials. Both Susan Belasco Smith and Barbara Hochman have noted that the *Era* did not have a separate literary section and thus intermingled sentimental fiction and poetry. Belasco Smith describes the newspaper's "polyphonic nature," and Hochman has contrasted the *Era* with other papers that printed literary texts in a separate section.[5] Even readers of the serial who suggest that literature was fundamental to the *Era*'s project because it appeared on the front page, such as Robbins, nonetheless acknowledge the paper's mixing of genres on an individual page.[6] While these three critics have the basic sense correct, they have

[4] For the public sphere, see Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962).
[5] According to Belasco Smith, "[o]n a mechanical level, one is simply struck by the number of other texts that compete for attention on the pages of the newspaper. And in the case of the *National Era*, a newspaper specifically designed to include imaginative literature, aesthetic and political materials inhabit the same space" (78-79). Hochman argues that the "place of literature in the *Era* was unusual" (145). Whereas other papers printed poetry and fiction in a separate section on the last page, "the fiction and poetry of the *Era* was not separated from the news in a clearly labeled column at the back; it was interlaced with readers' letters, congressional debates, political speeches, and news reports" (145).
[6] Robbins describes the importance of the position of Stowe's story on the front page, but she immediately turns to the mixing of genres: "Evidently expecting that Stowe's slavery narrative would appeal to the

overemphasized the randomness with which the newspaper's sections are organized. I believe a more careful discrimination between types of content in the *Era*'s Literary Department or Literary Miscellany is necessary.[7]

Poetry and sentimental fiction should be distinguished from one another. And this is more than a matter of broad distinctions between literary forms. To the *Era*, both the paper's financial interest and the exigencies of page layout suggest important distinctions between the two forms. As I argued in the previous chapter, sentimental fiction played an important role in the effort to build the *Era*'s subscriber list and thus was connected directly to the paper's revenue. Bailey promoted individual works of serial fiction as a subscription draw, but he did not promote poetry in this manner. Sentimental fiction also fills significantly more column space than poetry. An installment from a work of sentimental fiction usually fills at least two columns, which is approximately forty column inches. Poetry requires far fewer column inches. It is printed in a smaller font than prose, so it is rare for a poem to demand even half of a column. Unlike multi-installment sentimental fiction, which generally appears on the first page of an issue, poetry is scattered throughout the paper, including in the interior sections. A reader receiving an issue of the *Era* could expect a work of sentimental fiction on the first page, often in the first column. Like other stories in the genre, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* usually appears on the first page of each weekly issue.[8] Other sentimental fiction that runs concurrently with Stowe's *Uncle Tom's*

newspaper's readership, the *National Era* often printed her successive installments in the prominent position of the front page's upper left-hand corner. Maintaining an established practice of including at least one domestic story, and sometimes two, on the front page, Bailey continued to place *Uncle Tom's Cabin* next to journalistic and argumentative pieces. While this repeated conjoining of women's fictional pieces with more straightforward reporting and editorializing was common practice for the paper, it may well have affirmed Stowe's impulse to blend the domestic, the historical, and the political" (539).

[7] The designations Literary Department and Literary Miscellany do not appear in individual issues of the *Era* as rigidly proscribed sectional divisions. However, Bailey's annual prospectus distinguishes between the newspaper's various types of content. In the *Era*'s annual prospectus for 1851, sentimental fiction and poetry are part of the Literary Miscellany, and Stowe is listed among the contributors ("Prospectus [. . .] Volume V" V: 3). In the annual prospectus for 1852, the literary contributions are described as the Literary Department ("Prospectus [. . .] Sixth Volume" V: 203).

[8] Stowe's story begins on the first page in 39 of its 41 installments. The two exceptions, as noted previously, are the 15 January 1852 and the 29 January 1852 issues.

Cabin—Patty Lee's "Ill-Starred," Grace Greenwood's "Darkened Casement" and its sequel "Dora's Children," and Mary Irving's "Be Patient"—also begin on the first page of the issue.[9]

If we can distinguish the function of poetry and sentimental fiction in the *Era*, it is also important to note the location within the material text of the *Era*'s political editorials, most of which, though unsigned, were written by Bailey, as the end-of-year indexes indicate. Political editorials appear immediately following the opening of the interior section, which begins with the small column-width headline "Washington D. C.," the date, and a brief group of editorial notes. The editorial notices draw attention to certain stories, notify subscribers of their subscription status, or promote forthcoming fiction. In the 18 March 1852 issue, the editor justifies his long political editorials: "We make no apology for the long editorial we inflict this week. The times demand it" ("We make [. . .]" VI: 46). A little below this notice, on the same page, a brief note addressed to "Our Correspondents"anticipates the end of Stowe's serial (VI: 46). Bailey's four-column editorial on the same page examines the "Democratic Party and Slavery."[10] This issue conforms to expectations. The interior of the paper is dominated by the concerns of the male-dominated public sphere. It is in these pages of the issue that Bailey usually writes editorials about the antislavery cause, comments on the antislavery policies of political parties, and prints market reports. The following week, 25 March, political news dominates the paper and pushes all sentimental fiction (except Stowe) off of the front page. On the front page of the 25 March issue, a column of Congressional Proceedings is followed by another column reporting from a public meeting on "negro stealers" who captured a "free colored girl" Rachel Parker from the home of

[9] "Ill-Starred" appeared in nine installments from 17 July through 9 October 1851. "Darkened Casement" and its sequel "Dora's Children" appeared in four installments from 15 May through 12 June 1851. "Be Patient" appeared in two installments on 18 December and 25 December 1851. All fourteen installments of these three works of serial fiction began on the first page of an issue. Josiah Holbrook's *Mechanism*, which ran through fourteen installments from 12 June through 30 October, was intended to "fit children for their future vocations" as farmers and mechanics ("Agriculture and Mechanism" 77). Although *Mechanism* has shorter installments than sentimental fiction, with two exceptions, 2 October and 23 October 1851, it also appears on the front page.

[10] The annual index indicates those editorials written in Bailey's absence with an asterisk. If the asterisk is omitted, the editorial is presumably by Bailey. See "Index to Volume" (VI: 212).

Joseph C. Miller and subsequently murdered him with arsenic ("The Miller Tragedy" VI: 49). The next three columns are devoted to a Congressional speech on the Democratic party. The installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* then follows. One might say that the *Era* randomly intermingled Stowe's story, Congressional politics, and the Miller Tragedy on the first page of this issue, but a more helpful model is of tension between the male political sphere of the interior section and the female sphere of sentimental fiction on the front page.

The material text of the *Era* is divided, by its layout, into subtle but recognizably separate spheres, but the political sphere of antislavery politics and the domestic sphere of sentimental fiction exist in tension and frequently interpenetrate one another. If a serial story on the front page has an installment that demands three or four of the seven columns or if two works of serial fiction are running concurrently, the serial fiction is likely to extend onto the second page, the interior section of the paper. Think of each issue's layout as an effort to balance competing demands for column space between sentimental fiction and political antislavery matters. The back page serves as a release valve. When Congress is out of session, the domestic sphere is given more space and the issue's back page features a miscellaneous selection if light literary matter (very short works of fiction or moral tales) and brief non-fictional features about such items as snakes in Texas, the new fire extinguisher, different types of tea, or advice on domesticating song birds.[11] When Congress is in session, the back page often features a Congressional speech. The public sphere thus presses from the interior section outward and demands both portions of the front page and the back page of the issue. Important political stories—Kossuth's speeches, Congressional Proceedings, the Christiana Treason Trials, or coverage of the General Narciso López's privateer expedition to overthrow Cuba's Spanish colonial government—may demand a

[11] "Attachment of Birds," a brief notice that appears on the back page of the 28 August 1851 issue, explains that song birds "possess the most singular attractions, and exhibit the most romantic attachment." To feed them "a bit of hard-boiled egg, or a morsel of sugar, will speedily cement an intimacy terminable only by death; the attachment of birds knows no other limits. (V: 140). The *Era*'s interest in song birds is not random, as I show below.

portion of the front page that would usually be reserved for sentimental fiction. Coverage of events such as these, which were deemed newsworthy for antislavery politics, meant that *Era*'s space for sentimental fiction was reduced.

Although the layout of the *Era* is not within Stowe's control, her work responds to the material form in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appears. The dialogic relationship between Stowe's text and other texts in the *Era* illustrates the sophistication with which Stowe's work challenged female confinement within the domestic space of home. In deploying sentiment to achieve political ends, Stowe was not confining herself to the domestic realm. The *Era* does not confine sentiment or sympathy to the domestic sphere either. Sympathy could be deployed as an argument in realms generally considered part of the male public realm, a state legislature and the López "filibuster" Expedition against Cuba.[12] These examples, which are concurrent with the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era,* show that sympathetic influence was presumed to affect the male public sphere. The first example, an account of a Connecticut legislative debate in which sentiment triumphs, has a significant resonance with Stowe's depiction of Senator Burr.[13] The second example is a peculiar, though unsuccessful, attempt to enlist the power of sentiment to bring aid to the Cuban filibuster force. Curiously, the *Era*—despite its strong opposition to the López Expedition—was susceptible to this sentimental appeal. The *Era*'s editor viewed with alarm the López Expedition as a blatant attempt by southerners to gain new slaveholding territory. When Stowe deploys sentiment to achieve real-world political effects in her fiction,

[12] The term "Filibuster" refers to a private military expedition, one that is not financed by the federal government or a state militia.

[13] Belasco Smith and Joan D. Hedrick have suggested two sources for Senator Burr. Belasco Smith suggests that Mrs. Burr "literally becomes a burr in the side of the senator in her persistent questioning about the law" (84), but she indicates that "no reason is known for the name change" (84). Hedrick has indicated parallels to Senator and Mrs. Burr in a letter from Stowe to her sister Catherine Beecher. After a frustrating argument with Professor Thomas Upham, a colonizationist, Stowe challenged him as to whether he would refuse aid to a slave who appealed to him for aid. He "hemmed and hawed," but his wife "little Mary Upham broke out 'I wouldnt I know' " (205-06). The very next day, Professor Upham did aid a fugitive slave, and Stowe heard about it from the fugitive (206).

stories that share the same physical pages of the *Era* support the idea that sentiment can achieve results in the male-dominated public realm.

The Newspaper as Metaphor and Senator Burr / Bird

The major theme that opens *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is that the public sphere of politics and trade (the sites of male power) disrupts the domestic sphere of families (the sites of female power). The discussion between Mr. Shelby and the slave trader Haley in the 5 June installment is about the monetary value to be placed on Tom's religious piety. Mr. Shelby contends that Tom is more valuable because he is religious. But Haley is unwilling to place too high a value on Tom because he only has "as much conscience as any man in business can afford to keep" (V: 89).[14] Stowe's work dramatizes her claim that the institution of slavery destroys families and undermines the individual's and the nation's moral and religious principles. Shelby and Haley's conversation describes what to Stowe is the perverse moral calculus involved in trading human beings—placing a dollar value on religious piety in slaves.

To symbolize a male character's internal conflict between politics and trade on one side, moral and religious principles on the other, Stowe frequently presents her character in the act of reading of a newspaper. Male characters retreat from the domestic sphere by hiding within newspapers, the emblem of the public sphere. Stowe uses this technique for Shelby, Senator Burr, and St. Clare. In the 26 June issue, Mrs. Shelby questions Mr. Shelby about the visit of the slave trader and reports Eliza's fear that her son Harry will be sold: " 'She did, hey?' said Mr. Shelby, returning to his paper, which he seemed for a few moments quite intent upon, not perceiving that he was holding it bottom upwards" (V: 101). The contrast between Mr. Shelby's verbal response and the upside-down newspaper is a marker of his inner emotional conflict. While the act of placing himself physically within the newspaper seems to be an attempt to escape from the

[14] All chapter and page number references to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* are to the *National Era* version.

domestic sphere, his upside-down newspaper reveals that his thoughts are engaged with the home's immiment emotion conflict, the discussion of the sale of Harry with Mrs. Shelby.

Stowe also has Senator Burr attempt to read the newspaper to escape from domestic pressures. Stowe presses her critique of male disengagement from domestic concerns in Chapter IX, "In which it Appears that a Senator is but a Man." The chapter is split into two installments in the *Era*. In the 24 July issue, Stowe blames newspapers for dividing Senator Burr as a political figure from John Burr the man. Just after Mrs. Burr insists that her husband will not act to uphold the law that he had helped pass, Old Cudjoe calls her into the kitchen. Senator Burr retreats into his newspaper (V: 118). The transformation of Burr from Senator to man can only begin when he puts down his paper after his wife calls him: "He laid down his paper, and went into the kitchen [. . .]." When Senator and Mrs. Burr return to the parlor, he again appears to attempt a retreat into the public sphere. He "pretended to be reading the paper." But his thoughts, while he is "musing in silence over his newspaper," are clearly on Eliza. Senator Burr's attempt to retreat into the newspaper is ultimately overwhelmed by the "magic of the real presence of distress" in his domestic sphere. For Stowe, the act of holding a newspaper but not reading it is an emblem of John Burr's humanity overcoming the political power that Senator Burr's office represents.

When the chapter resumes in the 31 July installment, Stowe's narrator blames newspapers and their slave advertisements for having corrupted Senator Burr's idea of a fugitive: "but then his idea of a fugitive was only an idea of the letters that spell the word—or at the most, the image of a little newspaper picture of a man with a stick and bundle, with 'Ran away from the subscriber' under it" (V: 121). The caricature drawings of slaves and the representation of fugitives as a subscriber's "property" have combined to divide Burr the public figure from his inner moral self. Senator Burr the public figure is immoral; John Burr the husband and father is moral when he recognizes that a fugitives might include a woman with a child whose name resembles his own deceased child. For the senator and man, only an immersion in domestic

concerns allows the moral private being to triumph over his immoral public stance in support of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Among critics who have assessed the ability of sentimental power to promote change in the public sphere, the episode of Senator and Mrs. Bird in the book version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has been seen as a key site, regardless of whether the episode is being read as an emblem of failure, of success, or of some combination in which female influence ultimately has an effect on the public despite its circumscription within the domestic sphere. Both Elizabeth Barnes and Susan L. Roberson read the Bird episode to emphasize the failure of sentimental power. Barnes asserts that Stowe fails to imagine racial diversity, and Roberson claims that the rhetoric of domesticity ultimately frustrates Stowe's attempt to assert female power. According to Barnes, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is an "exemplary sentimental text," for "its contribution to an affinitive politics wherein sympathy is made contingent upon similarity" (92). Barnes's reading, which is based almost entirely on the Senator and Mrs. Bird episode, constructs human sympathy as being dependent upon familiarity and affinity politics.[15] Roberson similarly claims that domesticity was stifling: Stowe "attempts social change—abolition and matriarchy—[but] her politics and characterizations of women are constrained by a conservative discourse, the rhetoric of domesticity, that actually works against social change" (117).[16] Because the Senator and not Mrs. Bird must ferry Eliza to the next station on the underground railroad, Roberson claims that the scene provides further evidence of the failure of the domestic sphere: "Mrs. Bird remains

[15] "Stowe's novel perpetuates a tradition of constructing sympathy as a narcissistic model of projection and rejection: claiming that individuals are all alike under the skin, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* makes diversity virtually unrepresentable, reinforcing the idea of humanity as dependent upon familiarity" (92). Barnes further suggests that "familial attachment to evoke sympathy counters democratic principles and ultimately constructs the framework for future 'identity politics'" (98).

[16] According to Roberson, Mrs. Shelby and Mrs. Bird cannot accomplish the teaching of Christian or moral education because each is "limited to her sphere and erased or canceled whenever it interferes with the designs of the larger, masculine, sphere" (122). Sentimentalism as an ideology constrains their ability to teach and belittles their intellect. Based on Mrs. Bird's "I hate reasoning," Roberson contends that "Stowe's vision of woman's intellectual potential is clearly contained within and by the ideology of gender differences" (123).

contained, without a political voice, within her home, precisely because she is constituted by the cult of domesticity" (124).

A more recent attempt to survey the role of gender in American fiction attempts to balance readings such as that by Roberson and Barnes with the more expansive reading of sentimental power first proposed by Tompkins. Given these strong readings of the Bird episode as an emblem of the failure of sympathy and sentiment, recent critics who argue that sentimentalism conveys power to women carefully acknowledge the limits of domestic power. In "Engendering American Fictions" (2004), Martha J. Cutter and Caroline F. Levander recognize as Stowe's intent that "women readers would, in turn, use their prominent position in the private sphere to influence their husbands and sons to become politically active in the abolitionist cause," but the effect that Cutter and Levander are willing to acknowledge is limited: "Many did become interested in the slave question" (46). Although "the rhetoric of sentimentality, motherhood, and religion promoted by women writers often expanded women's 'private' sphere into the arena of political action" (40), in the *Era* a much stronger possibility of sentiment achieving results in the public sphere emerges in an article about a legislative debate on the protection of birds in the Connecticut state legislature.

The *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, through its dialogic relationship with a "Debate on the Destruction of Small Birds," presents a positive view of the ability of sentiment to achieve results in the public sphere. The account of this legislative debate offers a plausible source for the Senator Burr's name, and from it one can infer a reason that Senator and Mrs. Burr became Senator and Mrs. Bird in the Jewett edition. One of the characters in the debate, a Harris P. Burr, of Killingsworth in Middlesex County, Connecticut, would have been unknown to the *Era*'s readers. When he tries to curtail legal protection for birds, the position that is supported by the sentimental legislators, his amendments are defeated.

On 21 August, three weeks after the installment that includes the second half of Stowe's Chapter IX, the *Era* reprints an article from the *Hartford Courant*. The article recreates a

debate—"though some time has passed since it took place"—from the Connecticut Legislature (V: 136). The proposed bill prohibited a man (or boy) from killing small birds "upon lands not owned or occupied by himself," named more than twenty species of birds that would be protected under the law, and imposed a $5 fine for violations. After the second reading, the legislature had a "disposition to ridicule the bill." After the third reading, three speakers rose to support it. These three, worldly and sophisticated, argue from sympathy. Mr. Andrews attempts to engage "the feelings of members on the subject." He cites his travels to western Carolina and Virginia, wherein he had witnessed a devastated forest. A local farmer told him that the cause of devastation was woodpeckers. The true cause of devastation was worms, and the farmer had exacerbated the problem by killing the woodpeckers. The second speaker, Mr. Boardman of New Haven cites Goethe and affirms that the "love of the beautiful in nature" should extend to protecting birds. He argues for the effect of "grateful contemplation in the morning's dawn or evening twilight. At such moments, nothing so fills the heart with gratitude, and often the eye with tears, as the free, joyous singing of the birds in the garden and orchard. It stirs the purest, gentlest, sweetest sympathies of our nature." A third, Mr. Howe of Hartford, who cites the example of the Paris gardens at Tuileries, contends that such places "germ and grow the finer sensibilities of our nature." He also notes that the law would aid towns that desire to establish parks. The debate appears to pit urban interests, whose representatives desire to protect birds in public spaces, against rural interests, whose representative seeks to protect the rights of farmers. A speaker from a rural district, "Mr. Burr of Killingworth," rises to defend the interests of farmers.

Mr. Burr proposes striking "the long-tailed thrush" from the list of protected birds "as he was an arrant corn thief." Mr. Boardman objects to Mr. Killingworth's amendment on behalf of the thrush's singing. Mr. Killingworth acknowledges the bird's singing but contends nonetheless that he "was a great annoyance to the farmer" and must not be protected. Mr. Benton of Guildford, who says that the corn in his district is not bothered, suggests that if the thrushes

"disturb the corn in Killingworth it was because the land was so poor that it would not produce worms."[17] Mr. Burr's amendment fails. He then proposes a second amendment to add the crow to the list of protected birds: "He knew that by many he was regarded as an unmitigated scoundrel, but he thought he had done more good than was generally supposed, and should be protected."[18] Burr's intent, given his previous amendment on the thrush, appears to be sarcasm, but in the *Courant*'s presentation, the note struck is humor. The Killingworth legislator has some qualities of sardonic humor that make him a worthy opponent to arguments from sympathy. His second amendment nonetheless fails, and the bill instituting fines for killing birds, with an exception that birds can be killed on private land, is approved.

Mr. Burr of Killingworth in the legislative debate is strikingly similar to the fictional Mr. Burr who had appeared in Stowe's story four weeks earlier in the *Era*. In addition to sharing a surname, both reject feeling and sentiment in the legislature. The Connecticut legislator Burr loses his debate in part because his opponents, especially Boardman and Howe, advocate sensibility and sympathy. Though Stowe's fictional Burr wins his debate in part because he "had scouted all sentimental weakness of those who would put the welfare of a few miserable fugitives before great State interests!" (V: 121), his real-life counterpart is defeated by the arguments from sentiment. The victorious Senator Burr of Stowe's story rejects private feelings as having force in the doings of the legislature.

> "But, Mary, just listen to me. Your feelings are all quite right, dear—and interesting—and I love you for them; but, then, dear, we mustn't suffer our

[17] In its 17 February 1851 issue, the *Courant* reprints an article that it reports is from the December issue of *American Agriculturalist* beneath the heading "What are Birds Good For." The article summarizes the experience of farmers with rice-birds in South Carolina and blackbirds in Indiana. Originally, farmers sought to drive out the birds. However, after crops were damaged by worms, they discovered that the losses of grain to birds was modest in comparison to the damage caused by worms. "How thankful should man be that God has given him for his companions and fellow-laborers, in the cultivation of the earth, these lovely birds" (n. pag.). The *Courant* does not reprint the article from the December issue of the *American Agriculturalist* (as it claims), or at least I have been unable to confirm the source.

[18] The joke possibly refers to an assessment of crows such as that which appeared in an article "Birds" by L. F. Allen that appeared in the October 1850 issue of the *American Agriculturalist*. Allen evaluates birds by their singing, their consumption of grain or fruit, and their consumption of worms. Allen calls the crow "the most hateful creature" (306).

> feelings to run away with our judgment—you must consider it's not a matter of private feeling—there are great public interests involved—there is such a state of public agitation rising, that we must put aside our private feelings." (V: 117)

I propose that Stowe's renaming of Senator and Mrs. Burr to Senator and Mrs. Bird in the 1852 Jewett edition is an indirect hint to readers who had first read the episode in the *Era* version. The name change as hint, or inside joke, directs readers to the "Debate on the Destruction of Small Birds," which was also printed in the *Era*, and it portrays the victory of an argument from sympathy in the male-dominated public sphere of a state legislature.

Could Stowe have known of the Legislature of Connecticut debate before she wrote this episode? It is possible. Stowe had Hartford connections. Her sister Catherine Beecher had operated the Hartford Female Seminary (at which Harriet also taught) throughout the 1820s. Her sister Mary was living in Hartford in 1851 (White 48). The debate on the destruction of small birds took place in the Connecticut House of Representatives on 22 May.[19] The *Courant* first published its reconstruction of the debate on 28 June 1851, a month before Chapter IX appeared in the *Era*.[20]

The debate in the *Era*, though nearly identical textually, is not the same as the debate in the *Courant* because each paper has a different audience. The *Era*'s national antislavery audience would be unlikely to know anything of the Connecticut legislator Mr. Burr except for his participation in this debate on birds. His party affiliation is not given in the story and thus would have been unknown to the great majority of the *Era*'s readers. The audience for the *Courant* would have been able from election and legislative coverage to have recognized Killingsworth as a rural district and Burr as a member of the Locofoco party,[21] though whether Harris P. Burr considered himself a Locofoco or a Democrat is unclear because the *Courant*, a Whig Paper,

[19] In the 23 May issue of the *Courant*, the following brief item appears: "Bill for a public act for the preservation of game, and the prevention of trespass upon lands; referred to com. on judiciary. [This bill provides that woodcock, pheasants, &c., shall not be killed at specific times.]" ("Connecticut Legislature").
[20] In the *Courant*, the article is titled "Debate in the House of Representatives on the Destruction of Small Birds."

labeled all Democrats as Locofoco. In the *Era* context, Burr's defense of agricultural interests does not necessarily lead to any assumptions about his party affiliation. The *Era* is a difficult context in which to judge whether a reader would have associated the Connecticut legislator with proslavery sentiment. Given the absence of party affiliations in the *Era*'s reprint of the *Courant*'s story, one can only speculate that his attitude toward the protection of birds may have suggested proslavery attitudes to the *Era*'s readers. But the Connecticut legislator Burr in the debate on birds does offer a plausible explanation for the curious variant in the Senator's name (Burr in the *Era* version, Bird in the Jewett version) and suggests that bird metaphors merit closer examination within Stowe's work.

Bird metaphors for slaves are very common in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and many precede the appearance of the debate in the *Courant*. But a side-effect of considering the Connecticut legislature debate is to open up Stowe's deployment of the hunter-to-slave-catcher and slave-to-bird metaphors. In the 3 July issue, when the slave children on Shelby's plantation await the arrival of Haley following Eliza's escape, they are "a dozen young imps roosting, like so many crows" (V: 105). In the 10 July issue, Eliza's rescuer, after she crosses the Ohio, refuses to "be hunter and catcher for other folks" (V: 109). The same week, the partner of cat-like slave catcher Marks, the dog-like Tom Loker, compares hunting Eliza to hunting partridges: "Han't you show'd us the game—it's free to us as you, I hope—if you or Shelby wants to chase us, look where the partridges wus last year—if you find them or us, you'r quite welcome" (V: 109). Although these first three are deployed in the *Era* serial before "Debate on the Destruction of Small Birds" appeared in the *Courant* on 28 June, Stowe could well have been pondering her eventual fictional use of the real-life legislator in the 24 July installment. When Sam narrates Eliza's escape in the 17 July installment, the "smaller fry" are "perched in every corner" (V: 113). In the 7 August installment, Tom argues that the Lord "don't let a sparrow fall without Him" (V:

[21] Harris P. Burr is listed as a member of the newly elected House of Representatives in the 11 April 1851

125). On 14 August, the depiction of hunters in the Kentucky tavern, with their "rifles stacked away in the corner, shot-pouches, game-bags, hunting dogs, and little negroes, all rolled together in the corners" (V: 129), imagines a metaphorical collapse between slave children and bagged game-birds. The slaves in the tavern begin preparations for George's room by "whizzing about, like a covey of partridges"; in George's room they are "flying about" (V: 129). Though Stowe's use of bird- and flight-related metaphors is not limited to the depiction of slaves—Eva is notably bird-like—the presence of "The Debate on the Destruction of Small Birds" within the material text of the *Era* during the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, when supported by the variant in the Jewett edition, shows how the relationship between material forms of publication may have inflected the reading of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

Sentiment and a Cuban Bond Scheme

Sentiment was presumed to have power. It even tricked the *Era* into printing a group of letters whose sentimental appeals were designed to draw aid to the López Expedition against Cuba, the filibuster foray to which the newspaper was adamantly opposed. The more important political influence of this event on the *Era*'s antislavery politics and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* will be discussed in the following chapter, so here I would like to focus on the sentimental appeal that the *Era* unwittingly promoted despite its adamant opposition to the attack on Cuba. From the *Era*'s perspective the López Expedition was a test of whether Millard Fillmore's administration, which had supported the Fugitive Slave Law compromise, would check the Slave Power's drive to acquire additional slave-holding territory in the Caribbean. According to historian Tom Chaffin, the López Expedition began its military assault on 3 August when a group of some 400 men—led by López the former Spanish general but composed mostly of Southern privateers—set out from New Orleans to Cuba. The expedition was a fiasco, as López overestimated the strength of the

issue. He is from Kilingworth [*sic*.] in Middlesex County ("House").

Cuban resistance movement and underestimated the ability of the Cuban provincial government to defend itself. Within weeks of landing, all of the privateers were either killed, captured and executed, or imprisoned.[22] In the *Era* however, from mid-August through most of September 1851, the "news" of the López Expedition was a murky mix of sensational rumor and conflicting reports. In the 14 August issue, the *Era* is at a loss to make sense of events. Cuban newspapers are reporting that all of the insurgents have been captured and shot, but New York newspapers are reporting that the López expedition has overthrown the island's provincial authorities ("Cuba" V: 130). A week later, almost nothing is clarified.

In the 4 September issue the *Era* prints an entire column of letters, all dated 15 or 16 August, from Louisiana newspapers including *The Empire City*, *The Picayune,* and *The Delta*. They bring news from the condemned prisoners in Cuba, and they are addressed to friends, mothers, sisters, and wives in the United States. A "Stanford," writing to a "Huling," explains that he is taken prisoner and closes as follows: "We shall all be shot in an hour. Good bye, and God bless you. I send the Masonic medal enclosed in this, belonging to my father. Convey it to my sister Mrs. P__n, and tell her of my fate" ("Latest News" V: 143). Two letters follow from Victor Kerr, one from J. Brandt, and one from Thomas C. James. Kerr to his wife Felicia: "In one hour I *shall be no more*." Brandt to his mother: "Fifty of us are condemned to be shot within a half hour." James to his brothers and sisters: "All to be shot." Letters in fact were sent from condemned prisoners to family members, but the letters printed in the *Era* were not actual letters. They were fictions calculated for maximum sentimental appeal as they were reprinted in papers throughout the United States. The calculated sentimental appeal that duped the *Era* into printing these fictional letters was driven by a clever ruse, which in fact was a large financial bet that

[22] See *Fatal Glory: Narciso López and the First Clandestine U.S. War Against Cuba* (1996), which provides an extended account of the backgrounds as well as the 1851 expedition. Chaffin's account is discussed in significant detail in the following chapter.

sentiment could reverse an impending fiasco for supporters of the López Expedition once they realized it had gone wrong. The *Era* did its part to promote these letters.

Three weeks later, on 25 September, the letters are explained by a statement from Philip S. Van Vechten, lieutenant under López. The letters, according to Van Vechten, were "base forgeries" designed to "keep alive the excitement" ("Cuban Expedition" V: 154). The letters were part of an elaborate scheme for speculating on Cuban bonds. It was presumed by the Cuban bondholders that a spontaneous outpouring of sympathy could reverse their looming financial disaster. The men who provided these letters to the New Orleans papers were in league with speculators in Cuban bonds. They hoped the United States would annex Cuba and assume responsibility for a debt of "some hundred millions of dollars" and that these Cuban bonds "selling at from 10 to 20 cents on a dollar" would be honored by the United States Government (V: 154).[23] The letters may have been a desperate financial ruse, but as a moment in the history of sentiment it offers evidence that sentiment was judged to have astonishing power. Although sentiment failed here, a group of investors assumed or at least hoped that sentimental writing, a letter to family written by a prisoner during the last hour before execution, would lead to an outbreak of popular sentiment against Cuba, which, in turn, would cause men to take up arms and free the island from the Spanish Crown. In comparison to the hope that propped up the multi-million dollar bond scheme, Stowe's hope that sentiment had the power to achieve results in the political sphere is not unusually ambitious. In fact, her work shares with the Cuban bond scheme a conviction that newspapers have a remarkable ability to shape their readers' sentiments.

The Newspaper and Male Escape to the Public Sphere

Stowe's work also traffics in the cultural belief that newspapers have a powerful ability to shape public opinion. Stowe's use of the newspaper as metaphor and material form is nothing

short of masterful. While reading the Prue episode in the *Era*, I discovered that Stowe's deployment of the newspaper as metaphor is enriched by reading her story in a paper copy of the newspaper. This key rhetorical strategy does not resonate with the text's material form when *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is read as a book, which perhaps may explain why previous critics have devoted only a passing glance to this aspect of the fiction. Stowe prepares readers for Augustine St. Clare's response to the Prue episode with a careful narrative stragegy. St. Clare is associated with newspapers from his first appearance. In echo of Mr. Shelby and Haley's discussion of Tom's market price, he chides Haley for the high value he places on Tom's religion. With good-natured jest St. Clare refers to the newspaper's information on the market as the arbiter of a fair price for religion: "I don't know, either, about religion's being up in the market, just now. I have not looked in the papers lately, to see how it sells. How many hundred dollars, now, do you put on for his religion?" (V: 145). Stowe embeds the price for Tom in an imaginary newspaper, one of whose functions is to apprise readers of the market. Stowe's imaginary newspaper is not dissimilar to the *Era*, which provides a regular (approximately biweekly) report on prices for hogs, flour, corn, and beef cattle in the domestic markets at Philadelphia, Boston, and New York.

Once within his home, St. Clare frequently turns to newspapers to escape from the domestic sphere. In the 25 September issue, he avoids Marie's incessant complaints:

> "The fact is, our servants are over-indulged. I suppose it is partly our fault that they are selfish, and act like spoiled children, but I've talked to St. Clare till I am tired."
>
> "And I, too," said St. Clare, taking up the morning paper. (V: 153)

A short while later, he reads the newspaper to avoid his own understanding of Eva's purpose:

> "Oh, Evangeline! rightly named," he said; "hath not God made thee an evangel to me?"
>
> So he felt a moment, and then—he smoked a cigar and read the *Picayune*, and forgot his little gospel. Was he much unlike other folks? (V: 153)

[23] In the 4 December issue, the *Era* prints Millard Fillmore's address to opening session of the Thirty-Second Congress. He devotes nearly a third of his address to the Lopez expedition, and he substantiates Van Vechten's account that the main motive of the speculators was to profit from the Cuban bonds (193).

As with Shelby and Burr, the newspaper is St. Clare's retreat from domestic concerns into the public realm. The mid-nineteenth-century newspaper as a material object is an important consideration. In a newspaper of the *Era*'s size, 3 feet wide and 2 feet high when open, a man reading could hide himself. As an emblem of an enclosed public sphere, the newspaper contains the man even as he is contained within his home. St. Clare's retreat to the public sphere is thus to the newspaper as a physical space for reading.

Following the death of Prue, the inability of the domestic sphere to defend against a cruel public sphere is prominent. Stowe's deployment of newspapers in the 16 October 1851 issue is devastating emotionally because a reader of Stowe's text is in the same position relative to the *Era* as St. Clare is relative to his newspaper, the New Orleans *Picayune*. The scene is set in chapter XVIII, a continuation of the chapter titled "Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions," when Miss Ophelia comes to St. Clare: " 'An abominable business! perfectly horrible!' she exclaimed, as she entered the room where St. Clare lay reading his paper." St. Clare inquires, "Pray, what iniquity has turned up now?" (V: 165). Ophelia informs him that Prue has been whipped to death, "going on with great strength of detail into the story, and enlarging on its most shocking particulars." St. Clare's responds nonchalantly and returns to the public sphere: " 'I thought it would come to that some time,' said St. Clare, going on with his paper" (V: 165). Following Miss Ophelia's interjection, he reminds her that "It is commonly supposed that the *property* interest is a sufficient guard in these cases." The chapter concludes with his refusing to act.[24]

In the *Era*, chapter XIX, "St. Clare's History and Opinions,"[25] follows immediately in the same 16 October installment. St. Clare closes the scene by suggesting to Ophelia that one is

[24] Unable to "turn knight-errant" or "redress every individual case of wrong," St. Clare states that the "The most I can do is to try and keep out of the way of it."

[25] This chapter title does not appear in the Jewett edition. The content of this chapter is incorporated into the Jewett edition as chapter XIX, "Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions, Continued" (II: 5). See the

happier ignoring the "dismals of life" and by following his own advice to retreat from the domestic sphere. He equates looking into the beating death of Prue with domestic concerns: " ' 'Tis like looking too close into the details of Dinah's kitchen;' and St. Clare lay back on the sofa, and busied himself with his paper" (V: 165). Unlike a reader of the book version, for whom St. Clare's act of reading the newspaper may lack immediacy, St. Clare's frequent return to the newspaper implicates a reader of the *Era*, who is also reading a newspaper. While reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in a paper copy of the *Era*, I was surprised at the emotional impact of this scene. In the newspaper, it rivals Eva's death.

For an imaginary male reader and for myself as an actual reader, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in its *Era* form creates a series of gyres in which the reader's material text and the act of reading it mirror St. Clare's newspaper and his act of reading within Stowe's fiction. St. Clare is reading a newspaper to escape from his domestic sphere. A man who reads *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era*, like St. Clare (and Shelby and Burr), has separated himself from the domestic sphere by embedding himself within the material text of a newspaper. Because I read the *Era* alone and thus did not read the work as a member of the model family circle that Stowe's work implies, I may have been more sensitized to the effect. It was chilling. If a male reader identifies imaginatively with St. Clare's reading of the newspaper to escape the domestic sphere, to continue reading is to choose not to act. To read *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in newspaper form, to continue reading, is to enact inaction, to turn away, like St. Clare, from the savage beating and death of Prue. Though I acknowledge that reading the *Era* in a special-collections reading room during the early twenty-first century is a situational context quite distant from that of Stowe's original readers, St. Clare's callous lack of concern, symbolized by his frequent turn to the newspaper, is harrowing because the *Era*'s material form creates a parallel between St. Clare as a reader and Stowe's reader of the text in newspaper form. This effect disappears when the text is reprinted in book form.

introduction for a full discussion of the relationship of the *Era*'s chapter numbers to the Jewett edition's

St. Clare's act of turning away from the domestic sphere prefigures the turning point of Stowe's novel in its serial installment form, which occurs in the 25 December and 1 January 1852 issues. The split of the chapter across the boundary of the 1851 and 1852 volume break uses the resonance of the newspaper's issue dates to considerable effect. In the 25 December issue St. Clare seems to emerge from his deepest mourning following Eva's death. He has taken to the spirit of the season of renewal and has nearly resolved an important change in his life conduct. He "was in many respects another man. He read his little Eva's Bible seriously and honestly" (V: 205). Tom's future seems bright as St. Clare has begun "the legal steps necessary to Tom's emancipation, which was to be perfected as soon as he could get through the necessary formalities." If St. Clare has any doubt about the relevance of his domestic actions to the public sphere, the heavily marked passage of Tom's Bible, Matthew 25: 31-45, which St. Clare reads aloud, points to the crucial aspect of his own private choices within the larger public sphere of the nation:

> "When the son of man shall come in his glory, and all his holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory—and before him shall be gathered all nations—and he shall separate them, one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats."

The Lord condemns those who aided him not, and tells them, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire [. . .]." When the cursed ones question the Lord's judgment, the response is that their treatment of the "least of my brethren" is their treatment of the Lord. St. Clare pauses and reads the final passage twice, so it seems that he has come to understand that his choices as an individual can help define the nation's path. This portion of the chapter appears in the 25 December issue, but the chapter is split during St. Clare and Miss Ophelia's discussion about whether Eva's death will lead him to change his thoughts into immediate actions.

When the Chapter XXVII resumes on 1 January 1852, the installment begins with Ophelia's question to St. Clare: " 'Well, are you going to do differently now?' said Miss Ophelia"

chapter numbers.

(1). St. Clare's wishy-washy but prophetic answer—"God only knows the future . . . " —marks both the hope of human renewal and fear of human failure. In the first installment of the new volume year, St. Clare dies. The *Era*'s first issue of 1852 also marks an important turning point in Stowe's work's engagement with the newspaper as a marker for the division between male public and female domestic spheres. St. Clare's decision to leave the domestic sphere is related to his interest in the happenings in the male public sphere: "I believe I'll go down street a few moments, and hear the news to-night" (VI: 1). The fight between the drunken men interrupts him while he is reading a paper: "St. Clare had turned into a café to look over an evening paper" (VI: 1). Given Stowe's masterful deployment of newspaper metaphor in the case of St. Clare, it is noteworthy that Stowe all but abandons the metaphor in the case of Simon Legree. There is one mention of Legree's reading a paper to distract himself on a night that he is settling accounts, but the work's emphasis on male characters who are reading newspapers disappears. (VI: 41).

A scholar's notion that Stowe's work helped mold *public opinion* about slavery is a form of abstraction not far removed from the nineteenth-century concept of *sympathetic influence*. For the *Era*'s audience the power of sentiment to reform is not restricted to lachrymose domestic transformations. The *Era* provides models in which male-dominated spheres of legislative debate and attempts to float Cuban bonds are entrusted to sympathetic influence. Stowe's deployment of newspaper as a metaphor for an escape from the private to the public sphere, when reinforced by the *Era* form in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appears, directly challenges readers. By using the newspaper as metaphor for the public sphere and simultaneously invoking the material form in which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is published, Stowe's work impinges much more aggressively on the reader's experience. It did so on mine when I took up the paper copy of the *National Era*. With interlocking metaphor and material form, the newspaper version resists the confinement of sympathetic influence to the domestic sphere.

In the following chapter, I retrace the same period as both the *Era* and Stowe responded to three key political events in the year 1851: the López Expedition, the Christiana Treason Trials

which tested whether the violation of the Fugitive Slave Law could be prosecuted under the doctrine of constructive treason, and the opening of the Congressional Session. The terms of the first two crises are clarified by Bailey's attempts to shape his editorial responses in the context of whether the United States was a Christian nation or whether its alignment with Southern slavery and European tyranny violated Higher Law. The Christiana Treason Trials threatened to define aid to fugitives as a treasonous offense punishable by death. On 8 April 1852, in probably the first published review of the completed serial, Julia Griffiths in *Fredrick Douglass' Paper* wrote, "Fine as [Stowe] is in description, she is not less so in argumentation. We doubt if abler arguments have ever been presented in favor of the "*Higher Law*" theory, than may be found here" (Review 2; cited in Levine 74).[26] The reviewer has clearly perceived Stowe's work in the context of the *Era*'s response to the pressures of momentous events, its remaking of itself as a higher law organ. The argument on higher law shaped the reception of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the serial version, the subject to which I turn next.

[26] Levine identifies the literary reviewer in *Fredrick Douglass' Paper* as Julia Griffiths (73). He states also that "The intitial review, of course, is not a review of the book proper, but of the serialized novel [. . .]" (74).

Chapter 4: Stowe and the *National Era*'s Transformation to Higher Law Principles

In his 11 March 1850 speech "California, Union, and Freedom," New York Whig Senator William H. Seward objected to the idea that the admission of California as a state must be accompanied by a compromise on slavery. During the course of the speech he addressed Massachusetts Whig Daniel Webster's slavery compromise proposal, to strengthen the law on the return of fugitive slaves. He argued that slavery should not be a matter of sectional compromise. While Seward agreed with Webster that the Constitution left the issue of "property in man [. . .] to the law of nature and of nations" (V: 48), he did not accept Webster's idea that such power *devolved* onto the states. The Constitution, he claimed, was in fact secondary to natural law, to which humanity owed a higher allegiance:

> But there is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain, and devotes it to the same noble purpose. This territory [United States] is a part, no inconsiderable part, of the common heritage of mankind, bestowed upon them by the Creator of the Universe. We are his stewards [. . .]. (IV: 48)

Senators, he argued, were in the same position as the writers of the Constitution. European nations were moving toward the abolition of slavery and serfdom, so the choice to permit California's admittance to statehood free of encumbrance or to link it to a slavery compromise was no less momentous than deciding whether the United States was aligning itself with the moral progress of Christian nations: "Sir, there is no Christian nation thus free to choose as we are, which would establish slavery" (IV: 48).

As the historian Holman Hamilton describes the reaction of Steward's contemporaries, his "moralistic generalities struck expedient men as irresponsible" (85). Greg D. Crane in *Race, Citizenship, and Law in American Literature* (2002) contends that Seward's speech drew outrage because early nineteenth-century American political thought had moved away from higher law theories of government that were espoused in Revolution-era documents like the Declaration of

Independence. Seward's appeal to the Creator as the universal source of law alarmed those who realized that higher law principles were a grave threat to all manner of laws that relied on "natural limits [of] race, ethnicity, class, or gender," to which Crane also adds religion (14; 27). Crane uses the Senator and Mrs. Bird episode in Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as an emblem for the controversy that Seward's speech aroused. Senator Bird supports enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law in the interest of political expedience, but "Mrs. Bird, as Stowe's homespun higher law spokesperson, expresses the founders' interdependent beliefs in a legal system grounded in virtue and sanctioned by the citizenry's moral sense" (63). When Mrs. Bird invokes Christian principles—"I heard they were talking of some such law, but I did n't think any Christian legislature would pass it!" (I: 119)—Stowe emphasizes the connection between moral sense and government that Seward's invocation of higher law had suggested.[1]

Contemporary historians share a broad consensus that the Compromise Measures of 1850, as a deliberate attempt at sectional reconciliation, had, over the course of the decade, nearly the opposite effect, especially in the case of the Fugitive Slave Law. [2] While the Compromise Measures achieved a temporary settlement, the emotions that were aroused over slavery would lead eventually to the Civil War.[3] Public opinion both north and south hardened in the aftermath

[1] Seward praised *Uncle Tom's Cabin* shortly after its publication. According a letter from Stowe to her husband Calvin, which is reprinted in Charles E. Stowe's *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe*, Boston publisher John P. Jewett, in Washington D. C. to promote the book, reported to Stowe that Seward had "told him [Jewett] it was the greatest book of the times, or something of that sort" (162).

[2] Acording to John C. Waugh's *On the Brink of Civil War* (2003), the Fugitive Slave Act passed the Senate on 26 August 1850, passed the House on 12 September, and was signed into law by Fillmore on 20 September (180, 183). The law specified that enforcement was under federal—not state—jurisdiction. Waugh provides a concise summary of the parts of the law that were found most objectionable in the North: "An affidavit by the slave's master would be accepted as sufficient proof of ownership. Commissioners would be paid $10 for each certificate granted [for returning a slave to a master] but only $5 for each refused [. . .]. Fugitives claiming to be free men were denied the right of trial by jury[,] and their testimony was not to be admitted as evidence in any proceedings under the law [. . .]. Marshalls and deputies refusing to execute the warrants would be liable to a $1,000 fine. In cases where the fugitives escaped by dint of official negligence, the marshal might be sued for the value of the slave. Citizens preventing the arrest of a fugitive or helping to hide him were subject to a like fine, imprisonment for up to six months, and civil damages for each slave so lost" (183-84).

[3] A judicious assessment is offered by historian Mark J. Stegmaier: "Once the question of war or peace in 1850 became dependent on what was essentially a practical question of metes, bounds, and money, then a practical solution of that immediate problem [Texas-New Mexico boundary] provided the keystone for an

of the compromise. In addition, most historians and literary historians suggest that Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, if not responsible for the Civil War, nonetheless participated in the process by which the shaping of public opinion made sectional compromise more difficult a decade later.[4]

A favorite manner of framing the influence of Stowe's work on the Civil War is to take Lincoln's reported greeting to Stowe— "So this is the little lady who made this big war?"—as a point from which to contrast the president's secular political values to Stowe's moral and religious ones. Lyde Cullen Sizer suggests that Lincoln's greeting acknowledged the political influence of antebellum female writers by means of moral suasion, and Michael Hanne emphasizes the sharp contrast between Stowe's and Lincoln's comparative world views.[5] But by emphasizing this greeting as a point of departure for a discussion of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the decade that separates Stowe's writing (1851–1852) and Lincoln's 1862 greeting has been collapsed. Furthermore, the conditions in which Stowe uttered *Uncle Tom's Cabin* for public distribution in the *National Era* and Lincoln greeted Stowe in private are quite different. In this chapter I argue that we need a more precise view of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* within the context in which it was initially published, the antislavery *Era*. As Stowe's work was serialized, the newspaper's editors and the paper's many correspondents were unwilling to permit the separation

overall resolution of several other issues. [. . .] the public at large and majorities in Congress ultimately chose to view it simply as a matter of bargain and sale. [. . .] By 1860-61, however, the sectional crisis over the future of slavery in the United States was no longer amenable to submersion in a settlement of such tangible issues as the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute. Bitterly divisive emotions over slavery and slavery extension had accumulated to such an explosive point that no compromise such as that of 1850 proved possible" (322).

[4] On the role of Stowe and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in shaping public opinion, see Matthews 31-50; Sizer 49-51. According to Hamilton, Stowe's work "gave dramatic form and focus to the passions aroused by the legislation [Compromise of 1850]" (171). Some historians disagree. Michael F. Holt, on the basis of the 1852 election results, in which the Free Soil Party lost support, suggests that the election raises "withering, if not unanswerable, questions about most historians' frequently iterated insistence that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* massively increased animosity toward slavery among northern voters" (91).

[5] For the form of Lincoln's greeting, see Lyman Beecher Stowe 205. Sizer notes that Stowe's biographer Joan D. Hedrick omits the greeting, acknowledges that we cannot know Lincoln's wording even if he voiced a similar sentiment, and says it "may be apocryphal" (49). According to Sizer, "The politics she offered in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* suggested a world shaped by Christian, Northern, and middle-class values, and represented the most successful effort at cultural and political unity of the 1850s" (50). According to Hanne, Stowe's "explicitly religious, millenarian conception of American history was distinctly at odds with Lincoln's more secular, pragmatic sense of his historic mission" (75).

of Protestant religious values from American political concerns. While the *Era* before 1852 was a moderate antislavery paper, it was shifting toward antislavery radicalism during the course of Stowe's serial publication. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* joins in the *Era*'s larger debate over Christian government, and the serial version of Stowe's work participates in the transformation of the previously more moderate paper into an advocate for higher law principles.

The *Era*'s response to the passage of the Compromise of 1850 can be read in three major phases through the end of the year 1851: initial grudging acceptance during the immediate aftermath Compromise, a broad-ranging philosophical debate in early 1851, and a practical attempt to interpret recent political events in late 1851. In late 1850, the *Era*'s editor Gamaliel Bailey counseled patience and hope—patience that the antislavery population added through Western expansion would soon curtail the political power of the slave states, hope that the actual enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law would not be as stringent as the law permitted. The newspaper's extended philosophical debates in early 1851 turned on the concept of Christian Government. Writers were at most willing to concede that a government commits an un-Christian act (that is, sins) rather than taking the further step that the American nation was un-Christian. Three concerns were particularly prominent in the Christian Government debate: 1) What are the lessons of the American and French Revolutions? 2) How should a Christian citizen respond if the nation passes an unjust law? 3) Which biblical texts are applicable to slavery in the United States?

In mid-1851, domestic political events began to overtake these more abstract philosophical concerns, although Bailey and other writers attempted to interpret recent political events as consequences of longer historical and philosophical shifts. A festering political concern, the southern interest in the acquisition of Cuban territory, became a political crisis as Narciso

López launched a filibuster[6] expedition from New Orleans in the summer of 1851, shortly after *Uncle Tom's Cabin* began its serial run. The *Era* perceived the López Expedition as a Southern filibuster effort to bring Cuban slavery under American control. To Bailey, President Millard Fillmore's seeming unwillingness to stop the expedition was an ominous sign that the Southern Slave Power[7] was gathering strength in the aftermath of the Fugitive Slave Law. Bailey's attempts to put American aggression against Cuba into a broader historical context provide an important clue about the forthcoming shift to the *Era*'s editorial stance toward higher law principles, but the failure of the López Expedition appeared to check the advance of the Southern Slave Power in the Caribbean. A greater test followed almost immediately. Fugitive slaves in Christiana, Pennsylvania, resisted recapture by their former owner, Edward Gorsuch of Maryland, and their resistance culminated in the death of Gorsuch. The southern press clamored for death sentences for a Quaker, Castner Hanway, who had allegedly aided the former slaves and had refused to participate in attempts to recapture them. In the *Era*'s view, the Christiana Treason Trials would test whether Hanway's actions could be punished as a Fugitive Slave Law violation under the doctrine of constructive treason, punishable by death. During the last three months of 1851, the *Era*'s response to the trial of Castner Hanway foreshadowed the paper's revised 1852 prospectus, which abandoned the paper's moderate stance of patience and hope and instead demanded, with the explicit threat of revolution, that the American nation return to core biblical principles and the political principles expressed by the Declaration of Independence.

The engagement of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with the *Era*'s reading of domestic American politics has been neglected,[8] but it offers a fascinating glimpse of serial fiction as a response to political events mere weeks after their occurrence. Stowe's work participates meaningfully in the

[6] The term "filibuster" refers to a military expedition organized by privateers unconnected to the federal government or state militias.

[7] For a discussion of how northerners came to believe in the "existence of an aggressive Slave Power," a concept quite prevalent beginning in the 1840s and natural to Bailey in the 1850s, see Foner 97-102.

transformation of the *Era* into a higher law organ, and its contributions to the ongoing debate are many. Stowe engages the question of how biblical teachings are applied to slavery. At a more general level Stowe critiques transcendentalists who deemphasize the Bible's teachings as moral relativists, a threat similar to Southern preachers and biblical scholars who twist scriptural meaning to justify slavery. One of Stowe's core principles, that the Bible's demands for Christian conduct apply equally to all Americans, whether high-born or her title's "lowly," offers a more broad-ranging critique of American culture at large. Stowe's work shares some of Bailey's Democrat-leaning faith in the goodness of common people, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* offers a pointed critique of the *Era* correspondents who consider American principles from positions of political and cultural prestige. The serial's installments sometimes provide an eerie echo of domestic political events or debates in the same or in recent *Era* issue. In the 31 July installment, the discussion between Senator Burr and John Van Trompe mirrors a dispute on the Noah episode in Genesis from the previous issue. In the 2 October 1851 issue, the Harris party resists the pursuing band of Loker, Marks, and local deputies, and the actions of George and the presence of the Quaker Phineas Fletcher closely mirrors the Christiana incident that the *Era* had reported on 11 September. Stowe also uses the debate between Alfred and Augustine St. Clare to re-imagine the López Expedition in terms of a major source of Southern anxiety, the Haitian Revolution. The brothers' discussion offers an explicit, though muted, commentary on the *Era*'s fiery rhetoric in response to the Christiana incident. As the serial draws towards its close in early 1852, however, Stowe's work parts from its active engagement with the *Era*'s domestic politics and moves toward a politics whose Christian apotheosis increasingly emphasizes British antislavery models, though these are transformed into mythical and mystical examples rather than more concrete political forms.

[8] For Stowe's work as a response to the *Era*'s coverage of European revolutions and particularly the Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth's American tour, see Reynolds 153-157; Belasco Smith 79-82.

The *Era*'s transformation is explicit in its revised annual prospectus for 1852, but the *Era*'s initial outrage over Webster's betrayal and the later passage of the Compromise Measures did not translate immediately into higher law principles. The *Era*'s immediate response to the passage of the Compromise Measures in September 1850 prepared for its eventual transformation to higher law principles, but one of the significant factors was Bailey's accurate forecast that Southern expansionist movements would eye the Caribbean. The López Expedition of mid-1851 confirmed the editor's initial fears, but the *Era*'s advocacy of higher law and revolutionary principles did not crystallize until after the Christiana incident. To a significant extent, the year 1851 was a gradual shift in opinion as the *Era* editor's initial patience and hope were worn down as a consequence of political events confirming his fears.

Seward's 11 March 1850 speech responds in part to Webster's 7 March speech, in which Webster advocated the return of fugitive slaves as a Constitutional duty of the north. He considered the lax enforcement of the law on returning slaves as a legitimate southern complaint (IV: 42). Two months later, in the *Era*'s 2 May 1850 issue, the *Era*'s co-editor John Greenleaf Whittier pilloried the Massachusetts senator with the poem "Ichabod":

> Of all we loved and honored, naught
> Save power remains—
> A fallen angel's pride of thought,
> Still strong in chains.
>
> All else is gone; from those great eyes
> The soul has fled;
> When faith is lost, when honor dies,
> The man is dead! (V: 70)

A further disappointment followed after President Taylor's death in July of 1850. Fillmore upon assuming the presidency balanced his antislavery stance with a strong support of Southern state's rights in the interest of compromise. Webster, whom Fillmore appointed as his Secretary of State, would provide the underpinnings by which resistance to Fugitive Slave Law could be construed

as a treasonable offense.[9] To moderate antislavery publications such as the *Era*, the Fillmore administration's support of state's rights was one-sided. In the interest of compromise, northern states' rights were sacrificed to federal enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. But southern states' rights were protected.

Supporters of the Fugitive Slave Law, such as Webster, Taylor, and Fillmore, cited the Constitution as their authority, so abolitionists and antislavery advocates turned to the authority of the Bible and the Declaration of Independence. An 1850 New York lithograph entitled "Effects of the Fugitive Slave Law" dramatizes the emphasis on these two documentary authorities. A pack of six well-dressed slave catchers in the background of the print pursue a group of four fugitive slaves in the foreground. Two of the pursuers have fired their weapons, and two of the four fugitive slaves appear to have been hit. Two quotes are placed beneath the print, on either side of the title: Deuteronomy 23:15-16, in the bottom left, begins with an admonition: "Thou shalt not deliver unto the master his servant which has escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee." On the opposite side of the title, balancing the biblical quote visually, is another: "We hold that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This 1850 print places in sharp focus the textual authorities on which abolitionists grounded their opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, but the *Era*'s response developed more slowly. In late 1850, just after the September passage of the Compromise Measures, Bailey seemed at least temporarily reconciled to the strengthened law on the return of fugitive slaves.

The *Era* predicted that the Compromise would not resolve the underlying issue of slavery, although it might lead to a respite from the political struggle. Bailey was especially concerned about southern disunion conventions. He suspected that their designs included introducing slavery in the territories of New Mexico and Utah and annexing Cuba as slave

[9] Webster gave a speech in Albany on 28 May 1851. On the probable influence of that speech for treason

territory. The suspicion was justified as the Compromise Measures had failed yet again to include the Wilmot Proviso: "The whole question of Freedom in the Territories is still undecided; and they will be obliged yet to meet the issue of Cuban annexation" ("Disunion Movements" IV: 158). Nonetheless, he reached the following conclusion:

> The public mind of the North for the time is lulled. Wearied with the struggle, it is willing to rest, in the hope that Freedom may be the gainer from the settlement of the question in controversy. But, the quiet is transient. It is not in the nature of things that a free and intelligent People should be long indifferent to the conspiracy of mischievous agitators to enlarge the area of Human Bondage. The [Disunion] Conventions, now in contemplation in the South, will show the North that between the antagonistic elements of Freedom and Slavery, a hollow truce may be occasionally patched up by adroit politicians, but here can be no solid, permanent peace. ("Disunion Movements" IV: 158)

Bailey continued to hope idealistically that American expansionism would strengthen antislavery political power. Though inclined to counsel patience at the moment of defeat, Bailey was not satisfied that the Compromise had put the issue of slavery to rest. For the *Era*'s transition from patience and guarded vigilance in late 1850 to principled and vehement opposition in late 1851, we turn first to the *Era*'s revised annual prospectus.

The Higher Law *Era* of the 1852 Prospectus

The *Era*'s transformation over the course of the year 1851 is made clear in the contrast between the annual prospectus for volume V (1851) and the revised version for volume VI (1852). Under the names of editors Bailey and Whittier and published at the beginning of each volume year, the annual prospectus was the most prominent statement of the *Era*'s editorial stance. Only once during the five-year period from 1848 to 1853 did the paper's prospectus shift its emphasis appreciably.[10] And the paper's shift in editorial emphasis coincides with the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The 1851 prospectus was published two months after the

prosecutions, see Thomas P. Slaughter, *Bloody Dawn*, 106-07 and 222 n. 30.

[10] In tone and content, the 1851 prospectus is close to the three prospectuses that preceded it in 1850, 1849, and 1848. The 1852 prospectus is in substance repeated in 1853.

passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* began its serial run in June 1851. The 1852 prospectus appears at the end of the 1851 volume year. The serial run of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is nearly two-thirds complete. Both prospectuses begin with a definition: "The National Era is an Anti-Slavery, Political, and Literary Newspaper" (V: 3; V: 203). The two documents then diverge. The *Era*'s revised prospectus for the 1852 volume year shifts the paper's emphasis from advocating antislavery policies—including states' right of self-determination—to advocating antislavery principles that are drawn from higher law and American revolutionary ideals.

The 1851 prospectus elaborates the *Era*'s identity as an antislavery and political paper by enumerating the "principles and measures we are prepared at all *proper* times to maintain" (emphasis added V: 3). The adjective *proper* is a rhetorical key to the *Era*'s moderation. The prospectus emphasizes *measures*, a series of policies. "We hold—", the prospectus begins, and thirteen subordinate clauses follow. The four clauses devoted to slavery provide one principle and three measures. The principle: slavery is "repugnant" to "Natural Right, the Law of Christianity, the Spirit of the Age [and] Republican Institutions." The measures that follow in the 1851 prospectus oppose forced colonization, accept self-determination on slavery for states already in the union, and resist the expansion of slavery into new territories. The three moderate policies are a politically astute recognition that westward expansion could marginalize the power of slave states. New states added through westward expansion, if free, would soon tilt the balance of the Senate inexorably in favor of free states, a fact of which Southerners were also keenly aware.

The next nine clauses of the prospectus cover an extensive range of issues. The first clause provides a transition to non-slavery issues by again expressing principles. Bailey and Whittier celebrate diverse American characteristics (common language and civilization, territorial boundaries) and assert that slavery is the "single cause that disturbs its harmonies." This principle is followed with a series of policies on elections, postage, homestead settlements and private debt,

and commercial development.[11] The next principle is to advocate free discussion, to claim for the *Era* "honest motives" and to credit others with the same. The measures are a summary of the paper's activities: print congressional proceedings, foreign correspondence, and a Literary Miscellany. In addition to these "ample arrangements," the prospectus describes its editorial commitments: "we shall devote ourselves more particularly to Anti-Slavery and Political Discussions, taking care to keep our readers advised of all important reform movements and current events."

In contrast to the series of thirteen "We hold—" clauses in the 1851 prospectus, the 1852 prospectus follows "We believe—" with a stirring expression of Christian, Natural Law, and American Revolutionary principles:

> We believe—
>
> In the unity and common origin of the human race:
>
> In the doctrine that God made of one blood all the nations of men, to dwell upon all the face of the earth:
>
> In the golden rule—"Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you:"
>
> In the Higher Law—"It is better to obey God than man:"
>
> In Liberty, as the fundamental condition of Human Progress and Perfection:
>
> In law, as the Defence, not Destroyer, of Liberty:
>
> In Order, as the result of Liberty established and protected, not subverted, by Law:
>
> In the American Union, not as an end, but as a means—a means to the establishment of Liberty and Justice, worthy of support only so long as it shall answer these great ends. (V: 203)

This prospectus is markedly different from its predecessor. In the revised prospectus, the United States is subordinate to Christian and Natural Law principles, and the Union should be dissolved if it does not answer to these principles. The Union, the prospectus asserts, is a "means" to greater

[11] Bailey advocates four-year term limits and direct elections of both the president and senators, an independent post office and low-cost postage for letters and newspapers, homestead grants in territories and homestead exemptions from debt collection, and limited federal participation in commercial activities: removing restrictions, promoting foreign trade, and promoting commercial improvements as long as they have more than local benefits.

principles of liberty, justice, and order and not an "end" worth supporting without them. After the citation of principles the 1852 prospectus quotes the Declaration of Independence.

The 1852 prospectus quotes Thomas Jefferson's key revolutionary document as a statement of the *Era*'s core principles: "We hold these Truths to be Self-Evident [. . .]" (V: 203). The prospectus concludes its quotation of the Declaration of Independence with words that Jefferson had applied to the British government: "it is the right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government." In the context of the *Era*'s revised prospectus, Jefferson's words are aimed not at Great Britain but at the mid-century United States federal government. The prospectus then expands American revolutionary principles to a worldwide advocacy of antislavery principles: "We hold these Truths to be applicable at all times, to all men, of whatever clime or complexion, and are therefore the uncompromising foe of all forms of Slavery, personal, political, spiritual, whether at home or abroad [. . .]." After a statement of such comprehensive principles, measures are superfluous: accordingly, the revised prospectus omits measures. The emphasis on the national, indeed supranational, character of antislavery principles makes the prior year's policy statements meaningless. If the American Union is not worth preserving while it continues to support slavery, federal abolition or forcible secession of slave states are the only policies that remain consistent with the *Era*'s new principles.

The revised 1852 prospectus, like its 1851 predecessor, concludes with a statement on the Literary Department, but this too is revised. The new statement also replaces measures with principles. The 1851 prospectus had included of a list of names and the expectations for the paper's most prominent contributors: Whittier, Grace Greenwood (pen name of Sarah Jane Clarke), and E.D.E.N. Southworth. Bailey writes of Greenwood that her "services have been secured" and of Southworth that she "has engaged to furnish a story" (V: 203).[12] Stowe is included in the list of additional contributors. The 1852 prospectus does not refer to individual

[12] Southworth never did furnish a story in 1851, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* may be read as a substitute.

contributors. It begins with a principle: “The Literary Department of The Era speaks for itself.” And it continues with measures: “To the corps of contributors who have heretofore enriched it, we shall add from time to time as our means shall warrant.” As Stowe had been the paper’s dominant literary voice for the seven months preceding, it is noteworthy that the revised prospectus dispenses with a list of writers secured for the paper. The absence of named literary contributors in the 1852 prospectus may tacitly acknowledge that Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* had become the most prominent voice of the *Era*’s Literary Department.

The 1852 prospectus announces a transformation of *Era* into a Higher Law organ, and Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* is a major force at work in this transformation. But the revised prospectus is anticipated both in the *Era*’s debate over the Fugitive Slave Law and the concept of Christian Government and in Bailey’s editorials on the López Expedition against Cuba and the Christiana treason trials. The Christian Government debate involved numerous correspondents, the López Expedition prompted a number of vehement editorials, and the expected Christiana Treason Trials were the domestic event most closely tracked in late 1851 as a crucial test of the Fugitive Slave Law. While these debates on current political events might seem primarily domestic policy matters, for many of the *Era*’s correspondents these measures and policies had to be understood in the context of larger principles, which included the mid-century revolutionary tendencies of European governments. Both contemporary American and trans-Atlantic events had to be interpreted as clues to the progress of Christian Government over the previous five decades.

Christian Government Debates in the *Era*

The early 1851 Christian Government debates encompassed the following topics: the relationship of biblical principles to a citizen’s choice to obey or to violate the Fugitive Slave Law, the example of the Ottoman Empire’s treatment of Protestants as compared with the conduct of Christian Governments, the lessons of the French and American Revolutions as well as the more recent European revolutions of 1848, Genesis’s “Cursed be Canaan” passage as a

Biblical justification for slavery, and the importance of "linguistic precision" in biblical interpretation. When *Uncle Tom's Cabin* picks up the *Era*'s ongoing debate in its installments from 24 July 1851 through 11 September—from the Senator and Mrs. Burr chapter through St. Clare's purchase of Tom on the La Belle Riviere[13]—Stowe considers the role of biblical authority in secular government, the national consequences of the slave trade, the proper modes for reading the Bible, and the role of Scripture as consolation in times of sorrow. The long-running Christian Government debate in the *Era* emphasizes the role of personal choice in either submitting to the laws of one's government on Christian principles (like Tom) or rejecting unjust laws (like George Harris). A sketch of the contours of the Christian Government debate in the *Era* can help clarify Stowe's response to this debate over the course of these seven installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The predominant view in the *Era* on the Fugitive Slave Law was that a Christian must disobey because the law was not just. Typical of this view is a three-installment series entitled "Duties Men Owe to Christian Government," by Presbyterian minister Robert W. Oliver. [14] In the first installment, printed on 17 April 1851, Oliver responds to New York minister John D. Lord, who advocated obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law. The relevant biblical passage, Lord claimed, was "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's" (V: 64). Oliver airs Lord's view in a quotation that shows what ministerial supporters of slavery viewed as the historical antecedents and consequences of Seward's higher law principles:

> To allege that there is a higher law, which makes slavery, per se, sinful and that all legislation that protects the rights of masters, and enjoins the redelivery of the slave, is necessarily void and without authority, and may be conscientiously resisted by arms and violence, is an infidel position, contradicted by both Testaments; which may be taught in the gospel of Jean Jacques Rousseau, and in the revelation of the skeptics and Jacobins who promised France, half a century ago, universal equality and fraternity; a gospel whose baptism was blood, a

[13] Henceforth, I will cite the spelling of the *Era* version in all citations, though I will reformat prose by removing insignificant hyphenation and adjusting quotation marks to fit the form of quotation. The *Era* version of the boat name does not have the Jewett edition's grave accent on the first e in Riviere.
[14] The series appeared three consecutive weeks, 17 April through 8 May 1851 (V: 64, 68, 69, 76).

> revelation whose sacrament was crime. But it cannot be found in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, or in the Revelation of God's will to men. (V: 64)

Oliver's response to Lord is more temperate. He argues that to obey the Fugitive Slave Law is contrary to the Bible's teachings: "Now, we propose to prove that both Testaments are opposed to Slavery *per se;* and that in no age of the world did 'the Supreme Law-giver' sanction Slavery, and that it was opposed by our Lord and his Apostles; and, lastly, that obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law is disobedience to Christ" (V: 68). Oliver is typical of ministers among the *Era*'s correspondents, who discussed biblical principles against the Fugitive Slave Law with measured civility. The debate became heated when the *Era*'s regular European Correspondent, The Liberalist, in his 3 April column questioned whether the United States was a Christian Government.[15]

The Liberalist angered numerous *Era* correspondents when he contrasted unfavorably the actions of the "Christian" governments of the United States, England, and Russia to the "Turkish Sultan."[16] The Liberalist begins with a rhetorical question: "Who is the better Christian here, the English Premier or the Turkish Sultan, he who knowing not the Master's will, does it, or he who knows it and does it not?" ("European World" V: 55). The Liberalist's British example of unchristian government is the Gordon mobs who with the "connivance of the King" attacked Catholics.[17] His Russian example is the pursuit of the Hungarian revolutionary Louis Kossuth, who found refuge in Turkey.[18] The Liberalist cites four American examples: the treatment of Native Americans, the burning of a Catholic Convent in New England, a church burning in

[15] I do not know the identity of the writer under the pseudonym Liberalist, but the consensus of other correspondents was that the writer was male.
[16] The Liberalist's "Turkish Sultan" is Abd-ul-Mejid of the Islamic Ottoman Empire. He ruled from 1839 to 1861.
[17] The Gordon riots followed the Catholic Relief Act of 1778. A large crowd organized by the Protestant Association and led by PM Lord George Gordon filed a petition in protest to Parliament on 2 June 1798. Over the following week, London mobs attacked and burned Catholic churches and homes and freed prisoners from Newgate and Fleet Street prisons. Christopher Hibbert refuses to lay blame solely on "recognizable religious" causes and prefers instead to assign religious ideas to a series of causes including animus against Catholic employers, anti-Irish sentiment, lawlessness, and revolt of the poor against authority (173-74).

Philadelphia, and the driving of Mormons from Nauvoo in Illinois for "worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience."[19] He praises the "Turkish Sultan" because he protected Kossuth from the Russian Army, permitted Protestant missionaries in his empire, and executed nine hundred members of a mob after a massacre of Christians at Aleppo.[20] "Look, reader, at England, at Russia, at Prussia, aye, at our own country and then at Turkey, and ask your conscience, where is Christianity best practiced?" (V: 55). The Liberalist answers his rhetorical question with a damning verdict on Christianity: "Such, I am sorry to write, is much of the Christianity of the age; at least of the polemic Christianity of the day—the Christianity of the newspapers." These charges would not go unanswered, and the responses would continue to resonate in the *Era* as the serialization of Stowe's work began in June.

In the 17 April issue, a correspondent signed "C. D." harshly rejects the Liberalist's claims and asserts that the issue is a conflict between "Christianity" and "Mohammedism" ("Liberalist" V: 63). C. D. claims, of the European correspondent's examples, that in each case either that the government was not ruled by Christian principles or that mob action was not under the control of the government. C. D. denies that Christianity motivated the mob actions against the Nauvoo Mormons, the Charlestown convent, or the Philadelphia church. He adds the Mexican war to make four examples: "[I]n all these four wicked acts, American Christianity had just about as much to do with them, as *Turkish*—Christianity disowns and reprobates them all. They were done by men who had renounced the government of law, and who probably thought and cared

[18] For Louis Kossuth, the *Era*, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, see Reynolds 153-57; Smith 79-82.
[19] The Catholic Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, near Boston, was burned by a mob on 11 April 1834. ("Burning of the Charlestown Convent"). Joseph Smith founded the settlement at Nauvoo, Illinois in 1839, after fleeing Missouri. While in Hancock County jail under the protection of Governor Thomas Ford, Smith was murdered by a mob in June 1844. Over the next two years, a series of mob attacks included a systematic burning of Mormon farms around Nauvoo. After Smith's death, Brigham Young led the Nauvoo Mormons to Utah during the winter of 1846 (Flanders 306-41; Arrington 95).
[20] The Liberalist's account of a "massacre of some five hundred Christians" (56) at Aleppo is not supported by contemporary scholarship. According to Bruce Masters, the Christian victims of the mob were Uniate Catholics, not Protestants (4). The Ottoman Sultan did not execute Muslims in the anti-Christian mob. "All told, according to Consul Werry [of the British Foreign Office], 600 individuals were arrested. Of these, 400 were drafted into the army and the other 200 were exiled to Crete" (8).

about alike for Christ and Mohammed" (V: 63).[21] In the same issue in which C. D. delivers this rebuke of the Liberalist's earlier column, the European correspondent qualifies his earlier condemnation of Christian nations. With respect to the territories formerly occupied by aboriginal peoples, whether Native Americans or various peoples in the English Empire, the Liberalist praises the positive results of "the process of transferring territory from savage to English Civilized occupancy[:] in the end the result is the most fortunate for the human race; for whose benefit Providence, we all believe, created the earth" ("Transatlantic World" V: 63). The *Era* had printed the Liberalist's 3 April insinuation that a Muslim government could be superior to a Christian one, but Bailey joins his European correspondent in an attempt to defuse the dispute, deploying the easy chauvinism against non-Christians that co-exists with the *Era*'s antislavery message.[22] Bailey prefaces C. D.'s letter with an editorial note. The Liberalist, he argues, is not "seriously entertaining the idea that Mohammedan civilization is better than Christian" (V: 63). The Liberalist's comparison is nothing more than a rhetorical effect: "He simply meant to administer a severe rebuke to a people expressing the Christian faith."

If Bailey invoked common ground by citing the cultural superiority of the Christian (and by presumption Anglo-Saxon)[23] nations to calm the debate, the bitter recriminations nonetheless continued. In the 5 June issue, which coincides with the first installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a letter from J. M. Gregory appears under the heading "Christianity and the Church: Precision of

[21] C. D. contends that the Nauvoo Mormons would have been free from harassment, unless their religion required that they "revile and plunder their neighbors." The Charleston mob, he explains, was formed after Protestants "had their town threatened by the Lady Superior with mob violence from twenty thousand '*brave Irishmen.*' " In an argument puncutated by anti-Catholic language, such as "Romish church," C. D. argues that "similar, suspicious, secret institution of Protestants" would be treated alike (V: 63). He concludes with confidence that the Liberalist "will consent to give our present imperfect system a little further trial before he will give his final vote for so very grave a change as the one he has suggested."
[22] Bailey also advocates the Protestant church. He is opposed to the Roman Catholic Church because the hierarchy represents aristocratic, as opposed to democratic, tendencies.
[23] See George Fredrickson's *Black Image in the White Mind* (1971) on romantic racialism and Stowe's work as its "classic expression" (110). Antislavery thinkers, Fredrickson argues, believed in Anglo-American racial and cultural superiority.

Language Desirable." Gregory takes the Liberalist to task for lacking linguistic precision. Those who claim to attack the *perversions* of Christianity

> ought to be aware, if they are not, that they are using, and thus stamping with authority, the arguments under which infidelity, ever since the days of the French Revolution, has cloaked its attacks upon the Christian religion; arguments which we may hear any day from the village skeptics and bar-room free-thinkers throughout the land. (V: 92)

According to Gregory, a Christian's charitable act should not be confused with a non-Christian's because only the former's act is sanctified by "its animating and God-given faith in the Redeemer." Gregory concludes: "I do not accuse 'Liberalist' of designedly teaching all this, but I do charge that his words admit of such construction, and that, by their coincidence with the teaching of avowed infidels, he lends the whole weight of his confirmation to their sentiments" (92). So again, for questioning the Christianity of a government that institutes the Fugitive Slave Law, the Liberalist is being accused of Jacobinism. Gregory's language is oddly reminiscent of the pro-slavery Buffalo minister Lord, with whom Oliver had jousted a little over a month earlier in the *Era*.

Though Bailey had sought to qualify the *Era*'s support for the Liberalist's sentiments in his preface to C. D.'s letter—probably because the Liberalist was the regular European correspondent—Bailey also printed another denunciation of the moderate Gregory. He may have hoped that controversy would sell papers.[24] In the 7 August issue, in which Stowe's installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has Haley carry off Tom, J. C. Martin, an unapologetic atheist, responds to Gregory and lays down a gauntlet. He openly challenges the veracity of the Bible, but he then proceeds to use a biblical lesson to condemn Gregory. Martin's attitude to religion changed in adulthood:

[24] Later, when it seemed that the discussion of the Liberalists's charges might have been allowed to dissipate, Bailey returns to the subject in the notice that annouces his return from a two-month vacation in the 28 August 1851 issue ("Return" V: 138). In reference to his European correspondent, he says, "We presume his phraseology may have been liable to misconstruction."

> [M]y mind was directed to the actions, instead of the professions, of religionists; and from their actions I came to the conclusion that religion was all a farce, and the Book a fiction; and I here aver that I believe there never has been a course pursued by men or devils better calculated to foster and feed infidelity than the course taken by such men as J.M. Gregory. ("Liberalist Defended" V: 128)

Martin connects Gregory's precision of language to the support of slavery:

> Be not deceived, Brother Gregory, "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," and if the church soweth a fleshy seed, whether negroes or some other like precious seed, she may expect to reap a bountiful harvest of the same precious fruit; and be assured that infidels watch you close, and care but little about your precision of words, so long as precision of conduct is left in the shade. (V: 128)

Martin identifies precision of language with "our modern teachers and Latter Day Saints," groups that he contrasts with New Testament teachings: 'Remember, Christ says that 'inasmuch as you have done it to one of these least, you have done it unto me.' "[25] As Gregory had echoed Lord in Oliver's article, Martin's equation of Gregory with the Mormon Church reflects the correspondents' near obsession with the Liberalist's examples of non-Christian conduct by Christian governments.

A debate extending over the course of multiple issues of a newspaper will always draw in outlying issues that are related by tangential connections, and one such discussion of the Bible and slavery turned to the Noah episode in Genesis, as W. G. S. on 24 July weighed in on Samuel G. Cartwright's translation of Hebrew.[26] W. G. S.'s argument with Cartwright is another variation on linguistic precision, that is, in biblical translation. W. G. S. provides two basic arguments to refute Cartwright's argument that Genesis was a prediction of American slavery: 1) Noah's prophetic "Cursed be Canaan" should be construed as a prediction—with the English word *will*—rather than a command—with the English word *shall*. 2) Cartwright mistranslates the Hebrew meaning of *Kau-nah*, *Hay-vayd*, and *Ya-phe-tte* to justify American slavery. Therefore, instead of

[25] Mormonism is again blamed. "Now, it does appear pretty evident that if Jesus of Nazareth had been as tenacious of precision of language and courtesy of demeanor as many of our modern teachers and Latter Day Saints, he would have found favor with the Sanhedrin, evaded the cross, worshipped the devil, and reigned temporal monarch of the earth!" (128).

translating Noah's prophecy "Cursed be Canaan," Genesis IX: 25 should be paraphrased thus: "The Lord God will be worshipped by Shem and his descendants, and they will reduce to political subjection Ham's fourth son, Canaan, and his descendants" (V: 120).[27] For readers of Stowe's work in the *Era*, this article would have significant resonance. In the following week's installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, John Van Trompe will scornfully refer to ministers "with their Greek and Hebrew" (V: 121).

Despite its rejection of the Genesis IX:25 as applicable to American slavery, W. G. S.'s rebuke of Cartwright was a sideline to the Christian Government debate in the *Era*. But the exchange in which J. W. Gregory replied to the Liberalist and J. C. Martin replied to Gregory had a further consequence as Gregory—a recent convert to the abolitionist and Free Soil cause[28]—was goaded into writing a series of articles entitled "Christianity Defended." Gregory responded to Martin's rebuke on "precision of language" with a three-installment series. Beginning on 4 September and concluding on 4 December, "Christianity Defended" shares a broad philosophical conviction with Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that only Christianity can achieve an end to slavery. Gregory refuses to engage in a debate on biblical language with Martin, whom he dismisses with one stroke: "in avowing his infidelity Mr. Martin gives the whole weight of his testimony to the truth of my position, viz.: that the writer I criticized was taking Infidel ground and aiding Infidelity" (V: 144). Gregory, for whom the "truth of the Bible" is beyond dispute, addresses only the Christian antislavery critics of the church. He counsels patience with the church despite the faults of churchgoers and the hypocrisy of some ministers, but no issue is as important as the truth

[26] The New Orleans writer Cartwright was a notable advocate of the Bible as pro-slavery. See O'Brien 247 n. 89.
[27] W. G. S. argues that *Kau-nah* should be translated as "*humbling*, the *bringing down*, or the *subduing*"; that *Ya-phe-tte*, which for Cartwright and the received version is translated "enlarge," should be translated "declares is foolish, will be idolatrous"; and that *Hay-vayd* should be translated "a vassal, a subject," not "a slave" (V: 120).
[28] Gregory, a writer from Akron, Ohio, underwent a political conversion after the Compromise. He viewed his conversion through a Christian lens, as he explained in the 21 August issue ("Shall We Accept Half a Loaf?" V: 120).

of Christianity: “before it, all question of Government, and even the abolition of human servitude pale into insignificance” (V: 144).

Gregory’s second installment of “Christianity Defended,” in the 13 November issue, acknowledges that “in the matter of American slavery there is, in the position of the church, a dereliction from duty as monstrous as it is mournful” (V: 184). The members of the church may be weak, but Gregory insists that “Christianity is God’s plan of reforming an erring race, and the church is the grand human agency He has appointed to the work” (V: 184). The final 4 December installment continues with the same theme, and Gregory shares with Stowe the idea that Christianity is super-political despite its clear antislavery bias: “Slavery is doomed, not because politicians have decreed its extinction, but because Christianity is of God, and must roll on in triumph, till the Cross shall rule the world” (V: 193). While the debate between Gregory and Martin admits of no satisfactory resolution, the impulse—on the part of Gregory, Bailey, and Stowe—is to blunt the conflict between biblical and American principles. They instead focus on a shared belief that both Christianity and the core revolutionary principles of the United States are opposed to slavery.

Stowe’s Response to Christian Government

While Stowe’s work takes up many facets of the *Era*’s debate on Christian government, the analysis of an individual’s decision to obey or resist the Fugitive Slave Law and the dispute over authority for biblical interpretation are most pertinent. With regard to individual choice, Stowe’s most significant rhetorical move is to expand the *Era*’s discussion and to uncouple social class from interpretive authority on Christianity and citizenship. The *Era*’s disputes are among educated professors, clergyman, and newspaper editors, but when Stowe contemplates the slave trade in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, persons of all class are granted the ability to think about the Bible’s relationship to Christian religion and the American state. Stowe may well have been a conservative in her views of social class, but in her fiction persons excluded from the *Era*’s

discussion—women, slaves, and lower-class men—have greater interpretive insight into slavery than professors and clergyman.

Stowe relies on class difference between the *Era*'s learned disputants, its presumed middle-class readers, and the range of social classes portrayed in her work to give bite to her narrator's sarcasm. In the 10 July issue, after the Kentuckian helps Eliza up the Ohio river bank because he has decided not to be a "hunter and catcher for other folks," Stowe's narrator succinctly explains his failure to understand that his Christian impulse to aid Eliza is in violation of his civic obligations: "So spoke this poor, heathenish Kentuckian, who had not been enlightened on his constitutional relations, and consequently was betrayed into acting in a sort of Christianized manner, which, if he had been better situated and more enlightened, he would not have been left to do" (V: 109).[29] Stowe's sarcasm includes a rhetorical collapse of Christian and American principles and offers no room to compromise between biblical principles and Constitutional duty.

In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the ability to be "more enlightened" is quite fluid with respect to class. Characters may look to their social betters for guidance, but the comparatively rustic figures have a clear idea that some religious rationalizations for the slave trade are unacceptable. John Van Trompe, a former slave owner, is skeptical of ministers who provide rationalizations for the worst brutality of slavery:

> "I tell yer what, stranger, it was years and years before I'd jine the church, cause the ministers round in our parts used to preach that the Bible went in for these ere cuttings up—and I couldn't be up to 'em with their Greek and Hebrew, and so I took up agin 'em, Bible and all. I never jined the church till I found a minister that was up to 'em all, in Greek and all that, and he said right the contrary; and then I took right hold, and jined the church—I did now, fact [. . .]." (V: 121)

In the *Era* context, given W. G. S.'s dispute with Cartwright a week earlier, Van Trompe reduces the scholarly disputants to caricatures. The debates on the meaning of Hebrew can be ignored

[29] The Jewett edition has "**instructed** in his constitutional relations" (I: 95), a revision presumably intended to avoid the repetition of *enlightened*.

until one finds a minister capable of using scholarship to arrive at the answer one knows to be true. If one minister or biblical scholar gives an unacceptable interpretation, Van Trompe says one should find another minister.

But rationalization is not without moral hazards, as Tom Loker makes clear to Haley. Lower-class, devilish, and doggish Loker gives one of the strongest rebukes of self-interested rationalization. He deflates Haley's claim that he plans to attend to religion after he has "got matters tight and snug": "And you'r 'gettin religion,' as you call it, arter all, is too pisin mean for any crittur—run up a bill with the devil all your life, and then sneak out when pay-time comes. Boh!" (V: 113). Despite Stowe's willingness to endorse a rejection of a minister's views, the class fluidity is viewed with alarm if slave traders like Haley are the rising class: "If any of our refined and Christian readers object to the society into which this scene introduces them, let us beg them to begin and conquer their prejudices in time. The catching business, we beg to remind them, is rising to the dignity of a lawful and patriotic profession" (V: 113).

Stowe's most explicit vehicle for discussing class and the American system is the treatment of George Harris, whose condition marks the ability of the political system of slavery to invert "natural" class hierarchy. From the first installment on 5 June, George's appearance and language mark him as properly a member of a comparably elevated class. Mr. Shelby and Haley use "handsome" as the preferred adjective for Eliza. George too is described as "possessed of a handsome person and pleasing manners," but his "superior qualifications" are "subject to the control of a vulgar, narrow-minded, tyrannical master" (V: 89). Though he is "bright and talented" and an admired worker, George's legal master Mr. Harris becomes aware that what he perceives as the natural order of class (master over slave) is inverted in the bagging factory: George "talked so fluently, held himself so erect, looked so handsome and manly, that his master began to feel an uneasy consciousness of inferiority." Mr. Harris reasserts his legal right to restore the natural order of master over slave despite the clear economic benefit to Mr. Harris from George as a factory hand. Mr. Harris concludes that American law grants him the right to do

with George as he pleases: “It’s a free country, sir—the man’s mine, and I do what I please with him!”

In the following installment, George in his discussion with Eliza is granted the opportunity to speak on the inversion of class that he perceives despite every attempt to tolerate the American system.

> “Patient!” said he, interrupting her, “haven’t I been patient? Did I say a word when he came and took me away, for no earthly reason, from the place where everybody was kind to me? I’d paid him truly every cent of my earnings—and they all say I worked well.”
>
> “Well, it *is* dreadful,” said Eliza; “but, after all, he is your master, you know!” (V: 93)

In George’s reply, he supplements the narrator’s physical description to show himself aware that educational accomplishments define him as a member of a higher social class, in defiance of Eliza’s acknowledgment that the law makes him a slave subject to Mr. Harris:

> “My master! and who made him my master? That's what I think of—what right has he to me? I’m a man as much as he is—I'm a better man than he is—I know more about business than he does—I’m a better manager than he is—I can read better than he can—I can write a better hand, and I’ve learned it all myself, and no thanks to him” (93)

In George’s impossible situation, his only choices are nihilism, abandonment of his family, and escape from slavery.

Stowe emphasizes the moral deficiency of both Mr. Harris and his son Tom by their cruelty to George. But their deficiency is also apparent in their treatment of horses and of George’s pet. The young master Tom slashes a whip near a horse, and George asks him to stop. Young Tom turns on George, and George resists. Then Mr. Harris, George tells Eliza, “tied me to a tree, and cut switches for young master, and told him that he might whip me till he was tired—and he did do it” (V: 93). Mr. Harris then orders George to kill the dog Carlo that Eliza had given him. When George refuses and is flogged again, Mr. Harris and his son proceed with a cruel drowning: “Mass’r and Tom pelted the poor drowning creature with stones [. . .]” (V: 93). The final injustice that George recounts is Mr. Harris’s plan to marry George to Mina. The violation

of their Christian marriage, George explains, is in accordance with the "law in this country" (V: 93).

Stowe also punctures the class pretensions of the Shelby family, although her rhetoric on class is subtler than in her comparison of George and Mr. Harris. She depicts the Shelby's smug self-satisfaction as they contrast themselves to the neighboring Lincon family, a contrast in which even Chloe indulges. Following a general observation, the family "aint much count, no way," at least when "set alongside *our* folks," Chloe works down the list: "Set mass'r Lincon, now, alongside mass'r Shelby! Good Lor! and missis Lincon—can she kinder sweep it into a room like my missis—so kinder splendid, yer know!" (V: 93). The "Good plain, common cookin Jinny'll do" for "pone o' bread," "taters," and "corn cakes," but her work in "the higher branches," such as pastries, are failures as compared to Chloe's. The method by which young George Shelby learns of Uncle Tom's sale may be a continuation of the families' rivalry: "They never sent for me, nor sent me any word, and if it hadn't been for Tom Lincoln, I shouldn't have heard it" (V: 125).[30] If George learns the news from Tom, the sale of Uncle Tom punctures the Shelby family's pretensions, even against a rival family that in their judgment is markedly inferior in class.

Although Stowe complicates the *Era*'s discussion of Christian Government by mixing class into the discussion, her more radical move is to grant the unlearned—Uncle Tom in particular—great authority as a reader of scripture, an authority which on an emotional level exceeds that of the learned. A striking moment occurs in the 28 August issue, the "philosophic friend" passage unique to the *Era*'s version of Chapter XII, "Select Incidents of Lawful Trade." Stowe introduces the passage by contrasting the "reflections" of the slave trader Haley and Tom. Haley ponders Tom's market value and congratulates himself on his merciful act of fettering only Tom's legs, not hands. Tom was, however,

> thinking over some words of an unfashionable old book, which kept running through his head, again and again, as follows: "We have here no continuing city,

[30] The *Era* version has variant spellings Lincoln and Lincon.

> but we seek one to come; wherefore God himself is not ashamed to be called our God; for he hath prepared for us a city." These words of an ancient volume, got up principally by "ignorant and unlearned men," have through all time kept up, somehow, a strange sort of power over the minds of poor, simple fellows, like Tom. (V: 137)[31]

Stowe in the newspaper follows her contrast of the private reflections of Haley and Tom with an address to the reader, as a "philosophic friend":

> I mention this, of course, philosophic friend, as a psychological phenomenon. Very likely it would do no such thing for you, because you are an enlightened man, and have outgrown the old myths of past centuries. But then, you have Emerson's Essays, and Carlyle's Miscellanies, and other productions of the latter day, suited to your advanced development. (V: 137)

This passage is aimed directly at transcendentalism, but in the *Era* context the passage also implicates the attitude expressed by J. C. Martin, the atheist who had treated the Bible as a useful reference for the discussion of slavery while according it no special value as "truth." Given Stowe's emphasis on class, the passage is also an important reminder that even the advocates of the Bible's truth had tended to engage in the discussion on a philosophical level without any consideration of the consolation provided by the "unfashionable old book" in the life of a slave torn from his wife and children.

As a salvo against transcendentalism, Stowe's particular targets are Thomas Carlyle's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1838) and Ralph Waldo Emerson's *Essays*, First Series and Second Series (1847). The dramatic situation in which Stowe includes this paragraph is a crucial moment in a section that has some of the work's most artistically powerful scenes. I depart from the work of Kirkham, who does not discuss the dramatic situation in which Stowe utters the passage and instead emphasizes Stowe's religious conservatism and the fact that she later

[31] Tom's meditation on the passage from Hebrews collapses verses 11:16 and 13:14. The two passages are as follows: "[. . .] for we have here no continuing city, but are seeking that which is to come" Heb. 13:13-14. "But now they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God; for he hath prepared for them a city" Heb. 11:16. William B. Allen identified Stowe's combination of the two passages. For a most helpful reading of Stowe's purpose in Tom's collapsing these passages, see Allen 10.

removed it for the Jewett edition.[32] Stowe's choice to address her reader as "philosophic friend" may echo Carlyle's "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question," in which the satiric narrator Dr. Phelin M'Quirk addresses his fellow members of the Universal Abolition-of-Pain-Association as "Philanthropic Friends."[33] In Carlyle's *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (1838), Stowe might have been troubled by his unwillingness to acknowledge a biblical God and by his open questioning of the Bible's truth. The absence of the Christian God is notable in Carlyle's "State of German Literature." He seeks a "Science of Criticism, as the Germans practice it," and thus rejects the shopworn assertion that the Bible is the greatest source of poetical beauty. He argues instead that poetical beauty has another source: "It dwells, and is born in the inmost Spirit of Man, united to all love of Virtue, to all true belief in God; or rather, it is one with this love and this belief, another phase of the same highest principle in the mysterious infinitude of the human Soul" (I: 60). Borrowing from Johann Gottlieb Fichte on the idea of the Literary Man, Carlyle grants such figures a role as the "appointed interpreters of this Divine Idea" (I: 63).[34] When

[32] Kirkham, who notes this passage's omission in the Jewett edition, mentions that it occurs in the episode of Tom and Haley, but he does not discuss the function of the passage within the newspaper serial. His emphases are that Stowe, "still a Beecher, fought liberalisms of all kinds" and that she "deleted the paragraph six months later" (114). Later while discussing Stowe's thought on the relationship between government and church, Kirkham returns to Stowe's familiarity with Emerson, Carlyle, Godwin, and Brownson. But he cautions against source hunting because Stowe was "eclectic in the extreme" (125). Kirkham's influence is clear in the recent *Norton Anthology of American Literature*. The passage is isolated for discussion independently of is place within Stowe's work. The introduction to "American Literature: 1820-1865" (Volume B) of the *Norton Anthology of American Literature* (2003) treats this passage as emblematic of the "conservative Christian view" and exhibits it as part of the widespread recognition that "Transcendentalism was more pantheistic than Christian" (970). The anthology's introduction to Stowe does not mention the location of passage in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the anthology's reprint of Chapter XII does not note the location of the omitted passage, despite having discussed it in the introduction.

[33] Carlyle's "Occasional Discourse" was reprinted twice in the United States in 1850. See "Carlyle on West India Emancipation, "*The Commercial Review of the South and West* VIII. Old Series. (1850): 527-38; "Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question," Littel's Living Age (1850). The deeply racist essay, published anonymously in 1849 in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, portrays emancipated former slaves ("Quashee") in the Carribean sugar plantations unwilling to work: "Sunk to the ears in pumpkin, imbibing saccharine juices, and much at his ease in the creation, he can listen to the less fortunate white man's 'demand,' and take his own time in supplying it" (*Littel's* 530). See Allen.

[34] "According to Fichte, there is a 'Divine Idea' pervading the visible Universe; which visible Universe is indeed but its symbol and sensible manifestation, having in itself no meaning, or even true existence independent of it [. . .]. Literary Men are the appointed interpreters of this Divine Idea; a perpetual priesthood, we might say, standing forth, generation after generation, as the dispensers and living types of

conferring such powers on Literary Men, Carlyle also questions the literal truth of the Bible, though he declines to speculate on whether the willingness to question the Bible's literal truth is becoming a more pervasive doctrine.[35] In "On History," he discounts scripture's special property as divine truth when he contends that church history could be "a sort of continued Holy Writ; our sacred books, being, indeed, only a History of the primeval Church, as it first arose in man's soul, and symbolically embodied itself in his external life" (II: 254).

Emerson's frequent invocation of Jesus as an exemplary man and the Bible as one among many sources for poetry may have been galling to Stowe, but Emerson's "Character" has a remarkable parallel to Tom and Haley both in its celebration of trade and in its dismissal of the slave's iron fetters. Emerson in "History" de-emphasizes the truth of biblical stories, in "Spiritual Law" dismisses the struggle for virtue, and in "The Over-Soul" advocates abandoning the God of religious tradition.[36] The key passage for Stowe's dramatic situation of Haley and Tom, however, is from "Character," when Emerson celebrates trade and dismisses slaves' iron fetters as if they are merely—in William Blake's elegant phrase—"mind-forg'd manacles" (46). Emerson first celebrates the trader and merchant:

> Nature seems to authorize trade, as soon as you see the natural merchant, who appears not so much a private agent, as her factor and Minister of Commerce. His natural probity combines with his insight into the fabric of society, to put him above tricks, and he communicates to all his own faith, that contracts are of no private interpretation. The habit of his mind is a reference to standards of natural equity and public advantage; and he inspires respect, and the wish to deal with him [. . .]. (III: 55)

God's everlasting wisdom, to show it and embody it in their writings and actions, in such particular form as their own particular times require it in" (I: 63).

[35] He explains the reticence to speculate on the pervasiveness of doctrinal dissent in "Signs of the Times": "To what extent theological Unbelief, we mean intellectual dissent from the Church, in its view of Holy Writ, prevails at this day, would be a highly important, were it not, under any circumstances, an almost impossible inquiry" (II: 165).

[36] "The Garden of Eden, the Sun standing still in Gibeon, is poetry thenceforward to all nations. Who cares what the fact was, when we have made a constellation of it to hang in heaven an immortal sign?" (II: 6). "Either God is there, or he is not there" (II: 78). "When we have broken our god of tradition, and ceased from our god of rhetoric, then may God fire the heart with his presence" (II: 173).

In the 10 July issue, Stowe's trader Haley had claimed himself *above tricks*: " 'And mind yerself,' said the trader, 'and don't come it over your master with any o' yer nigger tricks, for I'll take every cent out of him if you aint thar' " (V: 109). Emerson, as he is wont to do, moves immediately to another example to emphasize his contention that character "works with most energy in the smallest companies and in private relations. [. . .] The excess of physical strength is paralyzed by it. [. . .] When the high cannot bring up the low to itself, it benumbs it, as a man charms down the resistance of the lower animals" (III: 55). Emerson dismisses the power of iron fetters to rob a man of his strength:

> Is an iron handcuff so immutable a bond? Suppose a slaver on the coast of Guinea should take on board a gang of negroes, which should contain persons of the stamp of Toussaint L'Ouverture: or, let us fancy, under these swarthy masks he has a gang of Washingtons in chains. When they arrive at Cuba, will the relative order of the ship's company be the same? Is there nothing but rope and iron? Is there no love, no reverence? Is there never a glimpse of right in a poor slave-captain's mind; and cannot these be supposed available to break, or elude, or in any manner overmatch the tension of an inch or two of iron ring? (III: 56)

If the "natural power" that Emerson celebrates is present in Tom, neither "love" nor "reverence" proves capable in Stowe's work of breaking iron fetters. In addition to acknowledging the physicality of material objects, Stowe also emphasizes what Emerson's work lacks, a turn to the Bible as Christian scripture, a concern omnipresent in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The philosophic friend passage, though a general indictment of transcendentalism and by its parallels a pointed reference to Emerson's passage in "Character," is also a broader indictment of the *Era*'s various types of philosophic friends among its correspondents. In Stowe's work, the "Incidents" of slavery that are described in this chapter are visited often on mothers and wives.[37] The philosophic friend passage, as a gloss on Tom's turn to biblical text, frames the entire installment. The rebuke of philosophical friends is followed by a series of incidents that chronicle familial destruction and especially its effect on women as the primary function of slave trading.

[37] I insist on the plural because chapter XII in the *Era* version has the plural "Incidents" whereas the Jewett edition has the singular form "Incident" (V: 137; I: 172).

Emerson's example, it should be noted, figures slaves as males: "no L'Ouvertures or Washingtons" among them. Haley's purchases always separate females from their families and often, it is suggested, lead to deaths. If Hagar, the mother whom Haley declines to purchase at auction after purchasing her fourteen-year-old son Albert, does not die immediately, she fears she will die from her grief: " 'Dey must, child—I can't live no ways, if they dont,' said the old creature, vehemently" (V: 137). John is separated from his wife, but Stowe does not elaborate because it is a story "told too oft; every day told." The third incident is clearly a death. After Haley separates Lucy from her husband and sells her one-year old child, she commits suicide by leaping from the boat.

In the midst of familial destruction through the actions of the slave trade on La Belle Riviere, the fictional ministers in Stowe's work—both defenders and opponents of slavery—turn to the Bible as the textual authority. John, the drover from the Kentucky tavern, interprets the ministerial dispute over the biblical text for Haley's benefit. The discussion between the genteel lady who is knitting a baby's outfit—"We can't reason from our feelings to those of this class of persons"—and the other lady who responds warmly—"I was born and brought up among them. I know they *do* feel—just as keenly—even more so, perhaps, than we do"—is joined by a solemn older minister who cites the Old Testament:

> "It's undoubtedly the intention of Providence that the African race should be servants—kept in a low condition," said a grave looking gentleman in black, a clergyman, seated by the cabin-door—'cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be,' the scripture says." (V: 137)

Here the Kentucky drover interrupts, inquiring whether "that ar what that text means." The minister responds "Undoubtedly." Haley—the Kentucky drover addresses him as "squire"—seems uncomfortable with the elder minister's assurance and repeats his intention to repent. The drover dismisses Haley's plan:

> "And now you'll save yerself the trouble wont ye?" said the tall man. "See what 'tis now to know scripture—if ye'd only studied yer Bible like this yer good man, ye might have know'd it before, and saved ye a heap o trouble—ye

> could, jist have said ‘cussed be’—whats-his-name?—‘and twoul’d all have come right.’ ”

A second parson, a “tall slender young man, with a face expressive of great feeling and intelligence” immediately cites an alternative New Testament passage to counter the other minister’s Old Testament authority:

> “ ‘All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them’—I suppose,” he added, “*that* is scripture as much as cursed be Canaan.”
>
> “Wal, it seems quite *as* plain a text, stranger,” said John the drover, “to poor fellows like us now;” and John smoked on like a volcano.

This passage in both versions of the text relies on the audience’s recognition that the second minister’s body type, his manner of speaking, and his choice to cite the New Testament grant him greater authority. And it too resonates with John Van Trompe’s earlier advice to pick a preferred minister. In the *Era* the older minister’s citation resonates with biblical scholar W. G. S.’s article on Noah, which translated “Cursed be Canaan” as primarily an Old Testament prophecy on political events of the next few generations.

The emphasis on familial destruction in this chapter is followed the next week (4 September) with Chapter XIII, “The Quaker Settlement,” and its frequently discussed model for matriarchal Christian ideology. But is it is crucial also to recognize that only at the Quaker household does George Harris begin to consider the Christian faith as a possible means to overcome the legal structure underpinning slavery in the American nation and to create a place for the “black” man at a white man’s table, at least—in Stowe’s limited imagination of racial tolerance—if he is educated, handsome, talented, and at most half-black. The emphasis on Christianity overcoming American legal structures in this chapter thus form another important link to the Tom plot, which had illustrated the destruction of slave families in so many “incidents” of the 28 August installment and will in following weeks’s installment, Chapter XIV, “Evangeline,” suggest that only scripture offers solace to Tom, whose blackness is unmixed with

the whiteness that is necessary in Stowe's imagination for recognition as a human being in American society.

The 28 August installment begins again with Tom and Scripture, but this time he is reading. Tom, who because semiliterate is not able to write his family, has turned to his copy of the New Testament for solace. Tom has only the New Testament in the *Era* version, and this is a crucial difference between the newspaper and the Jewett edition. The word "Testament" occurs seven times in the *Era* version of the two chapters, and Stowe refers specifically to the "New Testament." Six of these occurrences are changed to "Bible" in the Jewett edition text (though one reference to "Testament" remains). In the 28 August 1851 installment, Stowe's use of the quote from Joel F. Parker specifically contrasts the quote from the "American divine" to Tom's restricted reading:

> If he had only been instructed by a certain minister of Christianity, he might have thought better of it, and seen in it an every-day incident of a lawful trade—a trade which is the vital support of an institution which an American divine* tells us has "*no evils but such as are inseparable from any other relations in social and domestic life*." But Tom, as we see, being a poor ignorant fellow, whose reading had been confined entirely to the New Testament, could not comfort and solace himself with views like these. (V: 137)

The limit on Tom's reading matter is a reminder of a slave's absence of economic means. However, in this case, Tom gains the spiritual advantage that the title's "lowly" have over those who are betters by dint of social class. Stowe's anger toward Parker is ferocious, but her reference to"views like these" in the *Era* text addresses all ministers. The passage also recalls her earlier address to "philosophic friend" readers, and it enforces her insistence on the power of characters in a disadvantaged social class to recognize the so-called Christian Government's corruption. Slavery in Parker's worldview is an everyday social structure in which one is granted authority over another (such as husband over wife).

* Dr. Joel Parker, of Philadelphia. [Stowe's note]

The *Era* version's "New Testament" is interesting because it resonates with Stowe's emphasis on class in the newspaper version. To have access to only the New Testament makes class an advantage in Tom's religious life, but this compensation—Christianity when race is a complete barrier to participation in white-imagined society—is muted in a later installment as Tom takes up a Bible in the St. Clare household (though Stowe provides no explanation how Tom's New Testament became a Bible). Textual scholar John Bryant's concept of fluidity between versions suggests that variants represent energy, and the energy that informs Stowe's text is a paradox: Tom is an archetype of an Old Testament patriarch (and medieval church father and learned classical writer, as we shall see), but he is at best a semiliterate reader. The *Era* version text put more emphasis on Tom's limited economic means, even before the sale to Haley destroys all that remains. For example, the wall-hangings in Tom's cabin in the *Era* version are described as "bilious Scriptural prints" (V: 97). The adjective bilious suggests wretchedness (as in poor quality), melancholy, or a skin discoloration that suggests liver dysfunction.[38] A *bilious* print is thus one of poor quality or one that has suffered significant paper deterioration from age or exposure. Given "bilious" in the *Era*, Stowe's comment on the print of General Washington—"drawn and colored in a manner which would certainly have astonished that hero"—may well suggest a comment on the quality of the reproduction.[39] My emphasis here is the *Era* version, so I stress the work's emphasis on the power of lower class characters to interpret incisively. The alternative "brilliant" (V: 41) for the scriptural prints in the Jewett edition does support the subversive blackface rendering of George Washington that Christina Zwarg has suggested, but the book edition variant is a later revision of the newspaper text, as Stowe's revision for the Jewett edition improves the quality of the reproductions in a manner that may suggest the

[38] For "melancholy," see Belasco Smith 88 n 21.
[39] I would like to thank Rare Book Librarian John Buchtel for so readily believing that "bilious" was an appropriate description for scriptural prints and for introducing me to samples of what Stowe might well have thought were artistically wretched reproductions.

retouching of Washington's portrait, an emphasis that is less probable in the *Era* version of the text.[40]

Where the 28 August installment, Chapter XII, "Select Incidents of Lawful Trade," had savaged philosophical friends for discounting the literal truth of scripture and had portrayed ministerial disputes on scriptural interpretation as a subject for John the drover's gleeful baiting of Haley, its opening purpose was to emphasize that the New Testament offered Tom consolation in his moment of grief. The return to Tom in the 11 September installment has another paradox. Semiliterate Tom, limited in the *Era* version to the New Testament only and barely able to sound out the words ("Let—not—your—heart—be—troubled." [V: 145]) is nonetheless a formally innovative textual annotator. His achievement as a scripture annotator is on par with or superior to that of a classical figure of great learning like Cicero. Tom's memory and his annotated New Testament are able at an instant to offer comfort in his time of greatest distress.

As Stowe explains, Tom's reading is more effective within his personal circumstances than Cicero's reading within his moment of familial grief. When Tom reads his New Testament from high on the cotton bales as La Belle Riviere makes its way down south, Stowe provides a detailed comparison of his reading to that of the learned. Because he and Cicero share a common humanity, their grief puts them on equal footing, but Tom's lack of learning and his utter lack of hope may be an advantage in gaining consolation from scripture:

> Cicero, when he buried his darling and only daughter, had a heart as full of honest grief as poor Tom's—perhaps no fuller, for both were only men—but Cicero could pause over no such sublime words of hope, and look to no such future reunion; and if he *had* seen them, ten to one he would not have believed—he must fill his head first with a thousand questions of authenticity of manuscript and correctness of translation. But to poor Tom there it lay, just what he needed, so evidently true and divine that the possibility of a question never entered his simple head. (V:145)

[40] One of these variants may be an error. I treat them as two distinct versions. For the George Washington "portrait" as blackface, see Zwarg 277-79.

Shared humanity, shared grief, provide even semiliterate Tom an advantage over Cicero, precisely because the truth and divine origin of the New Testament is assumed. Stowe presses on, with the forms of reading by the learned still in her sight, and she again offers Tom as a model of the most sophisticated type of reader, an innovator who creates a system of annotation both innovatively formal and personally meaningful:

> As for Tom's New Testament, though it had no annotations and helps in margin from learned commentators, still it had been embellished with certain way-marks and guide-boards *of Tom's own invention*, and which helped him more than the most learned expositions could have done. (V:145)

Like George Harris, who invented a machine for cleaning hemp, Tom has invented a personal system of annotation, a formal system *of Tom's own invention*. It is personal both in terms of its formal construction and its personal relevance. Based on young Master George's reading, Tom "would designate by bold, strong marks and dashes, with pen and ink, the passages" that appealed particularly, and the end result is that "His Testament was thus marked through from one end to the other with a variety of styles and designations, so he could in a moment seize upon his favorite passages, without the labor of spelling out what lay between them" (V: 145).

Uncle Tom's system of annotation is simultaneously intensely personal and as formally inventive as that of a learned scholar. But Cicero's particular form of grief (for the loss of an only daughter) also foreshadows St. Clare's grief over the loss of Eva. My reading of Stowe's practice of holding up Tom next to figures of great learning or social standing and showing their failings draws on Lawrence Buell's insight in "Stowe and the Dream of the Great American Novel" (2004), that Tom is also figured as St. Augustine. This insight also further clarifies Stowe's attempt to reconfigure the *Era*'s Christian Government debate.

Buell notes that Stowe's description of Tom after he acquires his new clothes at the St. Clare household includes the observation that Tom "looked respectable enough to be a Bishop of Carthage, as men of his color were, in other ages" (194; Jewett I: 259). Buell comments that Stowe's comparison

> sounds jocose, but it's really a bombshell. To whom does the text refer here? To more than one individual, it would seem, judging from what the language of the text implies; but among them almost surely St. Augustine, often traditionally (and still today) thought to be non-white. If you're looking for the *true* patriarch, the text insinuates, here's your man. Here's the *true* Augustine, not the *papier-maché* Augustine St. Clare who happens to be Tom's legal master. (194-95)

Buell also notes that Tom in Chapter IV is described as a sort of "patriarch in religious matters" (195). Although Buell is to my knowledge the first modern critic to comment on Tom's resemblance to St. Augustine, South Carolina proslavery intellectual Louisa S. McCord had both noted and blasted Stowe's insinuation. McCord, in her hostile 1853 review, dismissed Buell's "bombshell" with a vicious racial stereotype on the distinction between northern and sub-saharan Africans:

> We speak, of course, of the *real negro*, and not of the African. All Africans are no more negroes, than all fish are flying-fish. The real woolly-headed and thick-lipped negro is as distinct from many African races as he is from the Saxon. And when Mrs. Stowe tells us that Tom "looked respectable enough to be Bishop of Carthage, as men of color were, in other ages," either she chooses to forget that all men of colour are not negroes, or she is lamentably ignorant of the facts to which she refers (277 n 30).[41]

McCord's footnote nonetheless supports Buell's contention that to Stowe's antislavery contemporaries the idea of Uncle Tom as a religious patriarch modeled on a bishop like St. Augustine was a legitimate aspiration. To a slavery apologist like McCord, Stowe's insinuation had to be refuted.

By making Cicero and St. Augustine comparable to Tom, Stowe continues her attack on transcendentalists, scholars with their Greek and Hebrew, and ministers she had rebuked in the

[41] McCord's work appeared in *Southern Quarterly Review* (Jan. 1853: 81-120), and the comment on Tom as Augustine is in a footnote supporting McCord's contention that "The Negro alone has of all races of men, remained entirely without all shadow of civilization" (Rpt. in *Political and Social Essays* 277). In my reprint of the version as edited by modern scholar Lounsbury, I remove his correction of McCord's quotation of Stowe. Stowe writes "be a Bishop of Carthage" and "men of his color," but McCord mis-quotes Stowe's passages "be Bishop of Carthage" and "men of color" (*Era* V: 153; Jewett I: 259; 277). Lounsbury brackets McCord's misquotations. McCord's misreading of Stowe is important both because she assumes that Stowe means St. Augustine and because she distinguishes northern and sub-Saharan Africans by skin color. McCord's misreading of Stowe, in part because of its vicious racism, is of a strong order.

three previous installments. Although the passages on Cicero and St. Augustine are present in the Jewett edition, Stowe removed the philosophic friend passage and replaced Tom's New Testament with the entire Bible in the Jewett edition. The textual variations of the book version mute the resonance of this group of passages in the newspaper text. Tom's innovative system of biblical annotation, which allows him to "seize his favorite passages," is also mirrored in the political debate in the *Era*. There too, the ability to seize a favorite passage marks one's allegiance to the Constitution or the Declaration of Independence, a topic that Stowe would take up next in her response to the politics of Christian Government.

The López Expedition

In the 4 December 1851 issue, the *Era* printed President Fillmore's address to the opening session of the Thirty-Second Congress. The president framed his discussion of foreign policy and the federal budget between two items of current popular attention. The item that opens his address is the López Expedition against Cuba, which had ended in defeat three months earlier. A number of American citizens remained imprisoned in early December, and some faced execution. Fillmore's closing item, the popular attention to the Fugitive Slave Law, is a guarded discussion of the Christiana Treason Trials, which are set to begin the following week in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The López Expedition and the Christiana Treason Trials are the two most important domestic political contexts in which to view the *Era*'s revised prospectus and Augustine and Alfred St. Clare's debate in the 20 November 1851 issue of the *Era*. In the view of the antislavery *Era*, the López Expedition was an example of dangerous Southern aggression that had gone unchecked by the executive branch. On 11 December, a week after it printed Fillmore's address, the *Era* would print a day-by-day trial summary of the Philadelphia trial.[42] While the *Era*'s coverage of the López Expedition nears its end as the Christiana Treason Trials demand

more attention, both are concurrent with Stowe's serialized text. I begin with the *Era*'s reading of the López Expedition, which clarifies the domestic political context for the St. Clare brothers' debate on Haiti.

Fillmore's 2 December "President's Message" to Congress's opening session occupied nearly a full page in the *Era*, seven columns, the last in small advertising copy type. Fillmore's overarching theme is that Americans should respect the law. He devotes the first quarter of the address to the failed López Expedition. The expedition, he explains, acted illegally when it gathered privateers in the United States. While the administration pledged to try to secure the release of the remaining American prisoners, it respected the law of Spain. The Americans who joined were duped by the Expedition's leaders and backers, who intended to use a fraudulent bond scheme for personal enrichment after Cuba became an American possession. The United States government, they hoped, would assume the debt that the bonds represented. Financial chicanery, he contends, was more influential than the actual desire to overthrow Spanish rule (V: 194). Fillmore's treatment of the Cuba incident complete, he devotes the bulk of his address to international relations and budgetary concerns. He closes with a hopeful outlook on the public's reaction to the Fugitive Slave Law. Fillmore again turns to his theme of obeying the law. The law is constitutional, he contends, and his responsibility is to execute the laws. Opposition to the law, though decreasing, represents a constitutional crisis:

> The main opposition is aimed against the Constitution itself, and proceeds from persons and classes of persons, many of whom declare their wish to see that Constitution overturned. They avow their hostility to any law which shall give full and practical effect to this requirement of the constitution. Fortunately, the number of these persons is comparatively small, and is believed to be daily diminishing, but the issue which they present is one which involves the supremacy and even the existence of the Constitution. (V: 195)

[42] A brief, witty editorial notice in the 2 December issue comments on the length of the President's speech and its relationship to the week's Christiana coverage: "No room this week for a notice of the Christiana trials, or the President's Message" (V: 194). Fillmore's address is printed in full.

Fillmore's words were probably read with something close to disdain in the *Era* because, as explained in chapter 1, the newspaper had repeatedly questioned the Fillmore administration's enthusiasm for the letter of the law when applied to antislavery interests and its disregard for the same when it sought to satisfy proslavery interests.[43] The *Era*'s opinion of the Fillmore administration's hypocrisy had crystallized in its reading of the administration's response to the López Expedition.

In the 4 September issue, in which the installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is "The Quaker Settlement," Bailey writes three editorials about Cuba and the larger subject of slavery in the Caribbean. [44] In "Speculations about Cuba," he rejects the predictions of an article on Cuban statehood in the *New York Courier and Enquirer*. In "A Glimpse at the Future," he takes the *Southern Press* to task for predicting that the United States will be compelled to aid Cuba should the Spanish government liberate its slaves and encourage them to fight against the American filibuster invaders. In "Hayti and Cuba," Bailey rejects the conclusions of *La Verdad*, a New York paper for Cuban nationalist sympathizers, which advocated defending the Dominican Republic from Haitian aggression as a prelude to another assault on Cuba. Published approximately two months prior to Fillmore's address, when the outcome of the López Expedition was in doubt, these editorials are written at a moment of high anxiety. In the same issue, a telegraphic dispatch reports that López "has been victorious in several engagements," that the Spanish defender "General Enna, with a large number of officers and men, was slaughtered on the 17th," and the invaders "were marching on Havana" ("Highly Important from Cuba" V: 142). However, the paper includes a frequent caveat to telegraphic stories: "We do not know how much credit to attach to the news" (V: 142). While Spanish General Manuel Enna was killed

[43] In the same issue as Fillmore's address, see "To Our Friends—Public Printing, Etc.," a scathing editorial on the *Era*'s legal right to public printing because it had the highest circulation of all Washington D. C. newspapers. Public printing, it claims, "is our *legal right*, but antislavery men must expect a rigid execution of the law, only when it is *against them*" (V: 194).
[44] For the attributions to Bailey, see the 1851 annual volume index (V: 205-06).

on 17 August, the outmatched filibusters fled Enna's forces. Within days most had been captured or killed (Chaffin 212-15).

In "Speculations about Cuba," Bailey after his excerpt from the *Courier and Enquirer* rejects its reasons for advocating statehood for the Cuban territory. The article in the New York paper contends that Cuba should be annexed as a state for the economic interest of the North, but the potential political power of the territory should be limited by treating slaves as property and not counting them for population purposes.[45] Bailey reads this article as a sign of the new boldness of the South and its northern propagandists following the earlier capitulation in the Compromise measures. And he predicts that annexing Cuba will "augment indefinitely the political power of Slavery, and diminish the force of causes that are now operating for the overthrow of the system in Northern slave States" (142). While Bailey believes the *Courier and Enquirer* is merely misguided about its economic predictions, the *Southern Press* is treading on dangerous ground.

In "A Glimpse at the Future," Bailey looks back to the example of the Haitian Revolution and predicts the response were the United States to invade Cuba if its slaves were armed to defeat the filibuster invaders. The *Southern Press*, which acknowledged the small size of the López expedition, voiced the concern that the Spanish colonial government could arm its nearly two hundred thousand slaves to assist in fighting the American filibuster invaders. Bailey sees a historical parallel for the *Southern Press*'s prediction in the Haitian Revolution, where the French colonial authorities had armed former slaves to help repel a British invasion force. And while the invasion was repelled, the newly armed former slaves succeeded in overthrowing French rule. Bailey also believes that American public opinion and international treaty alliances would make

[45] The writer argues that admitting Cuba would ruin Southern sugar producers by undercutting the price of sugar and increasing the price of slaves. The increase in the price of slaves would prove ruinous to the production of cotton, tobacco, and other commodities. Bailey rejects these arguments on the basis that the number of slaves exported to Cuba will not be so high and that the sugar plantations were not as influential as supposed ("Speculations" 142).

the re-establishment of slavery in Cuba impossible. He estimates idealistically that the American people oppose slavery at a rate of seventy-five percent, so he believes that the country could never support a war to re-establish slavery in Cuba. Also, he predicts that England, Spain's ally, might again be drawn into war with the United States. Bailey, from these two beliefs and the example of Napoleon's failure in Haiti, predicts that the *Southern Press*'s premise—that America might need to reinstate slavery against armed resistance in Cuba—would be a foolhardy act.

While Bailey was counseling caution about armed slave resistance in Cuba from the example of Haiti, the Cuba-sympathizing New York newspaper *La Verdad* was already looking forward to a series of military expeditions against Cuba launched from the Dominican Republic. Bailey rejects the paper's suggestion that American filibusterers should be employed to repel a planned attack by the Haitian leader Faustin I on the Dominican Republic.[46] *La Verdad*, which suggests a link between "Negro misrule" in Haiti and Cuban independence, contends that were a sufficient filibuster force assembled in the Dominican Republic, the defeat of Haiti and a successful assault on Havana would be inevitable: "the way to free Cuba, is to keep Dominica free—to destroy Spanish tyranny by putting an end to Negro misrule" ("Hayti and Cuba" V: 142). Bailey, who doubts that the United States could re-establish slavery in Haiti, argues that the Fillmore administration must prevent armed filibuster expeditions, especially since the United States is at peace with Spain. He suggests sarcastically that one choice is to negate all treaties, "proclaim war against Europe," and fight despotism everywhere. The nation's honor, he contends, should be preserved by stopping the filibusters: "for the sake of all that is valuable in a good name, let us keep the faith of treaties, and not march, or permit armed expeditions to march from our shores, against the territories of a friendly nation" (V: 142). If military aggression against the Dominican Republic and Haiti is not imminent, Bailey argues that the *La Verdad* article reveals the logical next step in Southern aggression should the López Expedition fail.

From Bailey's perspective, the Fillmore administration acquiesced to the López Expedition because the president was a willing subject to southern Slave Power. However, recent scholars Tom Chaffin and Rodrigo Lazo have provided much more subtle portraits. Chaffin argues quite convincingly that the serious efforts of Presidents Taylor and Fillmore to stop filibuster expedition were hamstrung by the lack of federal power. Lazo's description of *La Verdad*, the leading bilingual Spanish-English newspaper of its day, shows that for its writers the concept of an independent Cuba, even if a form of statehood, suggested considerable autonomy from United States federal control. The New York Cuban sympathizers were not pawns of Bailey's idea of southern Slave Power.[47] From the perspective of modern historians, Bailey failed to recognize the limits of federal power or the complex motivations of Cuban exiles in America.

Instead, Bailey within his own world view tended to see the López Expedition as part of a larger series of Southern plots to expand slavery. Harrold summarizes Bailey's views from the late-1840s into 1853 as the Kansas-Nebraska bill was debated:

> For several years Bailey had devoted considerable space in the *Era* to exposing plots to expand slavery into southern California, Mexico, and Haiti; plots to divide Texas into two or more slave states; and plots to annex slaveholding Cuba. He stressed that these plots and the Kansas-Nebraska bill were not isolated incidents but part of a conspiracy, stretching back to before the annexation of Texas. He said that the conspiracy grew out of the slaveholders' realization that the differences between the free and slave labor systems were irreconcilable, could not be compromised, and must lead to total victory for one and total defeat for the other. "Servile" northern politicians, who did not understand this fact,

[46] Faustin I was the name adopted by Faustin-Élie Soulouque, the Haitian president who declared himself emperor in 1849.

[47] Filibustering, Chaffin notes, "publicly mocked—and symbolically undermined—the [Whig] party's insistence on the primacy of the central government and federal law in the nation's life" (171). According to Chaffin, broad factors limiting federal power to intercede against filibusterers included too few employees to administer the executive branch —"4,332 full-time employees—one for every 679 square miles" (169); a lack of funds and coordination among cabinet officers in the State and Interior portions of the executive branch (170); and the federal government's "limited leverage when demanding cooperation from state or local governments" (172). Other specific factors hindered federal power. "López's agents bribed telegraph operators to alert them to any federal communications pertaining to their filibustering" (174). Steamships, outside of federal control, aided the filibusterers by providing free passage (175). According to Lazo, "In seeking to create a space for Cuba that was separate from Spain, Cuban exiles at *La Verdad* variously argued for a politically ambiguous 'liberated Cuba' or a notion of statehood by which the island would retain its culture and language" (81).

> merely laid the groundwork for further proslavery aggression with their so-called compromise measures and their discountenance of antislavery agitation. (159-60)

Despite the limits of Bailey's view, it is helpful to see that both Stowe and Bailey attempted to justify the American antislavery movement as part of a larger international context in which the Caribbean is a site in which European and American power exert their influence.

Between the 4 September, when the outcome of the López Expedition is in doubt, and Fillmore's 2 December address, the American public had an opportunity to witness the limits of filibuster power. Spanish colonial forces soundly defeated López's forces in August, and the *Era* reported the defeat on 11 September.[48] Since Bailey on 4 September had used the *La Verdad* article to predict that a failure of the filibuster campaign against Cuba could lead to a revived interest in the Dominican Republic and Haiti, the St. Clare brothers' conversation on Haiti in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has contemporary political relevance with the events in Cuba. In the 20 November issue, which printed chapter XXII, "Henrique," it is no significant stretch for readers of Stowe's work to look back to the 1802 defeat of the French in Haiti to see a connection to the defeat of the Cuban Expedition. Stowe does not even need to mention Cuba in the *Era* context as Bailey's editorial response to the *La Verdad* article has already made the connection clear.

Although Cuba was the recent site of proslavery aggression, Stowe did well to pick Haiti because of its particular resonance to the threat of slave rebellion. Historian of the antebellum south, Michael O'Brien, in *Conjectures of Order* has observed that the Caribbean, as compared to Texas and Mexico, was

> closer and more familial. Once the South had been, less south of the North, more north of the Caribbean. [. . .] In Cuba [. . .] slavery lingered powerfully, even retaining the slave trade. But the emotional focus of southern attitudes lay in Haiti, in the Saint-Domingue which had fallen to a slave revolt of ominous ferocity, a cataclysm which had sent to the mainland a flood of nervous and

[48] Spanish General Manual Enna's forces defeated the portion of the filibuster force led by Colenol William L. Crittenden. His regiment of 114 men, which, when captured, numbered fifty, was executed outside of Havana on 17 August. One connection to the Fillmore Administration is that Colenol Crittenden was Attorney General John J. Crittenden's son. Spanish General José de la Concha defeated López's force on 24 August. López, captured on 26 August, was executed on 1 September. See Chaffin 199-216.

> angry French refugees, often bringing their reluctant slaves, the former pointing to the possibility of butchery if Southern vigilance was not maintained, the latter remembering the possibility of freedom. (207)

The general consensus among scholars is that the Haitian Revolution was kept present in North American and European memory during the early nineteenth century despite official attempts to silence it. In a recent call to historians of the first half of the nineteenth century to take the Haitian Revolution into account, Sibylle Fischer argues that historical paradigms that ignore it, such as in the work of Eric Hobshawm, and that overestimate the effectiveness of silencing, such as Michel-Rolph Trouillot, reflect the subsequent development of historical thought more than they reflect the sense in which the Haitian Revolution was known during the period.[49]

In *Haiti's Influence on Antebellum America* (1988), Alfred N. Hunt recounts how the French Revolution and the Jacobin takeover in 1792 precipitated the end of slavery in Haiti. Free blacks, generally identified racially as *gens de couleur* or mulatto, declared themselves French citizens. Léger Sonthonax, Jacobin commissioner to Haiti, abolished slavery in 1793. Toussaint Louverture's forces, comprised mostly of former slaves, expelled the British in 1798. Toussaint defeated rival André Rigaud's predominantly mulatto force by 1801 and unified the entire island under independent Haitian rule by defeating the Spanish in Santo Domingo. In 1802, Napoleon sent an expedition of twenty thousand soldiers to Haiti to reinstitute slavery under the command of his brother-in-law Charles V. E. Leclerc. Although Leclerc captured Toussaint, the Haitian forces under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines and Henri Christophe defeated the French troops. Leclerc succumbed to yellow fever, and the remaining troops under his successor Donatien Rochambeau surrendered and left Haiti in 1804 (22-24). Even if political powers

[49] Fischer notes the assumption that during the historical period in question [1789-1848] the "events were 'unthinkable' because they did not fit the 'framework of Western thought.'" (365). He questions the assumption, "But was there really such a stable, readily identifiable framework at the time?" According to Fischer, "It would be more plausible to think of the revolutionary period as one when, as Hobshawm claims, new concepts were invented and old concepts took on radically new meanings" (365). Responding also to Trouillot's dismissal of radical antislavery writers [Denis Diderot, Abbé Raynal, Jean-Paul Marat], Fischer argues, rather, that "[Western] paradigms [of history] developed, at least partially, in response to those events in the Caribbean that were, after all, known" (365).

attempted to silence the memory, European writers and antislavery writers in America continued to cite Haiti at mid-century.[50]

In the 20 November 1851 installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era*, Stowe draws on the recent failure of the Cuban expedition and the slave rebellion of the Haitian Revolution to tap into Southern anxiety regarding Anglo-Saxon failures in the Caribbean. The French Revolution and slave rebellion in Haiti were intimately connected in the *Era* readers' minds as they looked southward to Cuba, because Bailey had made the connection explicit. The argument between Augustine and Alfred St. Clare is brief as the two brothers are intimately familiar with one another's favorite devices. Augustine initiates the exchange after Alfred's son Henrique beats Dodo, his personal slave. In a compressed series of exchanges, the two brothers touch on almost every issue that has characterized the *Era*'s discussion of Christian Government: the French Revolution, the American Revolution and Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, and the Haitian Revolution. They also touch on contemporary European Revolutions, especially the interest crystallized by the American tour of the Hungarian Revolutionary Louis Kossuth. The concerns that are more characteristic of Stowe's work in particular—social class and education—also arise. The argument ends when Augustine partially consents to Alfred's saying that they have been "round and round this old track five hundred times, more or less" (V: 185). Although it seems that the two brothers are at a sort of draw, Alfred's claims are generally undercut by the argument's resonance with the themes drawn from the *Era*'s attempts to frame contemporary political events in terms of larger historical forces.

Larry J. Reynolds has noted the significance of Augustine's reference to Austria and Pope Pius IX, on which the younger brother touches briefly before returning to his favorite theme

[50] See, for example, William Jay's *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery* (1853), which includes a brief summary of the Haitian Revolution and a favorable report on the amount of commerce active in the island at mid-century (171-86).

of Haiti. Despite Alfred's dismissal—"that's one of your red republican humbugs"—Reynolds explains that Stowe knew her audience:

> Stowe's and the reader's sympathies reside with Augustine, so his assessment of the power and relevance of the European socialist movement is meant to be credited. The Red Scare serves Stowe's purposes by adding an emotional appeal to the lengthy polemic that is her novel, and in her peroration, she uses it again to add a sense of urgency to her argument against slavery. (52-53)

Louis Kossuth's American tour, Reynolds explains, had a broad appeal to American Revolutionary principles and heroes despite objections from Catholics, Abolitionists, and Southerners:

> Despite the opposition to him mounted by Catholics (who knew of his collusion with [Joseph] Mazzini against Pope Pius IX), by Abolitionists (who resented his refusal to speak out against American slavery), and by southerners (who sold millions of dollars of cotton a year to Austria and Russia), he nevertheless enjoyed the enthusiastic admiration of most Americans during his seven-month-stay in the country. [. . .] In the eyes of most Americans Kossuth seemed a legitimate revolutionary hero, one resembling their own George Washington, and they outdid themselves paying their respects. (157)

Reynolds's work teases out the significance of the Hungarian revolutions, but the discussion of Haiti, when inflected by the recent failure of the López Expedition in Cuba, has larger resonance for *Era* readers' perceptions of domestic antislavery politics, at least to the extent that readers shared Bailey's view of southern slave power.

At the beginning of their exchange, Augustine responds to Alfred's despair of ever checking Henrique's temper with a sarcastic remark: "All this by way of teaching Henrique the first verse of a republican's catechism, 'All men are born free and equal' " (V: 185). Alfred caustically dismisses Augustine's principle as "one of Tom Jefferson's pieces of French sentiment and humbug" and insists that equal rights should be reserved to "the educated, the intelligent, the wealthy, the refined." It is here that Augustine, after mentioning the French Revolution, cites the Haitian Revolution as a warning about the impossibility of keeping slaves subjugated indefinitely. Alfred replies, "Of course they must be *kept down*—consistently,

steadily—as I *should*." Augustine then reminds Alfred of "St. Domingo, for instance," and Alfred replies that one force to keep slaves down is to not accede to the "educating, elevating talk."

After the brief excursus on Austria and Pius IX, Augustine returns to the example of Haiti, which Alfred rejects by explaining Napoleon's failure to retake Haiti as a failure of blood: "The Haytiens were not Anglo-Saxons; if they had been, there would have been another story. The Anglo-Saxon is the dominant race of the world." If Alfred St. Clare lacks the subtlety to distinguish between the varying roles of Haiti's slave populations and its free *gens de couleur* during its revolution, St. Clare is historically correct when reminding his older brother that racially mixed forces led the first rebellion in Haiti. But the domestic resonance of the failure of southern slave power to take Cuba a few months earlier should not be underestimated, especially given Bailey's editorials, which suggested that Haiti would be the next site for southern aggression if the López Expedition failed. If anything, the *Era*'s readers, when they looked south to the Caribbean, would undoubtedly have seen Haiti as a probable next step in southern expansionism. Haiti's historical resonance as the site of slave rebellion and southern anxiety is redoubled by Bailey's overt links between Haiti and the recent failure of the López Expedition.

As the early part of Stowe's serial re-focused the concerns of the *Era*'s Christian Government debate, Stowe's Augustine-Alfred debate provides a commentary on the larger philosophical discussion while nonetheless taking advantage of recent events. Stowe uses the filibuster failure in the Caribbean to undercut Alfred's easy confidence that Anglo-Saxons always have the upper hand and that slave rebellion can always be controlled. Despite the Spanish origin of the leader López, the *Era* was inclined to emphasize the southern origin of the filibuster force. When Augustine refers to the late eighteenth-century revolutions in the United States, France, and Haiti, he simultaneously invokes mid-century European revolutionary movements in Austria, Italy, and Hungary. Many of the *Era*'s correspondents believed that the Fugitive Slave Law marked a setback in the American continuation of the forces set in motion by contemporary European events and thus responded by re-evaluating the lessons of the French and the American

Revolution. The defeat of southern aggression in Cuba was a welcome sign to the *Era*'s antislavery readers, and the example of Haitian Revolution served as a warning should a later effort succeed in launching a more ambitious invasion force from the Dominican Republic into Cuba. Even were such a filibuster force capable of defeating Spanish colonial forces in Cuba, the potential that such a military move could unleash a large slave uprising in Cuba channels Southern anxiety about slave revolt during the Haitian Revolution to undercut Alfred's claims.

The Christiana Treason Trials

As the *Era*'s attention to the López Expedition intersected with larger Christian Government debate—Gregory's "Christianity Defended" series did not conclude until 4 December, two weeks after Augustine and Alfred debated the lessons of democratic revolutionary moments in the 20 November issue—the continuing Christian Government debate also intersected with the Christiana Treason case, so named for the town in which the events occurred. This domestic event had the greatest single influence in transforming the *Era* into a higher law organ. Although in sheer column inches the *Era*'s coverage of Congressional proceedings and Kossuth demanded more space, the compressed three-month lead-up to the Christiana Treason Trial was the *Era*'s most intensively covered story during the course of the serialization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. The mid-September arrest of Castner Hanway, a Quaker in the town of Christiana, Pennsylvania, followed the killing of Edwin Gorsuch, a Maryland slave-owner who attempted to capture fugitive slaves. Hanway, who refused to aid in the capture of fugitive slaves and was alleged to have aided their escape, was charged with treason. He faced execution. To the *Era*, the frightening consequence, were the doctrine of constructive treason to take hold, was that everyone who rendered aid to an accused fugitive, who helped them to avoid arrest, or who failed to render aid to the federal marshals and local police, could be charged with constructive treason. The event was quickly dismissed after Hanway was acquitted on 11 December and the charges

against other conspirators were dropped,[51] but from September through November the *Era's* editorial notices viewed with increasing horror the proposed doctrine that providing aid to fugitives could be punished with execution. Although the case of Hanway in Philadelphia was the primary emphasis, a similar case from Syracuse, New York (known as the Jerry rescue) seemed to suggest that the Fillmore administration was pressing forward with a broad effort to execute those who resisted the Fugitive Slave Law. Stowe's Chapter XVII, "The Freeman's Defence," which appeared on 2 October, bears a marked resemblance to the *Era*'s telling of Gorsuch slave-hunting party's attempt to capture the accused fugitive slaves in Christiana. The correspondence and editorials on the Christiana Treason Trials are an echo chamber for Stowe's fiction, especially when the rhetorical point and counterpoint invoke the Declaration of Independence. Though Stowe and the *Era*'s editorials share an emphasis on this founding revolutionary document, they part in their view of the British inheritance of antislavery doctrine. To the *Era*, the Declaration of Independence was a fundamental break between American republican institutions and British tyranny, so the United States had to re-affirm its original commitment to its revolutionary principles and reject the importation of British models of treason. Though Bailey's emphasis in his editorials is the horror of Britain's pre-nineteenth century treason statutes, in Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* the English antislavery heritage is an important model to which America should turn for guidance.

The preceding and ensuing account of the Gorsuch episode and the Christiana Tragedy is almost exclusively the *Era*'s account, and the choice to present the *Era*'s account complements, rather than diminishes, Thomas P. Slaughter's effort to both reconstruct painstakingly what can be known about the historical event from archival sources and to read the broader resonance of

[51] The alacrity with which the *Era* dropped its coverage after Hanway's acquittal was exhibited in a 1 January 1852 editorial notice: "Some of our readers seem in doubt as to the disposition of the Christiana Treason cases. The Government has been baffled—the prosecution abandoned. After the charge of Judge Grier in the case of Hanaway, Mr. Ashmead, United States District Attorney, entered a nolle prosequi on all the remaining indictments for Treason" ("The Treason Cases" 3).

the Christiana Treason Trials for the lead-up to the Civil War as it "galvanized public opinion in ways that made it increasingly difficult to resolve differences amicably" (xii). My work is indebted to Slaughter's in numerous ways. My reference to the event as the "Christiana Tragedy" is the *Era*'s preferred term, but "tragedy," as Slaughter points out, "represents a white man's perspective that was not necessarily shared by all African-American participants" (xii). I accept as proven his contention that Fillmore and Secretary of State Daniel Webster attempted to distance themselves from federal attorney John W. Ashmead's prosecution of the case (106-07). However, I separate myself from Slaughter on two accounts. First, he describes those who "appealed to a higher law and a superior justice than that found in the Constitution and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850" as "the most radical abolitionist" (xi). Second, he also dismisses ("If the rhetoric of politicians and newspapers can be believed") the idea that "the very fate of the nation—its moral fiber and perhaps even its survival—were now to be put in the hands of judges, lawyers, and the twelve citizens who would decide whether Castner Hanway, who would be tried first, would go to the gallows or leave Philadelphia a free man" (110).

In regard to the appeal to higher law, I have made clear that the 1852 prospectus marks a profound shift. In the *Era* the stable frame of reference by which an abolitionist could be distinguished from "antislavery men," Bailey's preferred term, is under negotiation in response to the Fugitive Slave Law and is particularly contested between the first reporting of the Christiana Incident in mid-September and mid-December treason trials. Before late 1851, I concur with Bailey biographer Harrold's distinction between terms:

> *Abolitionist* is used to refer to persons and groups, whether members of antislavery societies or not, or immediatists or not, who labored for the total destruction of slavery in the United States. *Antislavery* is used to indicate persons and groups who might or might not aim at the total abolition of slavery, but who opposed the extension of slavery into territories and/or federal support for it. (xv)

Slaughter's unwillingness to distinguish between antislavery and abolitionist, and his identification of abolitionism with capital-A Abolitionists, the term of pride or reproach,

underestimates what his study otherwise contends is a profound shift in northern antislavery sentiment. I of course also argue that the Christiana events have a much greater resonance with Stowe's story.

At almost precisely the moment that the fictional plot resembles the *Era*'s telling of the events at Christiana, Stowe begins to have concrete plans to issue the work as a book rather than only as a newspaper serial. Perhaps not coincidentally, Stowe's increasing emphasis on Christian redemption (in the Legree plot) complicates the deep resonance that the work held to contemporary political events in its serial version. My reading of the Christiana events is on one hand a much narrower one than Slaughter's because of my emphasis on how the *Era* presented the event to its readers, but the narrower focus allows one to witness opinion and fiction in transformations. For the remainder of this section, the main line of my argument recounts the *Era*'s reading, and this emphasis is signaled by my use of the *Era*'s spelling of Hanway's name as Hanaway, perhaps the *Era*'s echo of the three-syllable name of Stowe's Quakers, the Hallidays. The sense in which the *Era*'s account of the Christiana incident was a misreading, based primarily on the perspective supplied by Slaughter's historical account, is relegated to footnotes.

Bailey first described the encounter between the pursuing slave hunter Edward Gorsuch's party and the resisting fugitive slaves, the "bloody transaction," in the 18 September issue in a summary article entitled "The Fugitive Slave Law—Resistance and Bloodshed." Drawn from conflicting reports in Pennsylvania and Baltimore papers as well as the *New York Tribune*'s Philadelphia correspondent, the *Era* reports that Gorsuch, a slave-owner from Baltimore, his son, and a small party of Gorsuch's friends enlisted the support of a U.S. marshal from Philadelphia, John Egan, and some local police officers to recapture a fugitive slave in the small town of Christiana. When they attempted to enter a house where the fugitives had gathered, a signal was given, a "crowd of colored persons" gathered, and the would-be slave catchers were driven away:

> Mr. Gorsuch announced his purpose to have his slaves at all hazards; they declared they would die first. Both parties were armed, and a struggle

> immediately ensued. Mr. Gorsuch, the claimant, was shot dead, and the negro who fired was killed by his son, who, in his turn, received a severe wound. (V: 151)

Initial reports suggested additional deaths among both Gorsuch's party and the unnamed fugitive slaves who resisted, but "according to later accounts, the son was taken to the house of a Friend, living in the neighborhood, where he is now lying, in danger, but with some hope of recovery, while the other persons named escaped with a few bruises. Several colored persons were reported killed, but the report is not confirmed."

The Christiana incident, even in the *Era*'s brief 18 September telling, resembles "The Freeman's Defence," which would appear on 2 October. George Harris party's resists Loker, Marks and a posse of local deputies. The note that the slaves "declared they would die first" is quite similar to George Harris's reply to the deputy's challenge in the 2 October issue. Although the *Era* declines to name the initial aggressor, other papers reported that the slave-owner's "son and nephew" fired first. [52] Marks fires after George's speech, and the aid that a Friend subsequently render to the injured son of Edward Gorsuch has in Stowe's fiction a parallel in the aid that the Quakers render to Tom Loker.

The *Era* hints at, but does expand upon, the presence of "Abolitionists" and the fierce resistance of the accused fugitives, but it disparages a report that some of the arrested persons will be charged with treason. Bailey is skeptical of the odd charge of treason being bandied about by a Washington D. C. newspaper. The *Republic* "discourse[es] at large upon the law of Treason, and recommend[s] that some of the white families be singled out for the infliction of the penalty of that high crime, which is no less than death!" (V: 151).

[52] In the Boston-based *Zion's Journal and Wesleyan Journal*, the resemblance between the Christiana account and Stowe's fiction is even more striking: "The spokesman of the blacks parleyed with the whites and told them they would die rather than go into slavery, or any of their number; that they should not fire, but if the whites fired, they should return the fire. The slave-owner, his son and nephew fired revolvers, wounding a number of the blacks" ("Review of the Week" 151).

The charge of treason and the potential for executions appeared at first to be overheated rhetoric, but Bailey was concerned that the potential treason charge represented the interference of federal authorities in a state matter. In the 25 September issue, a treason charge against the white conspirators seems unlikely:

> [T]wo of the prisoners, Joseph Scarlett and William Brown, colored men, were committed to answer the charge of treason against the United States, by levying war against the same, in resisting, by force of arms, the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and also for obstructing the Marshal in the execution of the process of the United States ("Christiana Tragedy" V: 155).

In the same article, Bailey also includes the *New York Tribune*'s letter from Pennsylvania governor William F. Johnston, in which he suggested "that the idea of rebellion or 'insurrectionary movement' in the county of Lancaster, or anywhere else in this Commonwealth, has no real foundation, and is an offensive imputation on a large body of our fellow citizens" (V: 155). And yet a week later it appeared that the charge, against even the white prisoners who refused to render aid in recapturing the fugitives, would be treason.

In Bailey's eyes, the blame for the possibility of the unreasonable constructive treason charge rested entirely on the Fillmore administration, which sought to pervert federal law by twisting all forms of resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law into an insurrectionary movement, which could be punished by execution. Bailey believed that the Fillmore Administration was the ultimate source for the perverse reading of Constitution's treason statute—which he assumed influenced Pennsylvania's presiding judge and its state attorney general. On 2 October, an article "Commitment for Treason" confirms that the "magistrate has directed" that white conspirators, [Elijah] Lewis and Castner Hanaway, and "three [not named] blacks" were "to be committed to the custody of the United States Marshal, to be taken to Philadelphia, and there tried for treason against the United States" (V: 158). The treason indictments were a dangerous sign that justified northern resistance to the administration's tyrannical use of federal power. Bailey also worries

about the presence of federal marshals and military forces earlier in Boston and in Pennsylvania. In the former case, a slave rescue,

> the army and navy were put in order, and a solemn Presidential proclamation appeared. When a riot breaks out in an obscure county town in Pennsylvania, in consequence of the attempt to arrest two fugitives, United States marines are marched to the spot, and the rioters are committed on the charge of treason (V: 158).[53]

Between 2 October (the issue that includes Stowe's "The Freeman's Defence") and 27 November, the date on which the indictment of Castner Hanaway on the charge of treason is handed down, the *Era*'s editorials and correspondence on the Christiana case increase in frequency and anger.

In the month of October, the *Era*'s outrage at the news that the Quaker Castner Hanaway had been charged with constructive treason crystallized in three editorials on the forthcoming trial: "In Treason there are no Accessories," "Six Hundred Men to be Hanged," and "The Reign of Blood." The *Era*'s outrage in these editorials is built on a carefully researched editorial in the 9 October issue, "An Examination of the Law of Treason," written by Bailey.[54] The article rebukes the *Pennsylvanian* and the Washington *Union*, Democratic papers who approve of the treason charge. Bailey demands attention to his language and to the historical parallels on which he draws:

> When we say that it revised the loathsome doctrine of *constructive treason*, that it affirms the revolting convictions concerning high treason, borrowed by the Federal judges of 1804, in the Fries case, from the detestable school of Jeffries and his associates, we desire to be understood as measuring carefully every word we utter. (V: 162)

Judge Kane's usage of treason in the Christiana case, Bailey argues, was a return to British treason statutes of Judge George Jeffries in the Monmouth Rebellion, which the United States

[53] Bailey, with his customary sarcasm, doubts such a response would follow if "Secessionists of South Carolina undertake to resist United States Law: The President points to his conduct in the Boston and Christiana affairs—conduct endorsed so heartily by the South, and coolly says, that, as Chief Executive Officer of the Nation, he must enforce the laws, in the same spirit and by the same means. Who could object?" (158).

Constitution's treason statute had explicitly rejected, which the case of John Fries had repudiated, and of which the Democratic Party was a beneficiary in Thomas Jefferson's defeat of the Federalist John Adams in the 1800 election.[55]

The following week, 16 October, the *Era* prints "In Treason there are no Accessories," an editorial by Bailey in which "higher law" is invoked for rhetorical effect. [56] The article's title quotes from Pennsylvania Judge Kane's opinion, which states that it is not necessary to prove that Hanaway participated in the violence—merely "countenancing" the violence will be sufficient for treason (V:166).[57] The article explains the origin of the doctrine under which Hanaway is charged, which Bailey characterizes thus in a phrase reminiscent of de Tocqueville: "This doctrine is not of American, but English growth; not the offspring of Republicanism, but absolutism." After providing Macaulay's history of Lady Alice Lisle, whom James II beheaded, Bailey claims, of the doctrine that he again associates with Samuel Chase and the 1804 Fries case, that "It was anti-Democratic, anti-American, anti-Christian." He argues that in the current Christiana case the federal executive and judiciary want to see that the monarchical treason doctrine "be enforced in all its bloody rigor." Bailey contends that only one thing restrains him from even more fervent denunciation: "Were we not restrained by the precepts of Him whose

[54] See the 1851 annual volume index (V: 205).
[55] After citing the Constitution's definition of treason, that it shall consist "only in levying war against them," the article notes that Philadelphia Judge Kane's the charge in the Christiana case omits the *only* in its paraphrase of the Constitution's statute on treason. In Bailey's view, Kane's charge of constructive treason for failure to aid in the Fugitive Slave Law is to re-import into the United States the British doctrine of constructive treason from George Jeffries and the Monmouth Rebellion, known as the Bloody Assizes, a doctrine that Bailey argues was disowned in the United States after Pennsylvanian John Fries was convicted of treason in 1800 in the court of Samuel Chase, only to have Chase impeached. He argues that these Democratic papers reject the moment in American history that helped the Democrats overcome the Federalists, when the majority of the Senators voting for impeachment of Supreme Court Justice Samuel Chase following the Fries case were Democratic (V: 162). Though the failure to impeach Chase is a strong precedent for the independent judiciary, Bailey and Whittier cite Fries as a contributing factor in the end of the Federalist party and the rise of the Jeffersonian Democrats.
[56] For the attribution to Bailey, see the 1851 annual volume index (V: 205).
[57] The opinion of Judge Kane was as follows: "It is not necessary to prove that the individual accused was a direct, personal actor in the violence. If he was present, directing, aiding, abetting, counselling, or countenancing it, he is in law guilty of the forcible act. Nor is even his personal appearance indispensable. Though he is absent at the time of its actual perpetration, yet if he directed the act, devised or knowingly

word we recognise as our 'higher law,' we would invoke Heaven's curses upon the heads of those traitors to Republicanism and Humanity who dare, from the press and from the bench, avow and advocate a doctrine reeking with blood and fiendish malignity." While fearing that the case may mean that the "United States are to have their BLOODY ASSIZES," the author retains some hope in the judiciary: the article ends "We shall see."

Bailey's skepticism appears to be justified by a letter from a Pennsylvania subscriber. In the 16 October issue, Joseph Gibbons, who attended the Judge Kane's hearing, paints a damning portrait of the events both in the immediate aftermath of violence and in the judicial hearing. According to Gibbons, "Parties of armed ruffians, to the number of fifteen to twenty, scoured the country, arresting, without warrant, persons entirely innocent of participation in the disturbance, entering and searching houses, without authority by threats of violence in case of resistance" (V: 168). He adds further the federal marshals and commissioners "supported by a band of marines" captured fifteen "colored men" and "two whites." The charges against six of the non-white defendants, who go unnamed, were dropped because no evidence was produced. The evidence against the two white men, Hanaway and Lewis, "scarcely amounted to more than proving a refusal to assist in arresting the slaves." The nine remaining accused had alibis provided by white neighbors and employers. Due to the work of Alderman J. Franklin Reigart of Lancaster, the two whites and the nine colored men with alibis were nonetheless committed to federal custody in Moyamensing Prison in Philadelphia "to answer the charge of high treason." The incredulous Gibbons, who also invokes Jeffries and applies it to Reigart, asserts finally that because the presiding officers expected a writ of *habeus corpus* would be filed, "about fifteen minutes before the commitments were made, and the writs could be asked for, his Honor took the cars for Philadelphia, and the ends of justice were thus defeated." The eyewitness account seems to confirm Bailey's fears of justice miscarried and denied.

furnished the means for carrying it into effect, instigated others to perform it, he shares their guilt. In

The following week, 23 October, Bailey's editorial drop all pretense of trusting the executive and the judiciary in the Christiana case, and "The Reign of Blood" threatens civil war if Hanaway in Philadelphia and accused conspirators in a similar case in Syracuse are executed for constructive treason.[58] A mob in Syracuse had broken into the jail and freed the recaptured fugitive, but in Bailey's view the choice to parade the captured fugitive through the streets during an antislavery convention was "for the purpose, we suppose, of displaying the power of the law." If Bailey's focus has been the Philadelphia case of Hanaway, the interest in the Syracuse case was rekindled by a late October editorial in the *New York Evening Post*, which was reprinted in the *Era* under the headline "Men to be Hanged." The *Post* noted that both the Philadelphia and the Syracuse cases shared a treason indictment and the potential for executions.[59] If the Christiana case alone had not been sufficient to kindle Bailey's ire, the parallels in the Syracuse case seemed to portend administration efforts to impose the doctrine of constructive treason for all resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law.

"The Reign of Blood" is a remarkable effort of editorial synthesis and rhetorical power, which harkens back to Northern complicity in the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, invokes the French Revolution's Reign of Terror, contrasts the Fillmore administration's response to the López Expedition with the current crisis, and draws on the Declaration of Independence to threaten revolution and bloodshed if the accused in Syracuse and Christiana are executed. The article reprints an extract from the *Richmond Dispatch*, which trusts that the "traitors" will be

TREASON there are NO ACCESSORIES" (166).

[58]The Syracuse case had remained in the background, but both the Hanaway case and the Syracuse case seemed to Bailey deliberately provocative efforts by the Fillmore administration to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law as constructive treason. The 9 October issue had described the arrest of fugitive slave Jerry McReynolds during an antislavery convention in Syracuse, New York: "Had the purpose been merely to secure the delivery of the fugitive to his claimant, a more favorable occasion would have been selected, and the irons at least would have been kept out of sight. But it was desirable to get up a storm of popular excitement, and breed, we suppose, a new batch of cases in treason!" ("Slave Case And Rescue At Syracuse, New York" V: 163).

[59] "All these, if the demand of the Administration and its friends is gratified, are to be hanged; for the punishment of treason by our law is death, and all who in any way favor a treasonable action are considered

found guilty, and states, "The whole south are awaiting the result with extreme anxiety" (V: 170). The editorial counters the *Dispatch*'s "anxiety," which the Washington *Republic* shares, and the "relish" of the *Journal of Commerce* on the prospect of hangings with a refrain on the number fifty-seven, the total number charged with treason in Syracuse and Philadelphia. In the course of this forceful and sarcastic editorial, Bailey touches on a series of inflammatory historical parallels: On the French Revolution, "Fifty-seven cases of Treason! The gallows will not do the work rapidly enough for our merciful Government. Let us have the guillotine at once." On the anxiety of the South, "Fifty-seven American citizens dangling in the air with broken necks, will relieve their anxiety, and win the consent of 'the South' 'to live under' the Union." On the *Southern Press*'s "latitudinizing" of treason, "Giving information is treason; denunciation is treason; refusing to aid kidnappers is treason; freedom of the press, freedom of speech, is treason. [. . .] Fifty-seven respectable American Traitors! What a terrible rebellion to have yielded such fruits!" On the "imminent danger" to the federal government:

> But where were the armies arrayed for its overthrow? Have we all been asleep? When did the President proclaim that an enemy was in the field? Has there been civil war, without the country knowing it? Has the price of stocks gone down? Has business been affected? Why, even the telegraph, with all its passion for wonders, has overlooked the fact that war has been levied against the United States, and enemies have appeared in martial array against the Government! Fifty-seven American, citizens arrested for High Treason [. . . .][60]

On the election, "Your Buchanans and Websters, your Pennsylvanians and Republics, are willing to pay any price, even the price of blood, for votes in the next Presidential election. Fifty-seven American citizens, strangled, would be a cheap price [. . .]."[61] The article concludes with a clear

by the law, not as accomplices, and therefore subject to a lighter punishment, but as principals, and liable to the uttermost penalty" ("Men to be Hanged" V: 171).

[60] The article recalls the López Expedition when it contrasts the deliberate judicial process in the Christiana case to the administration's protest of the execution of filibusterers in Cuba. The Spanish "Government, trembling on the brink of ruin, under the desperation of fear, inflicted the extreme penalty of the law." The Chistiana trials, in contrast, are "proceeding, not under the impulse of sudden fear, but with cold calculation, slowly, and artfully to secure their conviction."

[61] Bailey's prediction was prophetic. In Slaughter's account, Presidential candidate James Buchanan, of Lancaster County in Pennsylvania, benefited from a strengthened Democratic Party and the election of

threat of revolution if the accused traitors are executed—those who propound the doctrine of constructive treason will become traitors:

> Hang men for constructive high treason, and you will have civil war, unless American citizens are bastard sons of 1776. Rebellion against the enforcement of such a doctrine would be necessary to prevent the Revolution of '76 from becoming a failure. Reactionism may triumph in France; not in America. The villains who would subvert Liberty in this country in the name of the Law, are themselves the Traitors, and, if they push their policy to its legitimate result, will meet the fate of Traitors.

The *Era* literally threatens revolution if guilty verdicts under the constructive treason doctrine result in executions.

Even if there is some hyperbole in the threat, the *Era* repeats it on 27 November in an editorial accompanying the Christiana indictment. The Attorney of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania indicts the accused "in the County of Lancaster, in the State of Pennsylvania and District aforesaid, and within the jurisdiction of this Court, wickedly and traitorously did intend to levy war against the said United States within the same" ("Christiana Indictment" V: 192). The indictment describes actions as "traitorous" or as undertaken "traitorously" thirty-four times. The accompanying editorial, "Treason in Pennsylvania," blames the Fillmore administration for the charge proceeding and expresses consternation that the jury is to be filled with "Judges, Generals, ex-Senators, ex-Representatives, and Merchants!" (V: 190).[62] The editorial again reminds that constructive treason is an attempt to "smuggle" an "abomination of old English Courts" into the American Republic. The argument given is essentially that the federal government is in violation of American Revolutionary principles if it proceeds with executions:

Democrat William Bigler as the next Pennsylvania governor. Bigler was instrumental in James Buchanan's rise to the Presidency in 1856. "The Christiana Riot was a significant link in this chain of events, making the violence into a triumph for the Democratic Party, as Buchanan, the favorite son of Lancaster County, rose to the highest office in the land as a consequence, in very small part, of the bloodshed so near to his home" (104).

[62] The editorial also recalls the López Expedition when it condemns the grand jury as worse than a "Spanish military commission" ("Treason in Pennsylvania" V: 190).

> In this country, where bad laws are the subjects of free discussion, and the citizen may use all his efforts for their repeal, by constitutional methods, forcible resistance to law is indefensible, unless the object be revolution—and the necessity of that is to be determined on principles laid down in our Declaration of Independence. But while we advocate obedience to the law, we protest against its perversion [. . .]. Try the Christiana offenders for a misdemeanor, a riot, and, if found guilty, inflict the legal penalty. But to indict them for treason, is murderous; to hang them for treason, will be murder outright, and it will give evidence of such corruption in our social and political system, as must arouse the spirit of revolution among all enlightened and determined friends of freedom. (V: 190)

This editorial draws on the Declaration of Independence to invoke an American precedent for justified revolution, but the subsequent history of the Christiana Treason trials muted the *Era*'s response. Hanaway was acquitted in mid-December, and the remaining prosecutions were abandoned. However, the continuing echo of the Declaration of Independence lived on in the *Era*'s revised prospectus for the 1852 volume.

The fervor with which the *Era* and other northern papers had denounced the Christiana treason trials may help explain Fillmore's guarded tone in his December address. Bailey, for example, threatens revolution in a Washington D. C. newspaper with approximately 19,000 subscribers. When Fillmore addresses the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, he diminishes the breadth of the anxiety typified in the *Era*'s editorials, but he treads gingerly. He does not comment on the doctrine of constructive treason, but he asserts that his duty includes enforcing the law:

> It is deeply to be regretted that in several instances officers of the Government, in attempting to execute the law for the return of fugitives from labor, have been openly resisted, and their efforts frustrated and defeated by lawless and violent mobs; that in one case such resistance resulted in the death of an estimable citizen, and in others serious injury ensued to those officers, and to individuals who were using their endeavors to sustain the laws. Prosecutions have been instituted against the alleged offenders, so far as they could be identified, and are still pending. I have regarded it as my duty, in these cases, to give all aid legally in my power to the enforcement of the laws, and I shall continue to do so wherever and whenever their execution may be resisted. (V: 195)

Fillmore rejects the *Era*'s reading of the Declaration of Independence to justify revolution, and he redefines the threat as one against the Constitution:

> Cases have heretofore arisen, in which individuals have denied the binding authority of acts of Congress, and even States have proposed to nullify such acts, upon the ground that the Constitution was the supreme law of the land, and that those acts of Congress were repugnant to that instrument; but nullification is now aimed, not so much against particular laws as being inconsistent with the Constitution, as against the Constitution itself; and it is not to be disguised that a spirit exists and has been actively at work to rend asunder this Union, which is our cherished inheritance from our revolutionary fathers.

According to Fillmore, law and the Union, not revolution, are the nation's revolutionary inheritance. Fillmore's address avoids the suggestion that he favors one outcome or the other in the Christiana trials, but he appeals to both sides to accept the result and continue in the spirit of compromise.

The actual trial, for which the *Era* printed fifteen daily summaries, the last in the 18 December issue, concluded with an acquittal. The case is generally understood as a rejection of constructive treason, and the most extended treatment of the trial in a legal journal, "Treason in the United States: III. Under the Constitution," concludes that Judge Grier instructed the jury to acquit.[63] But Judge Grier's instruction to the jury acquits Hanaway on a narrow basis, because he had not "attended any of these conclaves in opposition to the Constitution" ("Christiana Treason Trials" V: 201). Grier's *conclaves*, it seems clear, are specifically directed at antislavery conventions, as he names "a few individuals of perverted intelligence in some small sections, whose moral atmosphere had been poisoned by male and female vagrant lectures and conventions." The opinion leaves open the possibility that aiding a fugitive slave might constitute treason if one had attended an abolitionist or antislavery convention. Hanaway's defense against the charge of treason appears to rest primarily on the fact that he is not an abolitionist, a group that Grier (like Fillmore) seems quite certain is a very small sect. The *Era*, of course, differs on the size and influence of the antislavery movement, and the revised prospectus for 1852

[63] In *United States v. Hanway*, Mr. Justice Grier, on circuit, by emphasizing that treason was inherently a crime of deliberate, preconceived intention, developed another facet of a cautiously defined specific intent: mere presence in a riotous assembly or sudden, impulsive joining in damage wrought, would not raise an adequate inference of participation in a design to levy war. Under what amounted to a direction by the

formalizes the paper's advocacy of the higher law and revolutionary principles that had been so frequently invoked in editorials concerning the Christiana case.

Uncle Tom's Cabin and Political Redemption

After George Harris's defiant speech to Loker and Marks's party, from atop the rocky crags, the dramatic personae of Stowe's fiction offers no voice capable of advocating a political solution to slavery, aside from George's advocacy of colonization near the end of the work. In the remainder of Stowe's fiction, she deprecates political solutions, offering instead what Elizabeth Ammons has called the "redemptive feminine-Christ principle that informs *Uncle Tom's Cabin*" (159). According to Ammons,

> [. . .] Stowe delays Tom's story until after Eliza's and George Harris's successful escapes from slavery have been assured. Their action shows Stowe's approval of courageous rebellion against slavery and, in the character of proud George Harris, her respect for conventionally manly defiance of injustice and enforced submission. (158)

The successful escape from Loker and Marks, even if we accept Ammons's reading, also coincides with the *Era*'s increasing anxiety about the Christiana Treason case. Beginning in the St. Clare household, Stowe's Christian model for national political redemption, when advocated seriously, is mythical and mystical rather than legal; private, domestic, and educational rather than public and political.

At the height of the Christiana case, rhetorical effects in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have their emphasis redoubled by the story's newspaper contexts. "The Freeman's Defence" in the 2 October installment echoes the Christiana episode that the *Era* had first reported on 18 September. Consider, for example, Kirkham's suggestion that Stowe's fictional midwestern rocks in this chapter may have their origin in James Fenimore Cooper's *Prairie* (125). Cooper died on 14 September 1851, and the *New York Evangelist* announced Cooper's death in the same weekly

court, the jury acquitted of 'treason; a defendant, who had participated in a forcible effort to prevent the

news "Summary" in which it described the Christiana events (151). Such an echo may be a coincidence, but George's response to the deputy's challenge has a remarkable parallel to another story in the *Era*'s 2 October issue.

> "I know very well that you've got the law on your side, and the power," said George, bitterly. [. . .] "But you haven't got us; we don't own your laws; we don't own your country; we stand here as free under God's sky as you are; and by the great God that made us, we'll fight for our liberty till we die." (V: 157)

Compare a correspondent from Philadelphia on the Christiana episode in the same issue:

> Thirty or forty negroes, who receive no protection from the Government, for whom not a law of the statute-book has one careful provision, and who, therefore, owe not the reciprocal allegiance, having a choice, clear of all obligations, to abide the consequences of an appeal to force rather than accept those of submission, stand out with their lives for their liberty, as a hunted beast would do, and as a hunted man, treated as a beast, may surely do, when it is his choice among the chances; and, straightway, the United States of America are in jeopardy of their existence! Ah! is it so? Can a slave at bay shake the model nation of the earth with fear! Is a single atom of God's truth terrible to the world in arms! (Senior V: 158)

While neither Stowe nor Senior could have intended to parallel one another in the same issue, the *Era*'s material context, in which both stories occupy the same issue, encourages a reader to see both for their resonance to one another. Senior's concerns blend the events in Pennsylvania with the concerns of Stowe's fictional work, almost seamlessly. In both, fugitive slaves turn to force and appeal to God's judgment because of the law's corruption.

A week after "The Freemen's Defence" and Senior's letter, a 9 October editorial on "The Affair at Christiana" argues that "colored man" who hears the words "all men are created equal" from the Declaration of Independence will recognize that "There is no limitation in regard to color" (V: 164). The editorial, reprinted from the *Friends' Review*, cites state constitutions that allow for self-defense and then observes, "If the colored person should, in some instances, adopt similar opinions, and carry them into practice, surely we may find some other mode of accounting for this conduct, than by attributing it to the ill advice of their friends" (V: 164). Though the

taking of escaped slaves under the Fugitive Slave Law (Hurst 1820).

Friends' Review is concerned with the Christiana incident, the echoes of Stowe' George Harris are numerous. In the 14 August installment (which appeared eight weeks prior to the *Friends' Review* editorial), George explains to Mr. Wilson that he has heard what the Declaration of Independence says in regard to consent:

> "[. . .] Haven't I heard your fourth of July speeches? Don't you tell us all once a year that Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed? Can't a fellow think that hears such things? Can't he put this and that together, and see what it comes to?" (V: 129)

George quotes almost verbatim, that "Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed" ("The Declaration of Independence: A Transcription"). When Mr. Wilson warns George that he may be captured, George responds: "All men are free and equal in the grave, if it comes to that, Mr. Wilson" (V: 129). A few installments later, Chapter XVII, "The Freeman's Defence," George's "declaration of independence" appeals to a higher power:

> George stood out in fair sight on the top of the rock, as he made his declaration of independence—the glow of dawn gave a flush to his swarthy cheek, and bitter indignation and despair gave fire to his dark eye; and as if appealing from man to the justice of God, he raised his hand to heaven as he spoke. (V: 157)

George does carry words into action in order to defend himself and his family. Though Stowe's work will continue to be engaged with slavery as a legal construction, the George and Eliza Harris plot goes into hibernation after 2 October 1851, not to return until 4 March 1852, when George, Eliza, and young Harry escape to Canada.

Following "The Freeman's Defence," the Uncle Tom plot seems also to have its hero descend into hibernation in preparation for Tom's transformation into a Christlike martyr. The 9 October installment compares Tom to the Bible's Joseph: "Our friend Tom, in his own simple musings, often compared his unfortunate lot, in the bondage into which he was cast, with that of Joseph in Egypt; and, in fact, as time went on, and he developed more and more under the eye of his master, the strength of the parallel increased" (V: 161). Tom, like Joseph, manages expenses

in the St. Clare household. He spends his time musing on his master St. Clare's unbelief, and he intercedes to stop his master's drinking. Two installments later, on 23 October, when the narrator acknowledges that "There is a danger that our humble friend Tom be neglected" (V: 169), he has become a kind of hermit in his small quarters. He reads his Bible, sings Methodist hymns, writes his letters home, and prays for his master. In the next three installments, his only witnessed and reported activities at the St. Clare household consist of trying to convert Prue to Christianity, caring for horses, pondering Eva's Christlike nature, and singing hymns (V: 185).

The work's only engagement with political events during the portion of the serial from late November 1851 through the end of the serial in April 1852 is filtered through the character of St. Clare. Stowe's most potent spokesperson for revolutionary principles is suited for talk but temperamentally unsuited for action. In the earlier reading of Augustine St. Clare's citation of America's revolutionary ideas, I suggested that a reader's sympathies would lie with Augustine's ideas. But St. Clare is a poor spokesman for talk of political revolution. He seems neither to recognize anything peculiar about the evils of American slavery nor to hold any reverence for America's revolutionary documents. When Miss Ophelia and St. Clare discuss slavery, he collapses American slavery and the English treatment of its lower classes.

> Look at the high and the low all the world over, and it's the same story—the lower class used up, body, soul, and spirit, for the good of the upper. It is so in England, it is so everywhere; and yet all Christendom stands aghast with virtuous indignation, because we do the thing in a little different shape from what they do it. (V: 162)

When Ophelia suggests that things are done differently in Vermont, the dinner bell suspends the discussion before it can begin: "Ah, well, in New England and in the free States, you have the better of us, I grant. But there's the bell; so, Cousin, let us for a while lay aside our sectional prejudices, and come out to dinner" (V: 162). When the discussion resumes in the following installment, St. Clare meets Ophelia's anger about Prue's death with platitudes about the property interest protecting slaves. St. Clare mockingly cites the Declaration of Independence in support

of slavery: " 'When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for a fellow to hold two or three dozen of his fellow worms in captivity, a decent regard to the opinions of society require'——" (V: 165). St. Clare dismisses the discussion by comparing Ophelia's interest in the case of Prue to her earlier interest in Dinah's kitchen.

Aside from Chapter XXII, "Henrique," the 20 November installment, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a serial text nearly abandons direct engagement with contemporary political events or the *Era*'s coverage of them in the St. Clare household. Though one can read Dinah's kitchen as a political allegory,[64] the death of St. Clare and sale of Tom to Simon Legree's plantation move the emphasis of Stowe's work from contemporary political events to Tom's Christian martyrdom. Only toward the serial's final installments does Stowe's work again engage prominently with the domestic politics of the Fugitive Slave Law, but the work presents significant complexity on whether one should look back to Great Britain's antislavery movement or to America's Revolutionary inheritance as a better hope for the abolition of slavery. However, the serial is more engaged with contemporary American politics than the book, an emphasis that is clear in the textual variation between the two versions.

In the arrival of George and Eliza Harris in Canada in the 4 March 1852 issue, the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* offers an interesting return to contemporary political events, especially given its profound textual variation from the Jewett version, which suggest that Stowe intended different versions for the two audiences. The *Era* version includes specific references to the Compromise Measures of 1850 and emphasis on God's sanction for English law. Below are the two versions, with significant variants in bold. First, the *Era* version:

> But the boat swept on—hours fleeted—**night came down—and morning, bouyant and glorious, looked forth from her gates of gold, as George stood on the deck, with his wife by his side**. Then it **rose before them**, the blessed English **shore**—shores **forever** charmed **with a holy power**, **by** one touch, to dissolve every incantation of slavery, no matter in what language pronounced or by what **unhallowed national compact sealed!** (*Era* VI: 37)

[64] See Brown 502-23.

Next, the Jewett version:

> But the boat swept on. Hours fleeted, and, at last, clear and full **rose** the blessed English **shores**; shores charmed **by a mighty spell—with** one touch to dissolve every incantation of slavery, no matter in what language pronounced, or by what **national power confirmed**. (II: 238)

The two passages have quite different emphases. The *Era* version presents a greater emphasis on the portrait of George and Eliza, and the arrival in Canada occurs at dawn. The power to dissolve slavery is more specifically religious, a "holy power" rather than the Jewett edition's "mighty spell," and the *Era*'s readers would not have missed the "unhallowed national compact sealed" as a reference to the 1850 Compromise Measures.

While it seems quite possible that Stowe sought to soften the *Era*'s specific references to the Compromise Measures for the Jewett version, the 18 March *Era* installment and the Jewett version, which appeared simultaneously, offer two stagings of the encounter between young George Shelby and Simon Legree following Uncle Tom's death. The two versions vacillate between condemning American law and celebrating the mystical power of England to overcome slavery. Rather than a case of either/or, the two versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appear to represent a case where Stowe chose both/and. Again, I contrast the two versions, a scene that occurs after George puts Uncle Tom's body on the blanket. The first is from the more widely known Jewett edition version, with significant variants to the newspaper version marked.

> George spread his cloak in the wagon, and had the body carefully disposed of in it,—moving the seat, so as to give it room. **Then he turned, fixed his eyes on Legree, and said, with forced composure,**
>
> **"I have not, as yet, said to you what I think of this most atrocious affair; —this is not the time and place. But, sir, this innocent blood shall have justice. I will proclaim this murder. I will go to the very first magistrate, and expose you."**
>
> **"Do!" said Legree, snapping his fingers, scornfully. "I 'd like to see you doing it. Where you going to get witnesses? —how you going to prove it? —Come, now!"**
>
> **George saw, at once, the force of this defiance. There was not a white person on the place; and, in all southern courts, the testimony of colored blood is nothing. He felt, at that moment, as if he could have rent the heavens with his heart's indignant cry for justice; but in vain.**
>
> **"After all, what** a fuss, for a dead nigger!" said Legree.

> The word was as a spark to a powder magazine. Prudence was never a cardinal virtue of the Kentucky boy. George turned, and, with one indignant blow, knocked Legree flat upon his face; and, as he stood over him, blazing with wrath and defiance, he would have formed no bad personification of his great namesake triumphing over the dragon. (II: 283-84)

The *Era* version of the scene presents a marked contrast. Stowe does not bother with Shelby and Legree's dialog explaining southern law, and the narrator mockingly reprimands young Shelby's violence while celebrating his imprudence with something close to exuberance.

> George spread his cloak in the wagon, had the body carefully disposed of in it, moving the seat, so as to give it room.
>
> **"Such a** fuss for a dead nigger!" said Legree.
>
> The word was a spark to a powder magazine. Prudence was never a cardinal virtue of the Kentucky boy. George turned, and with one indignant blow knocked Legree flat upon his face; and as he stood over him, blazing with wrath and defiance, he would have formed no bad personification of his great namesake, triumphing over the dragon.
>
> **It was a most imprudent thing, George; but it is evident you do not care for that. You are far beyond prudence just now.** (VI: 46)

Kirkham, the scholar who has previously discussed these variants, felt that the Jewett version, which he treats as a revision, was an improvement. Although the *Era* version of this section appeared on 18 March 1852 and the Jewett edition was published on the same day, Kirkham discusses the newspaper as the "earlier version" and the book version as the "considerably emended" version (180; 181). To explain the *Era* version, which he assumes comes first, Kirkham claims that the newspaper passage must exhibit some fault to be corrected: "she felt constrained to point out twice that George was not a prudent man" (181). Since the draft for the Jewett edition, including the five chapters that follow, had to have been complete in time to allow printing of the final gathering, binding, and distribution, one need not share Kirkham's insistence that Stowe's final intentions—which he associates with book publication form—represents an improvement of the text.[65]

The background of the *Era*'s revised prospectus allows us to see the *Era* version in clearer terms. The newspaper audience is invited not only to share the visceral satisfaction of

knocking a slaveholder down but is spared the book version's educational dialog on slave law. Following Legree's quip, the passage turns immediately to the satisfaction of violence, and the narrator invites the further intellectual satisfaction of reprimanding Legree's nemesis, which I read as more of an indulgent appreciation than a rebuke. Despite their vast differences, in both cases George Shelby as an American opponent of slavery is compared metaphorically to the patron saint of Great Britain, St. George. Both versions of Stowe's work seem to suggest at least some mystical connection between American antislavery sentiment and the power of the British law.

While the *Era* version does not include the Jewett version's almost ponderous commentary on American law, the newspaper's restaging of Stowe's fiction provides a derisive rebuke of southern slaveholders. The editorial context of the *Era* suggests, quite strongly, that Stowe's fictional Legree may have more decency than actual slaveholders. Stowe's Satanic slaveholder announces a principle: " 'I don't sell dead niggers,' said Legree, doggedly. 'You're welcome to bury him when and where you like' " (VI: 46). In the same 18 March issue of the *Era*, on the facing page, a South Carolina slave auction is described under the title "A Dead Man at Auction":

> The negroes averaged *four hundred and ninety-nine* dollars per head, although there were amongst them a large number of children, some at the breast, old men and old women, one or two superannuated, and *one fellow deceased*. (*Era*'s emphasis VI: 47)

The Satanic slaveholder of Stowe's fiction, in contrast with the South Carolina slaveholders, is at least principled enough not to sell dead bodies. The *Era*'s editorial voice surrounds this excerpt with derisive commentary on the lack of humanity among slaveholders, but its close proximity to Stowe's story offers a comment on her fictional representation of the Legree as contrasted with the *Era*'s effort to document the real-life practice. If anything, Stowe's fiendish Legree in the *Era* version is more humane than the South Carolina slaveholders. Although the coincidence of these

[65] I revisit Kirkham's assumption that the book version as a revised text in the following chapter.

two passages has been a forgotten part of the history of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the resonance between them, because they are in close proximity on the same piece of paper, is likely to have drawn the attention of many readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and perhaps to have suggested that slaveholders were beyond the pale of human sympathy.

Uncle Tom's Cabin is concerned with Christian redemption on both a personal and a national scale, but Stowe's engagement with these concerns coincides with a national moment of political crisis. The aftermath of the Fugitive Slave Law produced tensions in Bailey's paper because he feared it would promote Southern expansionist missions in the Caribbean and could lead to the execution of northerners who aided runaway slaves. While the *Era* sought to reconfigure the national conscience through the revised prospectus's invocation of revolutionary principles, the newspaper sought to manage the revolution beneath Christian principles. The early part of Stowe's work redoubles its emotional force by stepping to the brink of political revolution in the case of George Harris, but the later serial installments step back, remove fugitive slaves through colonization, and reconfigure national union through Tom's Christian apotheosis. Only after young George Shelby responds to Tom's death by reconfiguring his home according to a Christian model does Stowe step out, in the final chapter's authorial voice, to call Americans toward personal and national redemption. She closed her work with an appeal to a Christian Union:

> A day of grace is yet held out to us. Both North and South have been guilty before God; and the *Christian church* has a heavy account to answer. Not by combining together, to protect injustice and cruelty, and making a common capital of sin, is this Union to be saved—but by repentance, justice, and mercy; for, not surer is the eternal law by which the millstone sinks in the ocean, than that stronger law, by which injustice and cruelty shall bring on nations the wrath of Almighty God! (VI: 53)

If the *Era*'s readers shared the beliefs represented by the revised 1852 prospectus, Stowe's message resonated because abolishing slavery to create an America under higher law principles, a

government on Christian principles, not political *compromise*—a word absent conspicuously from Stowe's work—offered the only way to avoid God's wrath.

Chapter 5: Circling Back: Reflections on an Edition

I began this dissertation with Edward Said's observation on the choice of a beginning to an enterprise, and I chose the best myth of this project's beginning that I could remember. This chapter is another act of circling back, upon the editorial project, upon the textual introduction, upon the readings performed in the three interior chapters, and ultimately snakelike upon itself, until like Prospero with the "insubstantial pageant faded" I can "Leave not a rack behind" (*Tempest* 4.1.155-56). That, at least, was the dream. This attempt at rounding the project begins with the subject Noel Polk, the textual editor for William Faulkner's *Works 1930-1935* (1985), addressed in "The Stuff that Don't Matter" (2000), continues with a series of observations on how to distinguish those parts that do not matter in the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* from those that do, and concludes with a meditation on how a number of factors—markup forms, the *Era* as a material object, and the relationship between the text of the newspaper version and that of the book version—have influenced the concept of error in this edition.

As I began transcribing *Uncle Tom's Cabin* from the *Era*, I had in mind Polk's two items of concluding advice for editors in his essay on unavoidable trivial details. Polk advises approaching each thing in the text as "guilty of significance until proven innocent," but he also recommends that "we do *not* have to pretend that *every* jot and tittle in a text is oracular, even if each one is in fact potentially so" (62). One of Polk's examples is from the typescript of *Sanctuary*, in which Faulkner "frequently typed between five and thirteen or fourteen hyphens to indicate a dash longer than one-em" (56). In the editorial policy for the Library of America edition, Polk chose to "divide by three" and found himself "in lengthy debates with the non-idiot part of myself over whether Faulkner actually *intended* a distinction between thirteen and fourteen hyphens!" (56). I decided to follow Polk's advice when I began transcribing *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era*. I treated every part of the text as potentially significant. My transcription would record ligatures, end-of-line hyphenation, italic or roman punctuation marks, and apostrophes, and I would initially treat em dashes as potentially significant as well.

I have my own suspicion that the newspaper text more closely approximates the author's manuscript than the Jewett edition in these small items, and I have some evidence that the *Era* editorial office was not responsible for extensive house styling. An *Era* editorial notice states that the paper's staff writers only proofread their own work. Otherwise, they trust the printer. In the 18 March 1852 issue, the editor's response to a letter from a correspondent shows some frustration: "Our friend who sent us the communication about Miller's death, wants to know why we changed strych*nia* into strych*nine*. We did not do it. The only proof we read is that of our own articles. Printers sometimes make mistakes—but editors are always held responsible" ("Our friend [. . .]" VI: 46). The printer listed on the upper left-hand column of the first page of each issue is Lawrence F. Buell.

Though Stowe's manuscript survives in only a handful of pages, and I cannot use the mystical presence of the dead author's hand to justify this level of attention—unlike Polk, who can because Faulkner's typescript of *Sanctuary* is extant—I brought to this project two other motivations to record this type of detail: a dissatisfaction with electronic editions in which not even opening and closing quotes are distinguished, and a naive faith that progress in electronic technology—notably the UNICODE character with its robust array of capabilities for representing extended sets of writing system marks—could display the electronic edition in a more pleasing form. The result of this attention to detail is much that "don't matter," but in many cases attention to small details—even if the text is not in the author's hand or is merely the length of em dashes—can provide important insights into Stowe's work in general as well as the *Era*'s presentation of it.

Dash length is significant in the *Era* version of Stowe's text. For readers familiar with the Jewett edition or a modern reprint, this idea may seem counterintuitive as Jewett and later editions only have one-em length dashes. Em dashes in the *Era* text—when used to indicate pauses, syntactical breaks, or opening or closing of quotations—are of three different lengths: one em, two

ems, and three ems.[1] One-em dashes are common in the *Era* text. However, they are considerably less frequent than they are in the Jewett edition, and they are never paired with commas or semicolons as in that edition.[2] Dashes of two-em and three-em length are rare in the newspaper. But their presence, as markers of difference from the frequent one-em dashes, are potentially significant. In fact, three-em dashes, of which the *Era* text has only two, appear at dramatic climaxes that draw attention to Stowe's major themes of the sorrow inflicted on slave families and the American nation's hypocritical tolerance of the domestic slave trade. The first occurrence of a three-em dash is in the 12 June 1851 installment. Uncle Tom, who knows Haley is to remove him from Shelby's farm on the following day, turns to Aunt Chloe and says,

> Mass'r aint to blame, Chloe, and he'll take care of you and the poor"——— (V: 93)

The length of that dash suggests a longer pause and—for the *Era*'s readers—provides a visible marker that may indicate the depths of Tom's sorrow on turning to the children, a sorrow marked within the *Era* text in a manner that distinguishes it from other moments of sorrow. This unusually long dash is not present in the 1852 Jewett edition—that text's dashes (for pauses and breaks) are consistently one em long.[3] The other three-em dash in the newspaper text occurs in the 28 August 1851 issue, in the narrator's pointed rebuke of the nation at the end of Chapter XII, "Select Incidents of Lawful Trade." Stowe's narrator deploys her most bitter sarcasm on the American nation's self-satisfied condemnation of the foreign slave trade:

[1] The clause between em dashes in my sentence designates an essential qualifier on dash usage. The *Era* text also has two-em and three-em dashes as section dividers, and three em dashes are used in names of places and persons for whom only the first letter is given. I exclude these usages from this consideration. As discussed in chapter 1, the *Era* also switches to new type on 18 September 1851. No three em dashes appear as longer dashes within Stowe's prose after the new type begins. One might infer that the new type influenced the discontinuation of three-em dashes. However, three em dashes are still used for omitted place names after the switch to new type, so I believe it is fair to compare both styles of type.

[2] The ",—" and ";—" that appear on almost any page of the Jewett edition never appear in the *Era* text.

[3] I do not claim that the *Era* faithfully represents Stowe's manuscript. But Stowe did use dashes of varying lengths. The manuscript for this passage is extant, is held in the Connecticut State Library, and can be viewed in digital facsimile on the *Uncle Tom's Cabin and American Culture* site ("Uncle Tom's Manuscripts").

> Who does not know how our great men are outdoing themselves in declaiming against the *foreign* slave trade. There are a perfect host of Clarksons and Wilberforces risen up among us on that subject, most edifying to hear and behold! Trading negroes from Africa, dear reader, is so horrid! It is not to be thought of! But trading them from Kentucky———that's quite another thing! (V: 137)

This three-em dash marks the narrator's bitter derision toward the American nation's hypocrisy in opposing the foreign slave trade. It would be reductive to contend that these two three-em dashes in the *Era* text are the final word on the two most important moments in the newspaper text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but they are markers of difference within the *Era* text. The first emphasizes Tom's sorrow, and the second allows for a longer pause—perhaps giving the reader a moment to think about just what the Kentucky slave trade represents. The payoff after the moment of thought, "another thing," invokes all manner of "things" suggested in the serial's original subtitle and the first two installments, which I previously suggested included the destruction of families, the sorrow that familial destruction visits on slaves, Haley's self-satisfied management, Mr. Shelby's citation of Kings 13.xii-xiii in self-condemnation, and the denial of George Harris's humanity in the eyes of the law.[4]

While two-em dashes are quite common, sixty appear in the *Era* text, and a list of all of them would provide a broad overview of significant pauses in Stowe's work—when characters are speechless or stunned—it would take far more space to describe them than is available here, so a single example will have to suffice. One of the more intensive uses of two-em dashes is in 17 July 1851 issue—the tavern discussion as Haley concludes his deal with Marks and Loker on their pursuit of Eliza. Three two-em dashes in the *Era* text emphasize Marks's worried pauses as he contemplates the dark night:

> "Dear me," said Marks, fidgeting, "it'll be——I say," he said, walking to the window, "it's dark as a wolf's mouth, and Tom"——
>
> "The long and short is, you're scared, Marks, but I can't help that—you've got to go. Suppose you want to lie by a day or two, till the gal's been carried on the underground line up to Sandusky or so, before you start."
>
> "Oh, no; I aint a grain afraid," said Marks, "only"—— (V: 161)

[4] See chapter 1.

Though Marks's fear is obvious in the Jewett version as well, the two-em dashes in the *Era* text suggest that he is morbidly afraid—a fear that foreshadows his cowardly flight after George shoots Loker and Phineas pushes the injured man into the crevice.

One-em dashes are sprinkled through the newspaper text, but their use is not as liberal as in the Jewett edition. And they vary the pace of reading that is suggested in the more familiar Jewett edition. In one of the work's pivotal moments, Eliza's crossing of the Ohio River, the punctuation of the two versions is different. In a close reading of the Jewett edition, Michael T. Gilmore has recently remarked, "The description is graphic, its kinetic energy conveyed by dashes, by the 'ing' endings of the verbs— 'stumbling—leaping—slipping—springing upwards again!' " (62; cf. I: 94). In the *Era* version, kinetic energy cannot be conveyed by dashes because no dashes are present: "stumbling, leaping, slipping, springing upwards again!" (V: 109). The absence of dashes in the newspaper version suggests an alternative possibility, that the dashes in the Jewett edition indicate pauses and thus slow the pace of reading. Compare, for example, another use of em dashes, the passage that invites Stowe's reader to join Tom's reading of the New Testament (*Era*) or Bible (Jewett) on the riverboat passage down the Mississippi. The narrator in both versions tells us that "Tom was but a slow reader, and passed on laboriously from verse to verse" (*Era* V: 145; Jewett I: 210). Tom points while he reads, and the Tom of the Jewett edition pauses between every word not separated by a full stop:

> "Let—not—your—heart—be—troubled. In—my—Father's—house—are—many—mansions. I—go—to—prepare—a—place—for—you." (I: 210)

The *Era*'s Tom may be a marginally better reader. He can manage some phrases without pausing:

> "Let—not—your—heart—be—troubled. In my Father's—house are—many—mansions. I go to—prepare—a place—for you." (V: 145)

I do not suggest that one version is right, wrong, or more faithful to the manuscript. The punctuation is different, and readers of the newspaper version who come to it with expectations drawn from the Jewett edition will find that the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a different text from the one

with which they are familiar. The quasi-facsimile version of this edition reproduces the newspaper text as closely as possible in part because the text is different from the Jewett edition.[5]

I have also electronically compared the *Era* text to the Jewett text in order to find as many errors as possible in the newspaper transcription, and I will briefly describe two moments of panic that led to the principles by which I choose to label a textual difference with the term *error*, a label that justifies emendation for the normalized text. My first moment of panic during the preparation of this edition was my discovery that I had an astonishing ability to omit opening double quotes in my transcription of the *Era* version of the text. In the longest footnote of this dissertation, part of the section titled "Acquiring Text and Images," the following statement hides that moment of panic: "By a correction of the PC-CASE encoding practice, I found 27 more errors in the proofed and corrected text" (38 n.16). I had nearly completed the process of oral proofreading, and the corrections based on oral proofreading had begun. As I checked back against earlier records to correct an error in transcription that had been identified during oral proofreading (a missing opening double quote), I discovered that the Accessible Archive (AA) transcription of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had included the double quote. This was a very troubling discovery because the collation process should have identified all variations between my Barrett copy transcription and the AA transcription. The original question—"How could I have missed that?"—became a much more worrisome one: "How could the computer have missed that?" Over the course of the next two days, I learned something that I had not known about PC-CASE encoding, a moment that would influence my later principle for deciding when a missing quote mark should be considered as an error in the *Era* version of the text.

When transcribing and encoding in PC-CASE format, I was not aware that the PC-CASE application has two methods of encoding opening double quote marks, an encoding practice that differs according to the mark's position in a prose paragraph. If opening double quotes appear at the

[5] In the work's other instance of unusual punctuation, the six-dot ellipses when Eva gathers the servants of the St. Clare household for religious instruction after her hair is cut (and when St. Clare requests a curl), both the newspaper and the Jewett edition have six-dot ellipses. (VI: 189, 193).

start of a new paragraph, an opening double quote is encoded with two opening single quotes (keyboard accent key) within curly braces, that is, {``}. When opening double quotes occur within—not at the start of—a paragraph, however, the curly braces are omitted from the encoding, that is, ``.[6] If the PC-CASE operator omits the curly braces at the start of the paragraph, the collator's compare-files process silently passes over a difference between two texts. After updating the former transcription files with the revised encoding practice, a new collation of the properly encoded transcriptions revealed the additional 27 quotation mark variants. I had missed these marks during the initial transcription, during the original collation, and during the subsequent oral proofreading. This particular error accounted for over half of the errors that remained after oral proofreading — according to the estimates—so it seemed clear that I had overestimated my own ability to transcribe accurately or to identify errors. How could so many opening quotation marks have been missed? I began to arrive at an answer that would develop into an editorial principle only after I had examined a series of modern reprint editions of the Jewett text.

The editor of the Library of America edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Kathryn Kish Sklar, gave me another pause with her list of emendations. Sklar's emendations include the addition of a closing single quote after Aunt Chloe concludes her reported question to Mrs. Shelby:

> "[. . .] and, says I, 'Now, Missis, [. . .] don't ye think dat de Lord must have meant me to make de pie-crust, and you to stay in de parlor?**'** Dar! I was jist so sarcy, Mas'r George." (Jewett I: 45; [correction from Sklar 37; reported in Note on the Texts 1475])

Sklar thus demonstrates that error is by no means readily identifiable, a complication in addition to the failure-to-transcribe-accurately type that I had realized on quote marks. It takes another sort of attention to identify errors that violate the rather straightforward punctuation standard that closing quotes should be paired with opening quotes.[7] After Sklar has pointed out that the opening single

[6] The PC-CASE manual does not note the distinction, but the sample files provided with the program observe it. Curly braces are required for all types of punctuation marks at the start of a paragraph.
[7] Here I exclude quoted writing, in which each new paragraph of the fictional "original" that is "transcribed" into the text omits concluding quotation marks. The quotation of George Harris's letter is an example.

quote before “Now” does not have a matching closing quote, this obvious error in the Jewett edition should probably be emended as she suggests—after *parlor?*— to indicate that Chloe’s reported speech from the earlier episode ends at this point during her retelling to young George. The fact of Sklar’s having pointed out the error should not obscure the fact that it is a difficult error to catch, one that I had not noticed in the newspaper text even though it also has the opening single quote before “Now.” And I am not alone. In seven other Jewett reprint editions that I have examined, only Sklar has noted and corrected this error. When I am preparing the normalized text, editorial principles permit correction of errors, so I accept Sklar’s emendation. But I began to believe that the concept of “obvious error”—a favorite concept for emending editors—is a dubious description. Obvious to whom? Like the 27 double-quote errors, this error had not been obvious to me.

But because Sklar drew my attention again to quotation marks, I came to understand that the decision to emend according to verbal correctness would have significant reverberations throughout the text. Sklar’s edition, which by my analysis has the most accurate transcription, has a list of only 11 emendations. In the newspaper text, 2 or 3 obvious errors per installment is not unusual. The Jewett version of the text was probably corrected by professional copyeditors, and Stowe also read proof. The *Era* version of the text was not proofed with comparable thoroughness. Even were I able to identify the sort of punctuation errors in the *Era* text that Sklar had drawn attention to—a point on which I was losing confidence—I also wanted to guard against applying a level of correction that becomes intrusive in the normalized text. The normalized text would not include an attempt to correct Stowe’s dialect spelling or to apply a standard derived from the Jewett edition. Much would be lost—and little could be gained—by modifying the *Era*’s dialect forms *interestin*, *feelins*, *cuttin*, and the frequent *aint* to match the Jewett edition’s *interestin’*, *feelin’s*, *cuttin’*, and *an’t* instead (*Era* V: 97; Jewett I: 41-42). Leaving aside the loss of time and sanity needed to devise and impose a standard, such normalization would also obscure the *Era* text’s identity as a self-reflective object, whose

Quotation marks precede each paragraph. But they are not paired with a closing quotation mark at the end of the

punctuation, even if different from that of the Jewett edition, is not obtrusive.[8] Nor do I impose consistency on the *Era*'s usage. For example, the dialect form for *them* is given both as *'em* and *em*. The former spelling appears 103 times, and the latter appears 201 times. By my editorial principles, the newspaper text's inconsistency is not treated as an error. With the broad outlines of my policy for emendation in the normalized edition defined—no revisions of dialect but limited revisions for verbal correctness—I thought a workable policy was in hand. But the *Era* text held additional surprises.

Whether to include Sklar's emendation of the 1852 Jewett edition text in the normalized transcription of the *Era* text—which like the Jewett version of Chloe's reported speech has the opening quote but not the closing one—is a decision whose consequences are felt throughout the normalized text in the related matter of whether reported speech should be enclosed in single quotes or of whether the narrator's interruptions to indicate a speaker's gesture must be marked by quote marks. The first installment has many examples in which the text is not marked by single quotes to distinguish the current speaker's words from the reported speech. Just as em dashes can sometimes be used to indicate quoted speech, commas can serve a similar function. Consider the following example

paragraph because Stowe's work continues quoting his fictional letter.

[8] I have been influenced by textual scholar Hershel Parker, who provided a strident critique of regularization in "Regularizing Accidentals: The Latest Form of Infidelity" (1973). He labels editorial regularization of accidentals, when applied to nineteenth-century texts, as a form of "textual heresy" similar to mixing modernized spelling and capitalization with Renaissance capitalization, a practice that Fredson Bowers had condemned in the Arden Shakespeare (20). In a review of Fredson Bowers's two editions of *The Red Badge of Courage*, Hershel Parker referred derisively to the editor's apostrophe added to "aint" as a "prissy apostrophe" (561). I believe that Parker's tone is unnecessarily dismissive of an editor's privilege to exercise critical judgment on which form an author might have hoped or expected to see in print, but I agree with Parker that regularization and normalization for the sake of imposing a standard of consistency for word forms or punctuation practices in an edited text can lead to unnecessary fastidiousness. I am concerned that the practices of normalization and regularization mix an editor's concern for the text presented to readers with the evidence that can be derived from an examination of variants, especially if the edition offers no method for a reader to analyze the editor's decisions on which types of variation are insignificant and thus need not be recorded in the apparatus. For a justification of the practice on the basis of the editor's responsibility to readers, see Bowers's "Regularization and Normalization in Modern Critical Texts" (1989). For a conscientious effort to apply standards of regularization and yet make the evidence available to readers, see Peter L. Shillingsburg's Michigan edition of William Makepeace Thackeray's *The Newcomes*, which among its editorial practices includes a four-page description of "Silent Emendation" (418-22). The edited text is "silent" within the edition because the editor does not print a comprehensive list of each individual silent emendation. But the editor makes the variant list (including silent emendations) available as an electronic file that the user can request (402). According to my conversation with the editor, no reader has ever requested the list of silent emendations.

of reported speech. Mr. Shelby's discussion of Tom's religion indicates speaker changes both by the word "says" or "said" by and punctuation marks (commas, em dashes, a period, and a question mark):

> "Well, Tom's got the real article, if ever a fellow had," rejoined the other. "Why, last fall, I let him go to Cincinnati alone, to do business for me, and bring home five hundred dollars. Tom, says I to him, I trust you because I think you're a Christian—I know you wouldn't cheat. Tom comes back sure enough—I knew he would. Some low fellows, they say, said to him—Tom, why don't you make tracks for Canada? Ah, master trusted me and I couldn't—they told me about it. I am sorry to part with Tom, I must say. You ought to let him cover the whole balance of the debt; and you would, Haley, if you had any conscience." (V: 89; cf. Jewett I: 15)

When I read the *Era* version, I did not notice the absence of single quotes, so I see no reason to add single quotes in this edition simply because the Jewett edition has four pairs of single quote marks. A related though not identical use of em dashes, to indicate the speaker's gesture, happens at the Halliday household:

> "Oh, thank you," said Eliza, "but—she pointed to Harry—I can't sleep nights; I can't rest. Last night I dreamed I saw that man coming into the yard"—she said, shuddering. (V: 141)

In the Jewett version, Eliza's gesture is outside the quote marks. A closing quote is placed after *but,* and an opening one is placed before *I can't* (I: 197). This edition's text is not emended because the em dashes in the *Era* version serve the same purpose as combination of quote marks and em dashes in the Jewett edition. As was the case for dialect speech in which the *Era* version has no apostrophes to indicate omitted letters, differences from the Jewett version are not errors.

This principle, that the newspaper text's difference from the Jewett edition does not constitute error, also has an effect on the editorial treatment of text that reports a character's unspoken thoughts. In the *Era* text, thoughts are given without quotation marks whereas in the corresponding passage in the Jewett version a character's unspoken thoughts are often given in quotes. Compare, for example, the *Era*'s version of Eliza's thought as she decides not to share her fears about the slave trader Haley. Both versions of the text introduce her unspoken thoughts in the preceding paragraph with an identical phrase: "She would have spoken to tell her husband her fears, but checked herself." The succeeding paragraph in the *Era* has no quotation marks:

> No, no; he has enough to bear, poor fellow, she thought. No, I wont tell him; besides, it ain't time; missis never deceives us. (V: 93)[9]

In the Jewett edition, quote marks distinguish the narrator's comment "she thought" from the words representing Eliza's thought:

> "No, no,—he has enough to bear, poor fellow!" she thought. "No, I won't tell him; besides, it an't true; Missis never deceives us." (I: 37)

Mr. Shelby's mental decision to reveal the sale of Harry to Mrs. Shelby is treated similarly.[10] In no one of these three case do I consider the *Era* version distracting, so I do not add quotation marks to the normalized version of the *Era* text. That is, since the newspaper text's difference from the Jewett version is not presumed to be an error, this edition of the *Era* version does not emend for single quotes that are *not* missing.

Therefore, given this editorial approach for the normalized version (an approach not applicable in the quasi-facsimile version because it is not emended for any reason), the absence of quotation marks in the *Era* version is only treated as an "error" suitable for emendation if the presence of one quotation mark (single or double opening or closing) suggests that its partner mark is absent due to an oversight on the part of the typesetter. I have devoted attention to examples of punctuation variation between the two version in order to show that the *Era* version is worthy of study on the basis of punctuation variation alone.

But verbal differences are important too, so consider a few examples of wording differences—some of which might be labeled errors in one or the other edition—that have noticeable effects on the reading of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era* version. Here I use Bryant's concept of the "fluid text" to describe the process of reading multiple versions of a text simultaneously, that is,

[9] Readers unfamiliar with the *Era* version may note the presence of the apostrophe in *ain't* in Eliza's quote, which may seem contrary to my previous assertion that the apostrophe is usually omitted. The form *aint* appears ninety percent of the time. The count is 202 *aint*'s to 22 *ain't*'s. This passage has one of the latter. Note also the newspaper's "time" where the Jewett edition has "true."

[10] While both versions begin with thought in quotation marks, the *Era* has no quotation marks for the continuation of Mr. Shelby's thought: " 'It will have to come out,' said he, mentally—as well now as ever" (V: 101). " 'It will have to come out,' said he, mentally; 'as well now as ever' " (I: 55).

"comparing the versions of a text, which is to say we are reading the differences between the versions" (62). Bryant argues that textual variants reveal a trace of cultural energy because someone, for a reason ranging from unconscious slip to deliberate censorship, changes wording. While Bryant does not mean that authorial intention should be the only interest, he indicates that variants allow us to question "*intent* behind the revision" (5). The following readings of the different versions of the two texts are speculative, but I believe the textual variants provide evidence that 1) suggest Stowe's imaginary intimacy with the periodical audience, 2) reveal an attitude of almost playful interaction between the two versions, or 3) reveal simple oversights or mistakes by the author, the typesetter, or the copyeditor in one version or the other. Were an editor to prepare a print edition that conflates the textual authority of the two versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, her burden would be to decide which form should become part of her edited text and which should be noted or placed in apparatus. Although an editor of a print edition must decide in each case, my discussion—because I am not editing a conflated text—can be more speculative. An inescapable difficulty for a reader of multiple versions is that it is almost impossible to sort out the motivations of multiple parties, so I will proceed from the cases in which authorial revision seems most likely to other cases in which I am less confident about the motivation for revisions.

One error in the *Era* text is obvious and is probably a compositor oversight, but the correction of the error is not obvious without reference to the 1852 Jewett edition. In the 25 September 1851 *Era* issue, thirty-eight lines in the newspaper text are out of place, and St. Clare's discussion with Eva, which takes place at the dinner table in the Jewett edition, is inserted before Marie, Miss Ophelia, and Eva depart for church. The section produces a disorienting series of exchanges in the newspaper version. After Eva states that she would allow Mamma into her bed, Marie replies, "You are very uncharitable" (V: 154). Then St. Clare immediately launches into his discussion of the "price of cotton," a change of topic that is so disconcerting as to suggest some obvious problem with the text. The large shift of a section of the text creates a textual crux that is obvious, but as it seems insoluble without reference to the Jewett edition an explanatory note is provided in this edition.

Another large textual variant, Stowe's epilogue for the newspaper version, has been very influential in readings of the newspaper versions of the text. That the author's relationship to the *Era*'s periodical audience is more intimate than the author's relationship to the 1852 Jewett edition audience is a critical commonplace that has been supported by readings of the epilogue. This familiar reading needs to be complicated somewhat. While the *Era* version's epilogue provides important clues about the author's imaginary intimacy with the periodical audience, the textual variants between the newspaper and the book edition suggest that the *Era* version's South is at a greater remove from its North—both geographically and imaginatively—than the Jewett version's distance from its south to its north.[11]

The imaginative distance that the *Era* version's epilogue posits between author and reader is very small. Both are part of an intimate circle of family and friends:

> The "Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin" must now take leave of a wide circle of friends, whose faces she has never seen, but whose sympathies, coming to her from afar, have stimulated and cheered her in her work.
>
> The thought of the pleasant family circles that she has been meeting in spirit weekly has been a constant refreshment to her, and she cannot leave them without a farewell. (V: 53)

Belasco Smith offers an emphatic reading both about the importance of Stowe's serial strategy of introducing blacks into whites' "familial and social relationships" and about Stowe's imaginary intimacy with the *Era*'s audience (72).[12] But the serial has an opposite effect as well. It increases the

[11] The difference in case that my sentence reflects (the *Era* version's consistent South and North versus the Jewett version's south and north) is another feature that suggests greater imaginative distance beween the two regions, but this effect is probably a part of house styling standards. In the *Era* version, South, State, North, God, Lord, and the pronoun He or Thy in reference to the Christian deity are consistently capitalized. The Jewett version often has these words uncapitalized, though references to the deity are sometimes capitalized.

[12] On the importance of familial relationships to Stowe's antislavery argument, she writes, "The material implications for this particular mode of literary production are significant for Stowe's literary intervention into the arguments about the place of slavery in the United States. Because the enslavement of blacks placed them outside the social and familial relationships of the dominant white culture, the work of an antislavery writer involved reintroducing blacks into those relationship" (71). On communication with readers in the serial version, she says, "Stowe clearly envisioned her installments as a two-way communication between herself and her readers. She was conscious of them privately, as around her kitchen table, and publicly, as she saw the installments appear and observed the variety of texts that stood side by side with the columns of her novel" (72).

distance between *us* and *them*. But I do not mean of whites and blacks: I mean northerners and southerners.

Unlike the Jewett version's south, which is hundreds of miles away, the *Era* version's South is thousands of miles away, a distance that requires more time to travel. When Chloe in the 13 October 1851 issue proposes working as a "perfectioner"—her word for "confectioner"—in Louisville, Kentucky, she muses that she will be closer to her husband. Mrs. Shelby explains the distance between them: "No, Chloe, its many a **thousand** miles off" (V: 181). In the Jewett version, New Orleans is closer, "many a **hundred** miles off" (II: 58). While either could be a typesetting error, a differing sense of distance is supported by another textual variant, on the Mississippi steamboat's passage south in the 28 August issue. In the *Era* version, the passage of time while the boat steams southward is emphasized: "Men talked, and loafed, and read, and smoked. Women sewed, and children played**. Suns rose and set, and men did business for some days**, **till** the boat has passed far on her way" (V: 137). In the transcription of the Jewett version, the words highlighted in bold in this transcription, which emphasize the passage of time, are omitted. The *Era* version's **till** becomes **and**, so I believe that this revision for the Jewett version was intentional (I: 137). While this may be an error with regard to external fact from the standpoint of revision for the Jewett revision—because the *Era* version's boat is still in Kentucky after many days of steaming—the crossing of the Erie by steam boat to Canada is a parallel instance. The description of the passage in the *Era* version emphasizes the rising sun and the overnight passage; in the Jewett version the boat appears to achieve the crossing in a matter of hours. In the case of that variant between the two versions, the *Era* version matches Eliza's earlier statement: "We are only within twenty-four hours of Canada, they say. Only a day and a night on the Lake, and then—oh then" (II: 237; VI: 37). The *Era*'s version seems to have greater internal consistency as Eliza's "night and a day" are confirmed in the description of the crossing itself. In the Jewett version, the night is not mentioned during the crossing.

An editor of an edition that conflates the authority of the two versions might appeal to consistency, external fact, or authorial oversight to emend these passages—How long did it take a

steam boat in the 1850s to make this passage or that? How many miles is it from Kentucky to New Orleans? Could the *Era* version be an authorial correction that adds an overnight passage on the Erie?—the *Era* text is not emended because I believe that the imaginative distance between North and South is greater in the newspaper version than the distance between north and south in the Jewett edition.

This sense of geographical and imaginative intimacy in the *Era* version produces an especially interesting group of variants in the 1 April 1852 issue, the final installment, where Stowe's assumed sympathy with the newspaper audience is presumed to provide protection for fugitive slaves. The audience is "us" in the *Era* version whereas it is "you" in the Jewett version. Former slaves, according to the *Era* version, "come to seek a refuge among **us**; they come to seek education, knowledge, Christianity" (VI: 53). The Jewett edition has that fugitive slaves seek "a refuge among **you**"(II: 318). For the *Era*'s audience, Stowe also adds the state of origin for three of the escaped slaves in Cincinnatti, Ohio: "B———" is described as "from Carolina," "K———" is described as "from Georgia," and "G———" is described as "of Virginia" (VI: 37). In the Jewett version, the only former slaves whose states of origin are given are C__, W__, and G. D__. For each of these successful former slaves, the brief description includes a note about manumission, a payment made to former owner to secure freedom for self and family. While K——— appears to have been manumitted because he "received a legacy from his master," the absence of references to manumission in the cases of B——— and G——— strongly suggests that these two men were fugitive slaves. According to the Fugitive Slave Law, the slaveholders from whom they escaped still held a legal right to their person. By having the newspaper text provide state of origin in addition to first initial and profession, Stowe provided information to the *Era*'s audience that could potentially involve Cincinnati residents (remember that the mid-west accounted for up to half of the *Era*'s audience) in a violation of the Fugitive Slave Law, that is, if the Carolina or Virginia slaveholder were to pursue their former slaves B——— or G——— in Cincinnati. Although collation reveals the variants, I do not know how to judge Stowe's intent. But given that the Fugitive Slave Law was one

of her primary motivations for writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, it seems unlikely that she would have forgotten the law's potential consequences for fugitive slaves. What leads Stowe to provide more information about the state of origin for fugitive slaves in the *Era* text (or to omit information in the Jewett edition text)? There are a number of possibilities. Perhaps B——— or G——— were free men: the information on manumission was simply omitted. Or perhaps Stowe has faith that the spare clues about the identity of these men and the distance between former slaveowner and former slave provide a measure of protection. But the author's periodical audience offers additional perhapses. Claude Pérotin's apothegm is apt: "Ne sous-estimons pas l'audace de Beecher Stowe" (231). That is, "Do not underestimate Stowe's daring." Stowe's monumental audacity may lead her to increase the consequences for the fugitive slaves and for some members of the periodical audience, primarily for rhetorical effect.[13] Perhaps she believes that it is unlikely that a reader of the *Era* would convey the additional clues to a Southern slaveholder. But since the *Era* did engage in newspaper exchanges with southern papers, Stowe's view of her imaginary periodical audience may have underestimated the potential threats to these Cincinnati fugitive slaves among the *Era*'s actual audiences.

For some variants between the two texts, oversights or mistakes (by someone) or an authorial decision to create a different version of the work for the different audiences of the newspaper and Jewett edition provide the most reasonable explanation. In the other cases, authorial playfulness between versions—of the intertextual suggested for the Burr/Bird variant—may provide a more apt description of the variations. I will consider two such cases before concluding with the vexed issue of chapter numbering, chapter titles, and an explanation of why some installments of the *Era* version are arguably later revisions of the Jewett edition text. The two cases—variable naming of characters and the "bite" of the scorpion in the chapter entitled "Token" in the Jewett edition—can clarify the

[13] I do not discount Stowe's selfish interests. That is, she may have used this picque for rhetorical effect without considering the danger to these fugitive slaves. Her blithe disregard for the interests of former slave Harriet Jacobs (about whom Stowe showed no interest as a person but significant interest as a subject for her own book) is instructive. See Jean Fagan Yellin's introduction to *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2000), Enlarged Edition, xv-xliii.

editorial policy for the normalized versions of the newspaper text, in which instead of "correcting" the "error" a textual note highlights the difference.

The primary factor for designating an item as an "error" that will be corrected in the normalized version is an editorial decision that the type of error suggests that the addition, omission, or replacement of a letter form is inadvertent. These variants are displayed in text of an alternate color. The complete list of these emendations—160 of them—is provided in Appendix B. As compared with Sklar's short list of emendation for the Jewett edition, this edition's list is quite long. As a quasi-facsimile text is provided, as principles for silent emendation of the normalized text are provided in chapter 1, and as Appendix B lists all editorial emendations, readers can use their judgment to decide whether the editorial approach for emendation is intrusive. Although the list is considerable, an editorial approach that placed greater emphasis on internal consistency or consistency with the Jewett edition could easily quadruple the number of items designated as error.

A similar strategy is adopted for naming, to almost never emend, although it is hard to tell whether Stowe is careless or deviously clever. The names of Tom's family vary significantly, and the variance suggests either that Stowe remained indecisive throughout the composition process. Given Stowe's focus on matriarchy and feminine power, it is surprising how much variation exists in the names of the members of Tom's immediate family. The name of one of Tom and Chloe's boys is Pete in the Jewett edition, but he is both Peet and Pete in the newspaper, though the former is more common. The youngest girl is originally named Mericky in the *Era* version. She is also named Mericky in the uncorrected state of the Jewett edition (I: 42; V: 53). Stowe, however, renamed Tom and Chloe's youngest child Polly in the corrected state of the book version, which makes the name Polly consistent with the name the child is given as an older child in the penultimate chapter. Like the uncorrected state of the Jewett edition, a reader of the *Era* version has two names for Tom and Chloe's youngest child. By changing the chapter IV occurrence of the baby's name to Polly in the corrected state of the Jewett edition, Stowe seems to be using the name for another purpose, to link her name to other incidental slaves named Polly. She thus provides reminders of Chloe's fear that her

child will eventually be sold.[14] Given the importance of Tom's attachment to his family, it is remarkable that only the name of his son Mose is consistent in the newspaper version. In addition to Mericky/Polly and Peet/Pete, even Aunt Chloe is once named "Aunt Sally" in the first installment, though I am inclined to see this instance as a typesetter's error.[15] If Stowe is careless or indecisive in the names of the children, perhaps the explanation is that while writing the serial she could not revise earlier chapters after she had settled on her final decision. Of course, Stowe's Mericky/Polly indecision remains even in the uncorrected state of the Jewett edition.

If Stowe is careless or indecisive on Tom's family, in other cases a more satisfying explanation is suggested by rather more authorial care. The name that is given to Eliza varies frequently in the *Era* version, and the variant may suggest that Stowe adopted different strategies in the two versions to provide clues that Eliza is Cassy's long-lost daughter. The Jewett edition has two dialect versions of Eliza's name: "Lizzy," which is used by Aunt Chloe and Uncle Tom (I: 62, 63, 64) and "Lizy," which is used by Andy[16] and Sam (I: 64, 66, 70, 71, 77, 90, 92, 96, 113, 116). An astute reader of the Jewett edition might infer that Cassy's daughter "Elise" (II: 206, 207) will turn out to be Eliza, but the *Era* version has better clues. In the *Era* version, Aunt Chloe and Uncle Tom refer to her as "Lizzy" (V: 101), and Andy and Sam also use "Lizzy" in their initial references (V: 101, 105). When Sam starts speaking to Haley, however, he refers to Eliza once as "Lizzy," once as "Elizy," and five times as "Lizy" (V: 109; 113). At first glance, one could decide that Stowe had not settled on the dialect form that she preferred, and the oddity "Elizy" is perhaps either an authorial error or Sam's peculiarly idiosynchratic mixing of Eliza and Lizzy. However, Cassy's daughter's name in the *Era*

[14] There are two other Polly's in the work. Marks, when he reviews accounts, notes that he and Loker are searching for a "Polly and her two children" (V: 113). St. Clare also greets a never otherwise named servant Polly at the arrival in New Orleans, who with Jimmy and Sukey occupy the never distinct group of additional servants in the household (V: 149).

[15] Chloe is apparently switched with the incompetent cook in the Shelby household, Sally, who never appears except in Chloe's mentions of her. I suspect the typesetter was influenced by the name Sally five lines up. The second cook Sally is quite capable when Chloe decides to be a perfectioner but seemingly reverts back to incompetence after Chloe returns to the Shelby plantation. It is Sally who forgets to bring out the proper tea pot for young George.

[16] Andy's name is twice "Andie" in the *Era* (V: 113).

version is not "Elise," it is "Elisé" (II: 206, 207; VI: 25). The *Era*'s spelling of Cassy's version of her daughter's name, with the acute accent, reminds the reader that Cassy speaks French fluently. Sam's "error," then, may have another cause. Given the French "Elisé," the members of the Shelby household adopted different strategies to translate her name into English, depending on their version of English dialect. Sam's language is the most chameleon-like, which is fitting for his character, and he in the newspaper version with the unual form "Elizy" offers the strongest clue that Cassy's Elisé is the same person as Lizzy/Lizy, that is, Eliza. Stowe's rationale may have been to disguise the clues for Eliza's identity in her rendering of dialect speech, though why she would have changed the strategy for the Jewett edition I am unable to speculate.

A final example of naming, Simon Legree's almost indistinguishable overseers Sambo and Quimbo, are also exchanged when the texts are compared. They are almost always paired in either version of the text, and it is probably a rare reader of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* who can remember with certainty that Legree purchased Lucy for Sambo, not for Quimbo.[17] When the two versions of the text are compared, the two overseers' names are in fact exchanged for one another three times. In the *Era*'s 11 March 1852 installment, when Legree sends Quimbo for Tom after the unsuccessful hunt for Cassy and Emmeline, the narrator interjects before Quimbo departs to explain that Sambo and Quimbo "were joined in one mind by a no less cordial hatred of Tom," but in the *Era* version "Sambo therefore departed," not the Jewett edition's Quimbo, although Legree sent Quimbo in both versions (*Era* VI: 41; Jewett II: 271). The *Era* version has Sambo (not the man Legree sent, but the one that the text has departing) seize Uncle Tom whereas the Jewett version has Quimbo (the one sent, who departed) seize him (*Era* VI: 41; Jewett II: 271). Quimbo and Sambo are switched yet again after Tom is beaten severely by the pair. After they minister to him with brandy, it is Sambo who speaks first to Tom in the *Era* version—"we's been rael wicked to ye"—whereas Quimbo says "we 's been awful wicked to ye!" in the Jewett edition (VI: 45; II: 275). In this case, the switch between Sambo

[17] Legree purchased Lucy for Sambo, in both versions. (VI: 21; II: 184)

and Quimbo seems like the author's perverse private fun with the two versions, a fun that relies on the racist trope that the two black men are indistinguishable.

Despite the variations in naming between the two versions, I do not emend the text of the normalized newspaper version based on the Jewett edition text. But many small wording differences between the two versions have potential consequences for a reading of either version of Stowe's work. In the examples that follow, the *Era* version is always given first. Chloe says young George could "make a hombug laugh," not a "hornbug" (V: 97; I: 44). In the matter of Tom's sale, Chloe has "a stubbed sense" of its wrong rather than "a stubborn sense" (V: 125; I: 142). The former suggests an inchoate emotion rather than a strongly felt conviction. In the *Era*, when Sam explains how he sticks to principle, he cites a biblical example: "I wouldn't mind if dey burnt me live **like dat ar old coon dar missus was a showin us in der catechise.** I'd walk right up to de stake [. . .]" (V: 113). The Jewett edition replaces the entire phrase with a comma and em dash, so that version has "burnt me live,—I 'd walk [. . .]" (II: 117). Sam's extended remark in the *Era* version thus foreshadows the biblical typology of Cassy's escape into Legree's house, which Tom sparks in Cassy with this reminder: "Him that saved Daniel in the den of lions, that saved the children in the fiery furnace—Him that walked on the sea, and bade the winds be still—He's alive yet—and I've faith to believe he can deliver you. Try it, and I'll pray with all my might for you" (VI: 37).[18] The Sam of the *Era* version, if we add this to his facility for naming and renaming Eliza, appears to operate within the work as a type of Cassandra, one whose remarkable gift for prophecy in the serial version is revised out of the Jewett text.

The section that has Eliza with the Burrs and the Hallidays and Tom on the steamboat has a number of interesting variants. When Eliza is with the Senator's wife, she speaks "mildly" to Mrs. Burr rather than the Jewett edition's "wildly" to Mrs. Bird, when they meet in the kitchen (I: 124; V: 118). The *Era* version's reference to Joel Parker is more pointed to him as an individual. In addition

to the footnote, which the *Era* shares with the uncorrected state of the Jewett edition, he is described as a "certain minister" rather than given as one among "certain ministers" (V: 137; I: 191). The Quaker Ruth Stedman is described as having a "cherry blooming face" instead of a "cheery, blooming face" (V: 141; I: 197). Stowe's fruit descriptor for Ruth's face links it to Rachel Halliday's, which is "suggestive of a ripe peach" (V: 141; I: 196).[19]

When George Harris proposes to Mr. Wilson the hypothetical example of the latter having been captured and imprisoned by Indians and asks whether he would view a stray horse as a "Providence" that offers a means of escape, the gentleman's response has an important difference. The additions to the *Era* text in the Jewett version are marked below with brackets:

> The little old gentleman stared with both eyes at this illustration of the case; but, though not much of a reasoner, he had the sense in which some logicians on this particular subject [**do not**] excel[,]—that of saying nothing[,] where nothing could be said. (V: 129; I: 163)

In both cases, Mr. Wilson pauses but resumes his "exhortations in a general way," so the *Era* version commends his temporary silence at least for its contrast to logicians whereas the Jewett version commends the silence both of Mr. Wilson and the logicians. Either version exhibits his "sense," but his sense depends both on whether Stowe's commentary is serious or satiric and on whether Mr. Wilson's resumption of speech "in a general way" abandons the particular example (newspaper version) or takes up the same topic (Jewett edition). Another interesting variant occurs in "The Freeman's Defence." In the *Era* version, the party of deputies is struck silent by the "the **altitude**, eye, voice, manner, of the speaker," not the Jewett edition's **attitude** (V: 157; I: 283). The variant creates a moment of textual fluidity that is never acknowledged in discussions of this passage. In all of these cases, the *Era* version is reproduced in the normalized text of this edition.

As I observed in the coda to the introduction, I refer to the *Era*'s chapter numbering despite the fact that the sequence is irregular, and two variants in the chapter numbered XXXV in the *Era*'s

[18] The "children in the fiery furnace" refers to Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who refused to bow down to Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar's golden idol. See Daniel 3:1-30.

26 February issue and XXXIV in the Jewett edition demonstrate the potential for unintended consequences when a critical reader is either unaware of textual difference or approaches Stowe's work from a logical or interpretive framework in which the representational or logical significance of words have little consequence. Thomas P. Joswick, for example, claims that "the aesthetic resourcefulness of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is its fund of such tacit meanings distributed all along its narrative form—plot, characters, settings. These meanings are acquired by no hermeneutical skill; to approach them by any strategy of questioning their representational ground is already to have lost them" (267). When Joswick treats the following passage, he suggest that its "Words [. . .] resonate with moral and spiritual power, not logical precision: 'ETERNITY,—the word thrilled through the black man's soul with light and power, as he spoke; it thrilled through the sinner's soul, too, like the bite of a scorpion' " (267, ctd. from II: 229). Joswick asserts that the "character of the speaker" more so than the "logic of the message" is important, so in his paraphrase of the passage's meaning he says that it "stings the sinner with self-recognition" (267). Faced with the Jewett edition's "bite of the scorpion," Joswick is untroubled by Stowe's factual inaccuracy with regard to scorpions. But then again, readers who question "representational ground," trouble with "logical precision," or seek to apply "hermeneutical skill," at least to Joswick, are missing Stowe's point. If you read only the Jewett edition of Stowe's text, you can neatly avoid the *Era* version's "sting of the scorpion" instead of "bite," and this textual difference between the two versions calls into question Joswick's assertion that in Stowe's language "religious values triumph without any conflict from their representational ground" (268).

This variant, if a reader is willing to apply hermeneutical skill, resonates with the Jewett edition's chapter title "The Tokens" (which is not present in the *Era*), and the omitted portion of the chapter's epigraph. The epigraph is six-line selection from Canto IV of George Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*:

[19] Mrs. Burr/Bird also has a "peach-blow complexion" (V: 117; I: 195)

> And slight, withal, may be the things that bring
> Back on the heart a weight it fain would fling
> Aside forever; it may be a sound,
> A flower, the wind, the ocean, which shall wound,
> Striking the electric chain wherewith we're darkly bound. (VI: 29)[20]

Three lines of Byron's stanza that are omitted,[21] and the lines that in Byron's poem precede Stowe's epigraph are as follows:

> But ever and anon of griefs subdued
> There comes a token like a Scorpion's sting,
> Scarce seen, but with fresh bitterness imbued;

Stowe is not artless: she merely disguises her art differently in the two versions. In the Jewett edition, the chapter title "The Tokens" and the omitted portion of Byron's stanza provide a sufficient context in which to suggest that the Jewett version's factual error about scorpions could be a deliberate misquotation of Byron's line. In the *Era* version, which has no chapter title, the "scorpion's sting" is a direct quotation of Byron, which makes Stowe's allusion to Byron clear in Tom's speech. This moment in the *Era* version of the text, which appeared in the 19 February issue, had been prepared in Stowe's discussion of St. Clare in the 25 December issue:

> The gift to appreciate and the sense to feel the finer shades and relations of moral things, often seems an attribute of those whose whole life shows a careless disregard of them. Hence Moore, Byron, Goethe, often speak words more wisely descriptive of the true religious sentiment[**,**] than another man[**,**] whose whole life is governed by it. In such minds, disregard of religion is a more fearful treason—a more deadly sin. (V: 205 with bracketed additions for Jewett edition II: 137)

The point of this exercise in textual excavation is not merely to disagree with an individual critic's reading, but the textual variation between the versions challenges Joswick's assertion. On the other hand, I cannot explain the odd alteration in the Byron quotation, although Stowe may have quoted from memory or mis-copied and thus inadvertently revised Byron. My reading of the bite/sting

[20] In the Jewett edition, the newspaper passsage "a weight it fain" is given as "the weight which it" (II: 213). The Jewett version appears in the seven pre-1851 American editions of Byron that I have examined.
[21] Stowe's quotation also omits the following line, which follows "a sound": "A tone of music—summer's eve—or spring."

variant is a starting point, not an ending. The point of this project is not to close off discussion but to invite a wider range of readers into the discussion of textual variation.

I will conclude with a final point that is an outgrowth of my attempt to correct the normalized text of the *Era* version on the basis of difference between that text and the Jewett edition. The primary rationale behind this textual comparison for this edition was not to identify the author's intended textual differences but to identify my unintended mistakes in transcription. The comparison resulted in the correction of thirteen errors whose likely consequence is only to my personal commitment to make the transcription as accurate as possible. The sort of error that Sklar identified—invisible to most readers, including editors—can be found more easily by collating the two versions of the text. A. E. Housman defined textual criticism as the "the science of discovering error in texts and the art of removing it" (131). The electronic comparison tool PC-CASE, which aids in the discovery of error, has increased my confidence that variants between the two versions have been identified, but as I have indicated already, a difference between the two versions of the text is not necessarily an error. I believe that Stowe made conscientious efforts to write toward one perceived audience of *Era* newspaper version and another perceived audience for the Jewett edition. Because the edition presents the newspaper version and editorial principles are defined such that authorial intention is not the predominate concern, the editor need not face many difficult decisions for the establishment of the text. Though I have already explained the rationale for that choice, I believe it is helpful, as a thought experiment, to consider the difficult choices that would face an editor who decided to construct an authorially intended text on the basis of three texts: 1852 Jewett edition, the surviving manuscript pages, and the *Era* version.

An authorially intended text is always an ideal, and an editor who attempts to construct such a text must always be prepared to deal with the possibility that the author intended one version of the text at one time for one audience and at another time for another audience. As simple as this idea sounds, it often escapes readers. When Kirkham addressed the two printed versions, he began with the basic presumption that the *Era* version of the text was the "earlier" version and the Jewett edition

was the “revised” version. Kirkham avoids two insurmountable complications. First, Kirkham does not take into account that Stowe may have revised for two different audiences. He tends to view all “revision” for the Jewett edition as correction and reconsideration of the earlier *Era* version. Second, the publication timeline, in which the Jewett edition was issued on 18 March 1852 while the *Era* serial continued its run through 1 April, at least allows that Stowe had an opportunity to “revise” five chapters of what would be the *earlier* Jewett version for serial publication in the *Era*. I believe that Stowe did that, and she may have done even more. The remainder of this study is thus devoted to laying out the evidence by which approximately the last quarter of the newspaper text might represent authorial revisions in which the *Era* version is Stowe’s *later revised version* of either a manuscript draft or a printed copy of the Jewett edition text.

From the standpoint of an edition that seeks to create an authorially intended text in which later revisions are granted authority, it is indisputable that differences between the *Era* installments through early January 1852—which correspond to the first two-thirds of the Jewett edition—represent revisions in which the *Era* text is the earlier version and the Jewett text is a revised version. For the remaining portion of the text, the situation is more complicated. Three types of evidence suggest that portions of the *Era* text are revised versions of the Jewett edition: a timeline for Stowe’s composition, a consideration of significant wording changes that suggest two authorial versions of the manuscript, and a consideration of insignificant wording and punctuation changes. The evidence probably suggests either that Stowe prepared two separate manuscripts or that the *Era* version is based on a revised version of the Jewett edition.

Based on evidence from Stowe’s letters and the time required to set the book into type, a timeline of the final stages of production for the Jewett edition readily suggests that Stowe had the entire manuscript for the book version drafted during the first week of March, a date two weeks before the Jewett edition was issued and over three weeks before the final installment appeared in the *Era*. The easiest way to illuminate this fact is to work backwards. The final installment of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* appeared in the *Era* on 1 April 1852 while the Jewett edition went on sale in Boston on

18 March, so it is undoubtedly true that the *Era* text of the 18 March installment, the beginning of which corresponds with page 273 in volume II of the Jewett edition in the chapter entitled "The Martyr" could have been a revised version of the Jewett text. The resumption of chapter titles in the *Era* on the week of 11 March—after they had been discontinued in fourteen installments since the 20 December 1851 chapter entitled "Henrique"—almost certainly suggests that the addition of chapter titles drew on the consistent use of them in the Jewett edition, but how far can this be pushed back?

Additional evidence is provided in Charles E. Stowe's *Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe.* Stowe sent the last proof-sheets to Jewett approximately eight or nine days prior to the book publication. According to the publisher records, Stowe was charged $.56 for a copy of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that she received "a few days before the date of publication of her book" (159). And Charles Stowe states that five days earlier, when she was reading a speech by Horace Mann, she had sent the "last proof-sheet" to the publisher (159). Thus, we can conclude that Stowe had completed her review of Jewett's proofs by 13 March. In order to allow time for the final manuscript pages to be set into type by Jewett's printer and forwarded to Stowe for proofing, it seems safe to presume that the book edition manuscript draft was completed by the first week of March. Stowe would have needed two manuscript drafts to submit both the *Era*'s 4 March 1852 installment and the completed manuscript to Jewett. Thus, from 4 March through 1 April 1852, it is almost certain that Stowe had the opportunity to create two versions of the text, one for the Jewett edition and one for the *Era* newspaper installments. In the Jewett edition, the corresponding text occupies pages 232-322 of the second volume (90 pages), a little over fourteen percent of the text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

I think the textual differences suggest that Stowe produced two versions of these final eight chapters, and I believe it is more likely that the *Era* is a later revised text. Again, I will work backwards from the end of the work. The farewell is new for the *Era* version. As discussed earlier, in the 1 April installment of Chapter XLIV "Concluding Remarks," the *Era* text has states of origins for the three free Cincinnati blacks, who may have been fugitive slaves. In the same installment, the conclusion of the preceding Chapter XLII "Results," Stowe in the *Era* version omitted the P.S. on

Madame de Thoux's inquiries regarding Cassy's son and instead has de Thoux embark for Africa with George's family (VI: 53; II: 304). The 25 March installment has no significant wording variants, but in the 18 March installment Stowe creates the alternative version of young Shelby's punching Simon Legree (VI: 46). There are additional wording variants between the *Era*'s Chapter XL "The Young Master" and the same chapter (XLI) in the Jewett edition.

However, the *Era*'s continuation of Chapter XXIX "The Martyr" in the same installment shows considerable evidence of wording that may have been omitted or revised for the *Era* version, and the newspaper version was probably the one prepared later. The *Era* version offers an equally acceptable, though probably revised, version of the text. In the Jewett version, Sambo, after he and Quimbo weep, says "[. . . 'I do believe!—I can't help it! **Lord Jesus, have mercy on us!**' " (II: 275). The *Era* version omits the line in bold. By omitting the line, the *Era* version emphasizes Tom's intercessory prayer on the behalf of Sambo and Quimbo, not Quimbo's appeal to Jesus (VI: 45). The installment includes the last of the three alternations between Sambo and Quimbo (discussed above), and they are described as "**brutal** men" rather than "**savage** men" (VI: 45; II: 275). Jesus is described as an "**ever-living** presence" rather than an "**everlasting** presence" (VI: 45; II: 275). The *Era* version omits two clarifying explanations that the Jewett edition provides: the description of the rude bed as "of some refuse cotton" and the explanation that either Sambo or Quimbo had provided to Legree for their need of brandy, that is, "wanted it for himself" (VI: 45; II: 275). Stowe omits Legree's reference to his own soul in the *Era* version: "I b'lieve, **my soul,** he 's done for' " (VI: 45; II 274). In all of these cases, because the Jewett version had to be completed before the installments were submitted to the *Era*, one can reasonably conclude that the *Era* version is a later revision of the Jewett text. It seems quite clear that a revision could have been intended to remove religious language on the part of Legree and Sambo.

The question then becomes, how much earlier in the serial is the *Era* version potentially a revised version of the Jewett edition text? There are four types of evidence to bring to bear. How might personal circumstances have affected Stowe's ability to write? What might the speed with

which the text is serialized have influenced Stowe's ability to get ahead of the serial? How did expected book publication influence Stowe's composition? And which version, based on an analysis of the variants, more likely represents a revised version of the other?

In the matter of the author's personal circumstances and the speed of the serial, Stowe probably had more time to write in early February, during which she could easily have moved ahead of the serial. We know, based on Hedrick's work, that Stowe left Brunswick, Maine, in February of 1852. When she was no longer burdened with any responsibility to care for seven children, one can infer that Stowe would have gained time to write. Furthermore, from 18 December, when Stowe missed her final installment, through 5 February, the *Era* printed seven installments that averaged the shortest length of any installments. It is possible that Stowe was late with her 15 and 29 January 1852 installments, which begin on inner pages, presumably because her installment arrived too late to be set into type with the front page. [22] But in the period from 5 February through 1 April 1852, no *Era* issues lacked installments of Stowe's work, and no installments were printed in the inner pages. This latter period is more characteristic of the first 20 installments of the serial, in which only one *Era* issue lacked installments. The regular installments that begin in early February suggest that Stowe had less pressure to produce copy for the newspaper, because it was printing shorter installments, and thus she was able to meet the deadlines. The move to Andover with Calvin, which also placed Stowe closer to Jewett and the Cambridge printer, probably increased the pressure to compose for the book version. Stowe had settled on Jewett as the publisher in September of 1851, but she did not sign the contract until 13 March 1851.[23] The protracted negotiations with the publisher probably focused her attention on the book version. Though the *Era*'s readers hoped for the serial to continue, they did so out of self-interest, which should not diminish the fact that Stowe may have had significant pressure

[22] For a discussion of average installment length and explanation of why these installments can be presumed to have been submitted late, see chapter 1, Textual Introduction.
[23] See Winship, "Greatest Book" (318-20).

to bring the book version to completion, in anticipation of a healthy sale.[24]

The other evidence for *Era* installments as a revised version of the Jewett *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a matter of literary judgment about which version is more likely to be a revised version of the other. The installment that I believe marks a turning point, when the Jewett edition should no longer by default be considered the revised version of the serial text, is with the 12 February 1852 installment, when Legree weighs the cotton. I thus take a clue first suggested by Kirkham, who preferred the episode as described in the *Era* but did not consider that the newspaper could be a revised version. Kirkham argues that the process of weighing the cotton "is much better described in the *Era* than the manuscript and thus the novel" (169). He notes the following important difference. Legree's plan to punish Lucy—he says that she will "catch it this time," instead of the Jewett version's "catch it, pretty soon!"—is a "preordained punishment" in the *Era* text (*Era* VI: 25; II: 194; Kirkham 170). Tom in the *Era* version exposes himself to punishment by Legree as he "hesitated and lingered" whereas in the Jewett version he "looked with an anxious glance" (*Era* VI: 25; II: 193; Kirkham 171). Another variant that seems to have a similar purpose to the one cited by Kirkham is Legree's instruction to Tom on flogging: He says "to-night **yer** begin" in the *Era* version rather than the Jewett edition's "to-night **ye may jest as well** begin" (*Era* VI: 25; II: 195). Given the two variants that Kirkham noted and this additional one, I concur with almost all of Kirkham's conclusion about the newspaper text: "There seems to be a greater concern on Tom's part in the first [*Era*] version, an attitude of self-sacrifice for others more in keeping with his characterization elsewhere than is conveyed by the almost furtive glance of the [Jewett] revised text" (171). I disagree only slightly. I think that the Jewett version might well by the "first text" and the *Era* version might well be the "revised text."

Although I endorse Kirkham's conclusion about the artistic merits of the newspaper version, I propose that the *Era* is a revised text based also on my own analysis of the variants between the two

[24] The Boston-based *Farmers' Cabinet* reported on 26 November 1851 that Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Sam's Cabin, or Life among the Lowly" [*sic*.] in the "New Era" [*sic*.]was one of the "most truthful and

versions—which consisted of reviewing each of the variants between the two versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and marking those that seemed to represent significant wording changes. I undertook this process for the entire text. The analysis suggests similarly that the chapter numbered XXXII in the newspaper (XXXIII "Cassy" in the Jewett edition) is the point at which the *Era* version is either a distinct draft prepared separately or—based on literary merits—conceivably a later revision of a draft previously prepared for the Jewett edition. The significant wording variants between the two versions are more frequent in this section. The variants cited by Kirkham seem like a deliberate effort to recast Legree's punishment and Tom's response, but the majority of variants are minor wording changes. These minor changes suggest a degree of authorial tinkering far more thoroughgoing than in any previous chapter. When Cassy in the *Era* version speaks to Legree in French, his face "became for a moment perfectly demoniac" rather than "became perfectly demoniacal in its expression" (*Era* VI: 25; II: 195). When Legree strikes Tom with the cow-hide whip, the *Era* version has that the cow-hide "lay near" (*Era* VI: 25; II: 195). When Tom's face is bleeding, he uses both "hands to wipe the blood that was dripping" instead of a "hand, to wipe the blood, that trickled" (*Era* VI: 25; II: 195). When Tom responds that he never will whip, the *Era* version has an additional word, that "every one **involuntarily** looked" (*Era* VI: 25; II: 195). Finally, one Jewett edition phrase draws a curious portrait of Legree's green-eyed anger and whisker-curling passion: he "shook with **anger; his greenish eyes glared fiercely, and his very whiskers seemed to curl with** passion; but, like some **ferocious** beast, that plays with **its** victim [. . .]" (II: 196). The Jewett version does have the advantage of correct pronoun references. In the *Era* version, the portrait of Legree's anger is not present, but the pronoun references are also interestingly discrepant: he "shook with passion; but, like some **brutal wild** beast that plays with **his** victim [. . .]" (*Era* VI: 25). In the *Era* version, the beast is man. If the 12 March installment marks the point at which the manuscripts diverge, there is an alternate explanation that seems more probable in the final installments.

powerful pictures of American Slavery ever written" (John P. Jewett 50:16:2). Despite the notices' errors in the

I believe that the last two installments of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era* are reprints of the book version. The Jewett edition inflects Stowe's language in the serial. The *Era* text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* twice refers to the "volumes," a concept dependent on reference to the book edition. The 1 April 1852 installment includes a reference to "The story of 'old Prue,' in the second volume [. . .]" (VI: 53). As Kirkham has noted, the "reference to 'second volume' makes 'no sense' at all" in the *Era* (187). But it does make one type of sense. The reference signals that Stowe's sense of the audience at the moment she writes this line is aligned with the book as a material form of publication. And it may suggest that the Jewett edition served as copy-text for the newspaper. Another clue is provided in spelling variation that is unlikely to originate with the author. In the final two installments, the *Era* adopts the book version's spelling "O" in favor of its usual choice of "Oh." It is one of Stowe's favorite interjections, and the six occurrences in the surviving manuscript pages suggest that "Oh" was her usual spelling. Jewett typesetting practice was to spell the interjection "O." The spelling "Oh" appears 265 times in the *Era* serial, but only one of those appearances is in the two final installments. The interjection is spelled "O" only nine times in the serial, but seven of those appearances are in the final two installments, which suggests the intriguing possibility that the *Era* was set from the Jewett edition. This consideration of the variants in the *Era*'s final installment is offered as speculation. I advise merely that readers of the *Era* newspaper text, those who are interested in the author's intentions, should consider the possibility that portions of the final nine installments—from 5 February through 1 April 1852, *Era* chapters XXXII through XLIV—are a revised version of Stowe's text. The opposite presumption can be presumed for for previous installments, that the Jewett edition is a revised text. In both cases, the variants may represent authorial revisions of the later version either to produce an alternate version for a different perceived or may represent authorial improvements. With so little manuscript against which to compare the texts, the possibility of compsitorial or editorial correction or emendation must also always be kept in mind.

titles, Stowe's work is certainly meant. The notice concludes with a brief remark: "It will have a great sale."

I end as I concluded this dissertation's introduction, with a return to the relationship between issue numbers and chapter headings in the *Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. My commitment to installments as the highest-level textual division is not disinterested. The decision to organize this edition by installments, once made, has organized my work to a profound degree. Each installment is a separate file in my transcription record. An installment counts as the highest-level division in my eXtensible Markup Language (XML) encoding. Installment division eases the process by which my digital edition, which includes facsimile page images, can be coordinated with the transcribed text. But when I made the editorial decision to allow the transcribed text to be displayed both in normalized and quasi-facsimile forms, I did not realize the complications that the installment-level division would cause at the very latest stages of the project. My editorial model of the *Era* text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, installments as the highest level divisions and prose line breaks as significant, is in conflict with an influential model for "what text really is," which states that a text is an ordered hierarchy of content objects, known as the OHCO thesis.[25]

As Alan Renear explains, "objects" within the OHCO thesis are "chapters, sections, paragraphs, titles, extracts, equations, examples, acts, scenes, stage directions, stanzas, (verse) lines, and so on. But they are *not* things like pages, columns, (typographical) lines, font shifts, vertical spacing, horizontal spacing, and so on" (224). At an early meeting with my advisors, when I agreed to make my text available in normalized form in addition to quasi-facsimile, I simply did not recognize that in doing so I had agreed to encode one set of objects that conformed to the OHCO thesis (chapters, paragraphs) and another set of objects that did not (installments, typographical lines, and columns). It is rather simple to see when one compares two examples of markup from my edition. Below is the markup for a paragraph and column:

```
<p>&ldquo;If I had the little devils!&rdquo; muttered Haley,<lb/>
between his teeth.</p>
```

[25] See DeRose, Durand, Mylonas, and Renear.

```
<milestone n="a" ed="Era" unit="column"/>
```

The forward slashes at the end of the milestone tag (whose unit is defined as a column) and within the line-break tag (`<lb/>`) indicate that each tag is self-contained: they have no "content."

Because columns in my text have no content, to display the text that I have marked up in column format is a difficult problem, one that I was unable to resolve after I recognized it. If I re-define the column as an object with "content," a paragraph that crosses a column break exists partially in two different columns. If a word is hyphenated at the end of a column or page, the word spans multiple columns and does not fit into a single column as a content object. I have three choices. The first choice is to engage in a major to overcome, though textual transformations of XML using eXtensible Stylesheet Language (XSL), what has been long recognized as both the greatest srtength and the most bedeviling limitation of electronic text markup. Another choice is to decide that the display presentation "don't matter," but the edition is often devoted to improving the display despite various technological restraints, which makes that choice unpleasant. Another choice is to abandon one form of display or the other and encode the text again, which would require me to design a new text conversion process, test it, convert again, and reproof the text. The original process of converting the PC-CASE markup to XML took over a year, so to design, implement, test and proof again will probably take at least six months. The third choice, which I have done, is to acknowledge this failure of my edition in this area. The quasi-facsimile version of the text is available. But I am not clever enough in the time available to display it in columns using an XSL transformation.

In one of the seminal essays on electronic texts, "The Importance of Failure," John Unsworth gave this advice: "Be explicit about your goals and your criteria, record your every doubt and misstep, and aspire to be remembered for the ignorance that was uniquely yours, rather than for the common sense you helped to construct." My failure was when I met with my advisors after my prospectus was complete. I failed to realize—at the moment that I agreed that the text could be provided both in normalized and quasi-facsimile form—that doing so would require the text markup

to provide two alternative representations of the text. My editorial preference to encode two alternative views of the text is in conflict with the OHCO thesis. This thesis is not sufficient for what text really is. But because the OHCO thesis is the knowledge structure that provides the baseline for XML-based text representations, one that makes certain display options easier than others, it does matter for an electronic edition.

Unlike Prospero, I have no wand to break. The racks from this pageant remain out. It is time to begin, again.

Appendix A: Newspaper Installment Dates for *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

This chart lists the whole number of the *National Era* issue, the weekly issue date, and page numbers for those issues from the beginning of the serialization of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on 5 June 1851 through 1 April 1852. The chart also includes the chapter number and chapter title (when applicable) as printed with the installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Issues in which Stowe's work did not appear are also listed. When designating chapters by number in the chart below, I reproduce the printed number even if the *Era* chapter number is out of sequence or does not correspond to the Jewett edition. For example, the date of whole number 256, which is issued on 31 November, is misprinted November 13. I provide corrections in brackets for incorrect issue numbers or dates.

See the Introduction of this dissertation for an explanation of the decision to not refer to chapters in Stowe's work by their designation in the 1852 Jewett edition. The coda to the introduction provides an explanation of how to convert from Jewett edition chapter numbers to *Era* chapter numbers.

Whole No.	Issue Date	Page No(s).	Chapter Titles
231	JUN. 5, 1851	89	CHAPTER I.—*In which the Reader is introduced to a Man of Humanity* CHAPTER II.—*The Mother*
232	JUN. 12, 1851	93	CHAPTER III.—*The Husband and Father*
233	JUN. 19, 1851	97	CHAPTER IV.—*An Evening in Uncle Tom's Cabin*
234	JUN. 26, 1851	101	CHAPTER V.—*Showing the Feelings of Living Property on changing Owners*
235	JUL. 3, 1851	105	CHAPTER VI.—*Discovery*
236	JUL. 10,1851	109	CHAPTER VII.—*The Mother's Struggle*
237	JUL. 17, 1851	113	CHAPTER VIII.
238	JUL. 24, 1851	117, 118	CHAPTER IX.—*In which it appears that a Senator is but a Man*
239	JUL. 31, 1851	121	CHAPTER IX.—*Continued*

Whole No.	Issue Date	Page No(s).	Chapter Titles
240	AUG. 7, 1851	125	CHAPTER IX.—*The Property is carried off*
241	AUG. 14, 1851	129	CHAPTER XI.—*In which Property gets into an improper state of mind*
242	AUG. 21, 1851	No installment.	
243	AUG. 28, 1851	137	CHAPTER XII.—*Select Incidents of Lawful Trade*.
244	SEP. 4, 1851	141	CHAPTER XIII.—*The Quaker Settlement*.
245	SEP. 11, 1851	145	CHAPTER XIV.—*Evangeline*.
246	SEP. 18, 1851	149, 150	CHAPTER XV.—*Of Tom's new master, and various other matters*
247	SEP. 25, 1851	153, 154	CHAPTER XVI.—*Tom's Mistress and her opinions*
248	OCT. 2, 1851	157, 158	CHAPTER XVII.—*The Freeman's Defence*.
249	OCT. 9, 1851	161, 162	CHAPTER XVIII.—*Miss Ophelia's Experiences and Opinions*
250	OCT. 16, 1851	165, 166	CHAPTER XVIII.—*Continued* CHAPTER XIX.—*St. Clare's History and Opinions*.
251	OCT. 23, 1851	169	CHAPTER XVIII.—*Continued*
252	OCT. 30, 1851	No installment.	
253	NOV. 6, 1851	177, 178	CHAPTER XIX.—*Topsy*
254	NOV. 31, 1851 [13]	181	CHAPTER XX.—*Kentuck* CHAPTER XXI.
255	NOV. 20, 1851	185	CHAPTER XXII.—*Henrique* CHAPTER XXIII.
256	NOV. 27, 1851	189	CHAPTER XXIV. CHAPTER XXV.
257	DEC. 4, 1851	193	CHAPTER XXV.—*Continued*.
258	DEC. 11, 1851	197	CHAPTER XXVI.
259	DEC. 18, 1851	No installment.	
260	DEC. 25, 1851	205, 206	CHAPTER XXVII.
261	JAN. 1, 1852	1	CHAPTER XXVII.—*Continued* CHAPTER XXVIII.
262	JAN. 8, 1852	5, 6	CHAPTER XXVIII.—*Continued*
263	JAN. 15, 1852	11	CHAPTER XXIX.

Whole No.	Issue Date	Page No(s).	Chapter Titles
264	JAN. 22, 1852	13, 14	CHAPTER XXX.
265	JAN. 29, 1852	19	CHAPTER XXXI.
266	FEB. 5, 1852	21, 22	CHAPTER XXXI.—*Continued* CHAPTER XXXII.
267	FEB. 12, 1852	25	CHAPTER XXXII.—*Continued* CHAPTER XXXIII.
268	FEB. 19, 1852	29	CHAPTER XXXIV.
269	FEB. 26, 1852	33	CHAPTER XXXV.
270	MAR. 4, 1852	37	CHAPTER XXXVI. CHAPTER XXXVII.
271	MAR. 11, 1852	41	CHAPTER XXXVIII. CHAPTER XXXIX.—*The Martyr*
272	MAR. 18, 1852	45, 46	CHAPTER XXXIX.—*Continued*. CHAPTER XL.—*The Young Master*. CHAPTER XLI.—*An Authentic Ghost Story*.
273	MAR. 25, 1852	49, 50	CHAPTER XLI.—*Continued*. CHAPTER XLII.—*Results*.
274	APR. 1, 1852	53	CHAPTER XLII.—*Continued.* CHAPTER XLIII.—*The Liberator*. CHAPTER XLIV.— *Concluding Remarks*.

Appendix B: Edition Apparatus

Editorial Emendations

The form to the left of the closing square bracket is the form presented in the normalized text. It is followed by the symbol VA. The form to the right of the bracket is the form in the *Era*. It is followed by the symbol ERA. As the normalized version of the text is permitted to reflow according to browser settings, line numbers are not provided. Page numbers, two drop-off words, and two pick-up words are listed instead.

Vol. V (1851)

Pg.

89 towards him, “Pick **VA**] Pick **ERA** that up,
89 said Shelby. “My **VA**] My **ERA** wife would
93 with a fierce **VA**] firece **ERA** frown. ¶Eliza
97 too numerous to **VA**] too **ERA** mention, was
97 entertainment, Aunt Chloe **VA**] Sally **ERA** began now
97 beat dat ar.” **VA**] ar. **ERA** ¶“Tom Lincon
97 in der parlor?’ **VA**] parlor? **ERA** Dar! I
97 him, and signed **VA**] sighed **ERA** them, like
101 added, thoughtfully; “but **VA**] but **ERA** would not
101 fellow!” said Eliza, “they **VA**] Eliza,” they **ERA** have sold
101 hands in dismay. **VA**] dismay.” **ERA** ¶“Yes, sold
101 Aunt Chloe. “Oh! **VA**] Oh! **ERA** it don’t
105 the parlor. “It **VA**] It **ERA** seems that
109 from twelve o’clock **VA**] c’clock **ERA** till morning
109 meant, but he **VA**] ke **ERA** kept on
109 his soul. “She **VA**] She **ERA** looked so
113 ye?” he said, **VA**] aaid, **ERA** “he! he!
113 said Marks, “jest **VA**] jest **ERA** pass the
113 ’*twas* sickly and **VA**] snd **ERA** cross, and
113 heavy fist, “don’t **VA**] don’t **ERA** I know
113 aint any boat.” “I **VA**] boat. I **ERA** heard the
113 said Marks. “But **VA**] But **ERA** what’s the
113 nothin o’ hers **VA**] her’s **ERA** to smell
118 don’t be afraid.” **VA**] afraid” **ERA** ¶“God bless
121 the Senator. “Ah, **VA**] Ah, **ERA** well! handsome
125 They can’t be **VA**] he **ERA** ’spected to,
125 said Aunt Chloe, “but **VA**] Chloe,“ but **ERA** dar’s no
125 have a berth **VA**] birth **ERA** good as
125 said Tom. “I **VA**] I **ERA** couldn’t bar
125 *shall* take it,” **VA**] it, **ERA** said George;
129 head this characteristic **VA**] chararacteristic **ERA** emblem of
129 Mr. Wilson; “and **VA**] and **ERA** this boy
129 piety and benevolence **VA**] beneolence **ERA** of the
137 on it, mass’r.” **VA**] mass’r. **ERA** ¶“On plantation?”
137 now darkey, spring;” **VA**] spring; **ERA** and with
137 if you don’t.” **VA**] don’t. **ERA** ¶“You’ll die
137 round the despairing **VA**] desparing **ERA** old mother,
137 to see. ¶“Couldn’t **VA**] ¶Couldn’t **ERA** dey leave
137 its trimmings; “but **VA**] but **ERA** then, I
137 had begun: “After **VA**] After **ERA** all, I
137 piece of merchandise **VA**] merchandis **ERA** before enumerated
137 at the cotton **VA**] cotten **ERA** picking. She’s
137 on a plantation,” **VA**] platation,” **ERA** said the
137 weakness and prejudice. **VA**] prejudice **ERA** His heart
141 her long eyelashes, **VA**] eyelahes, **ERA** and marking
141 that they wouldn’t **VA**] wonldn’t **ERA** miss of
141 Halliday; for hers **VA**] her’s **ERA** was just
141 shuddering. ¶“Poor child,” **VA**] child,,’ **ERA** said Rachel,
141 decidedly a wholesome, **VA**] wholesom, **ERA** whole-hearted, chirruping
141 told thee of.” **VA**] off.” **ERA** ¶“I’m glad
141 likely fellow too.” **VA**] too. **ERA** ¶“Shall we
141 house of bondage.” **VA**] bondage” **ERA** ¶The blood
141 table; and the **VA**] -he **ERA** chicken and
145 mythic and allegorical **VA**] alegorical **ERA** being. Her
145 around her buoyant **VA**] bouyant **ERA** figure. She
145 little one, “though **VA**] though **ERA** papa and
145 Eva, quickly; “and **VA**] and **ERA** if he
145 shouldn’t but **VA**] but but **ERA** just save
145 on him; “but **VA**] but **ERA** I suppose
145 the trader; “just **VA**] just **ERA** look at
145 careless, easy drollery. **VA**] drollery.” **ERA** ¶“Papa, do
145 was speaking. “There, **VA**] There, **ERA** count your
149 life for Augustine **VA**] Augustiue **ERA** St. Clare.
149 thing for her, **VA**] her ber, **ERA** because he
149 and massive foliage **VA**] folioge **ERA** of the
150 and shoved. Here,” **VA**] “Here,” **ERA** he added
150 know,” said Eva; **VA**] Eva;” **ERA** “he’ll never
150 her his cousin. **VA**] couisn. **ERA** Marie lifted
150 his feet down. **VA**] down.” ¶ **ERA** “See here,
150 that or nothing.” **VA**] nothing. **ERA** ¶“That’s just
153 said Marie. “I’m **VA**] “Im **ERA** sure if
153 said Marie; “and **VA**] and **ERA** yet Mammy,
153 Cousin Ophelia, I **VA**] “I **ERA** don’t often
153 isn’t my *habit;* **VA**] *habit ;* **ERA** ’tisn’t agreeable
153 said Miss Ophelia; “one **VA**] Ophelia;” one **ERA** might almost
153 scene, and put **VA**] pnt **ERA** an end

Vol. V (1851) Cont.'d

Pg.

154 said Eva; "and **VA**] and **ERA** I am
154 have a house-full **VA**] housefull **ERA** of servants
154 pleasantest," said Eva. **VA**] Eva? **ERA** ¶"Why so?"
154 all this sanctified **VA**] sanctied **ERA** stuff amounts
157 do well—when **VA**] when when **ERA** everything has
157 whom he introduced **VA**] introdueed **ERA** as Phineas
157 Thee's quite welcome **VA**] welceme **ERA** to do
157 said Phineas; "but **VA**] but **ERA** if we
157 George, bitterly. "You **VA**] You **ERA** mean to
158 them pretty considerably." **VA**] considably." **ERA** ¶"What shall
161 is the preface." **VA**] preface. **ERA** ¶"Mass'r allays
161 Ophelia entered the **VA**] thc **ERA** kitchen, Dinah
161 old shoes—a piece **VA**] peice **ERA** of flannel
162 part, I don't **VA**] don,t **ERA** see how
169 many horned cattle, **VA**] eattle, **ERA** strained up
169 for me! ¶"Besides, **VA**] ¶Besides, **ERA** I was
169 dressed his wounds, **VA**] wonnds, **ERA** and tended
169 said Tom. "I'm **VA**] I'm **ERA** spectin she
177 *I* know." ¶"Pah!" **VA**] ¶"Pah! **ERA** said Rosa
181 Mr. Shelby. "Once **VA**] Once **ERA** get business
181 Mrs. Shelby, "and **VA**] and **ERA** that is
181 for an hour **VA**] honr **ERA** the same,
185 people '*sans culottes*,' **VA**] *culottes*," **ERA** and they
185 badge of slavery." **VA**] slavery. **ERA** ¶"A Christian-like
185 scraping of horses' **VA**] horses **ERA** feet was
185 Augustine, rising. "Look **VA**] Look **ERA** here, Alf!
185 dearly indeed. ¶She **VA**] ¶"She **ERA** felt, too,
185 hand on his. **VA**] his." **ERA** ¶Tom looked
189 said Topsy. "If **VA**] If **ERA** I could
189 raised her voice and, **VA**] voice, and **ERA** called Miss
189 answer of all. **VA**] all." **ERA** ¶"Yes, I
193 says in Scripture, **VA**] Scriptur, **ERA** 'At midnight
197 how she suffered." **VA**] suffered. **ERA** ¶So much
197 such things; it's all **VA**] it 'sall **ERA** talk. If
197 me loves you; **VA**] you **ERA** the blessed
197 Tom knelt before **VA**] kefore **ERA** him with
205 off to auction, **VA**] auctioa, **ERA** spite of
205 at her. "Do **VA**] Do **ERA** you think
205 such fearful power—"DEATH!" **VA**] "DEATH! **ERA** "Strange that
205 from Mozart's Requiem." **VA**] Requiem. **ERA** Miss Ophelia
205 Clare, stopping thoughtfully, **VA**] thoughfully, **ERA** "I was
205 in your mind." **VA**] mind. **ERA** ¶"*Now* is

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Pg.

1 Clare, energetically; "at **VA**] at **ERA** last! at
1 from her forever **VA**] for ever, **ERA** without the
5 Miss Ophelia, with **VA**] "with **ERA** a short,
5 a difficult subject. **VA**] subject." **ERA** ¶"I came
5 have it perfected." **VA**] perfected. **ERA** ¶"Indeed, I
11 of low buffoonery **VA**] buffoonry **ERA** which occasioned
11 with a frightened **VA**] frightended **ERA** and timid
14 hearty laugh. "I **VA**] I **ERA** reckon there's
19 some with shattered **VA**] shattercd **ERA** panes, and
21 said Sambo. "Yo **VA**] Yo **ERA** jes keep
22 de place!" pursued **VA**] pursed **ERA** Sambo. ¶"Take
25 of physical suffering, **VA**] snffering, **ERA** and bowed
25 he groaned, "how **VA**] how **ERA** can I
25 jest like 'em. **VA**] 'em, **ERA** No, no,
25 on; and you're **VA**] your're **ERA** trying—but what
29 knelt at his **VA**] her **ERA** feet, he
29 the same Evangel **VA**] Evangele **ERA** that God
37 all the packet **VA**] packe[?] **ERA** captains
37 not a usual **VA**] usnal **ERA** sound there,
37 before her, "for **VA**] for **ERA** the dear
37 Kingdom shall come. **VA**] come." **ERA** ¶The deep
37 ye as wheat. **VA**] wheat **ERA** I pray
41 Cassy; "why not? **VA**] not?" **ERA** Would you
41 hinder, I wonder?" **VA**] wonder? **ERA** and Legree
45 poor, desolated creatures, **VA**] creatares, **ERA** who stole
46 "I never want **VA**] wan't **ERA** to see
46 a Christian!" ¶He **VA**] ¶"He **ERA** turned; Legree
49 said George, "notwithstanding **VA**] notwithstanding **ERA** the curse
50 pastor of Amherstberg **VA**] Amerstberg **ERA** is welcomed.
50 according to previous **VA**] prievous **ERA** arrangement. ¶What
50 really believed, "Darling, **VA**] "Darling. **ERA** I'm your
53 hearts that sublime **VA**] subline **ERA** doctrine of
53 the darkness. ¶"O, **VA**] ¶O, **ERA** *poor*, Aunt
53 virtue, and magnanimity, **VA**] magnanmity, **ERA** and purity
53 Nothing of tragedy **VA**] tradgedy **ERA** can be
53 hourly acting on **VA**] an **ERA** our shores,
53 and can do **VA**] no **ERA** nothing? Would
53 are more guilty **VA**] gnilty **ERA** for it,
53 Pennington among clergymen, **VA**] clerygmen, **ERA** Douglas and
53 editors, are well **VA**] will **ERA** known instances.
53 in dread fellowship, **VA**] followship, **ERA** the *day*

End-of-Line Hyphenated Compounds

The compound words below are hyphenated at the end of the line in the *Era*. They are listed here in the form that they would have taken on a single line. For this edition, these words are hyphenated in the normalized version of the text. The primary authority for designating a hyphen as significant is the usual practice of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era*. If the usual practice of the newspaper version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is inconclusive, I refer to the following secondary authorities: related forms in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Era*, other texts in the *Era*, Jewett edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the texts in the Early American Fiction collection. If the form is rare or the usual practice in primary or secondary authorities is indifferent, I designate the hyphen as significant. The hyphenation of other words at the end of the line in the *Era* is considered insignificant for the normalized version of the text. As the normalized version of the text is permitted to reflow according to browser settings, line numbers are not provided.

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Pg.	
89	camp-meeting
89	oft-fabled
89	good-natured
89	night-gown
97	self-consciousness
97	hoe-cake
97	neatly-baked
97	fort-night
97	camp-meetings
101	to-day
101	help-meet
101	to-day
105	dressing-glass
105	breakfast-table
105	beech-nuts
109	foot-sore
113	pocket-book
113	to-day
113	feller-citizens
118	pocket-handkerchiefs
121	farm-house
129	raw-boned
129	shot-pouches
141	looking-glass
141	stew-pan
141	to-morrow
141	bed-room
141	bed-side
141	star-light
145	good-humoredly
149	white-winged
150	band-box
150	never-ceasing
150	carriage-drive
150	dark-leaved
153	house-full
153	lady-like
153	town-folks
153	good-natured
157	wide-awake
157	checker-berry
161	china-closet
161	sixty-five
161	dinner-napkin
165	self-control
165	noble-minded
185	Anglo-Saxon
185	warm-hearted
185	night-clothes
185	low-spirited
189	hard-hearted
189	reading-room
189	soul-like
197	half-blown
197	marble-like
197	coffee-house
197	ever-shifting
197	half-raising

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Pg.	
1	whipping-establishment
11	hymn-book
11	long-favored
11	middle-aged
11	bullet-head
13	broad-cloth
19	window-sashes
21	hand-mills
21	bed-clothing
21	new-comer
22	half-starved
25	hard-hearted
37	road-side
37	middle-aged
37	blood-guiltiness
46	full-length
49	house-door
49	high-road
49	state-room
50	pocket-handkerchief
53	heart-broken
53	well-known
53	seventy-six
53	white-washer

National Era Type Damage

The list below records instances of type damage in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *National Era*. The list represents a careful, but not definitive, survey of all damage to the type in the text. Each identified case of damage to the text in the Barrett copy was compared to the Howard University Moorland-Spingarn copy of the *Era*. Instances of poor inking present in both copies are designated type damage. The list is not definitive for two reasons. First, it is based on the examination only of two copies. Second, I am not confident that all instances of partially inked letters or punctuation marks are recorded. If during the initial transcription I was confident that I could read the text, I did not re-examine the text for all partially inked punctuation marks. If a mark is designated "faint," it is generally readable with the naked eye. If a mark is designated "very faint," a handheld microscope at 60X magnification was used to distinguish ink markings from paper discoloration. The "Description" explains the editorial inference made based on what I presume is broken type or a character that slipped in its forme. For completely illegible letters, an editorial emendation is made for the normalized text. These are marked with an asterisk. Line numbers are not provided. Page numbers, two drop-off words, and two pick-up words are listed instead.

Vol. V (1851)

Pg.		Description
89	spare—to tell the truth,	Letter **e** in **tell** damaged.
97	broad-chested, powerfully-made	Comma raised.
97	not that way," Uncle Tom	Closing quote raised and twisted.
101	Natchez," said Mr.	Period raised.
101	better," said Mr. Shelby. ¶ "And	Period after **Mr** raised.
101	Mr. B.'s sermon	Period after **B** faint.
113	his sleek, thin, black	Final comma slipped.
113	but, Lord, yer oughter	Comma tail after **Lord** faint.
113	expenses paid." ¶ "Now,"	Period faint.
121	in a hurry. There	Period after **hurry** faint.
121	balm for the desolate and the distressed.	Vertical ink line after **for**, probably turned type, and period at end of line faint.
137	no mistake." ¶ "Then	Period faint.
137	he whistled, and walked on.	Comma after **whistled** faint, and letter **e** in **walked** broken.
137	a plata- / tion," said the	Comma tail faint.
137	is smothering. ¶ "You'r a	Period faint.
137	come." The trader waked	Letter **e** in **The** inverted.
141	must go on- / ward. I dare	Hyphen in **on-ward** low.
141*	¶ "Poor child,,' said Rachel,	Perhaps comma and double quote types inverted.
141	her handkerchief, displaying,	Comma after **handkerchief** low.
141	going on. Rachel	Period after **on** very faint.
141*	table; and -he chicken and	Letter **t** in **the** turned or broken.
145	its prom- / ises? Having	Letter **i** in **promises** slipped, extra space.
145	I'm thinking. But come, Eva," he	Period after **thinking** faint.
149	thousand dollars; and none	Semicolon as if bold, worn type(?).
149	pocket handkerchief with	Letter **i** in **handkerchief** inverted.
150	a highly-dressed	Letter **i** in **highly** lacks dot.
150	¶ "Come, now, take	Tail of comma after **now** not printed.
157	the sharp, hasty	Comma tail faint.
161	the family, though she	Comma tail faint.
162*	part, I don,t see how	Apostrophe in **don't** dropped to comma position.
153	fellow I met, was allowed	Comma tail faint.
169	like a bird, on the	Tail of comma after **bird** lost.
178	from Miss Ophelia, went on:	Comma after **Ophelia** dropped.
193	her fa-/ther's arms;	Letter **t** in **father's** dropped slightly.
197	with her; it was perfectly	Semicolon tail faint.
197*	me loves you / the blessed	Extra space after **you**. Semicolon(?) not printed.
205	to himself by music.	Letter **s** in **himself** inverted.
205	me perdas, illa die	Comma tail faint.

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Pg.		Description
5	used to it; it’s the only	Semicolon tail faint.
11	of the training to which	First **i** in **training** has no dot.
11	her property, and by	Comma tail faint.
11	straight, to-morrow,” said Susan.	Comma after **tomorrow** has faint tail.
13	CABIN: OR, LIFE	Comma tail faint.
14	yer bones! Well, I tell	Comma tail faint.
14	she’s worth; she may	Semicolon tail faint.
25	a slate, on the side	Comma tail not printed.
25	Jesus!” said Tom, “you *will*	Comma tail after **Tom** faint.
25	I’m clar, I’m *set;*	Comma tail after **clar** faint.
25	carriage, and hear the	Letter **a** of **and** in smaller font.
33	Cassy. ¶ Legree, though	Comma tail after **Legree** faint.
37*	all the packet captains	Letter **t** in **packet** turned. See Jewett edition.
37	with streaming eyes and	Letter **i** in **streaming** poorly inked. Faint dots.
41	candles there, and some	Comma tail faint.
46	man can, to drive	Comma tail faint.
50	prievous ar- / rangement. ¶ What	Period slipped.
50	believed, “Darling, I’m	Comma after **Darling** has no tail.
53*	its fountain. The race	No period after **fountain**, but ink mark suggests turned type.
53	hasty Saxon; but I	Semicolon tail faint.
53	place, and mass’r and missis,	Second **s** in **mass’r** inverted.

Barrett Copy Paper Damage

The list below records instances of paper damage or poor inking unique to the Barrett paper copy. The list represents a careful, but not definitive, survey of all damage to the Barrett copy. Each instance of text in which the paper was damaged or the ink was unclear in the Barrett copy was compared to the Howard University Moorland-Spingarn copy. Instances of poor inking or paper tears present only in the Barrett copy are designated "Paper Damage." All descriptions apply to the Barrett copy only. Therefore, a character described as "faint," "obscured," or "not printed" is present and legible in the Moorland-Spingarn copy. When a reading cannot be recovered based on the Barrett copy, the reading of the quasi-facsimile and normalized texts are based on the Moorland-Spingarn copy. I did not record damage unique to the Moorland-Spingarn paper copy.

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Pg.		Description
89	he really *did* get it. I've trusted	Phrase ***did* get it** and period obscured by tear.
89	from her mistress who sought	Word **mistress** obscured by tear.
89	to direct her naturally passion- / ate	Letter **i** in **direct** and second **a** in **naturally** obscured by tear.
97	a well-worn valise, a	Letter **n** in **worn** obscured by tear.
97	looking over it a moment,	Letter **t** in **it** obscured by tear.
101	A few last words and	Letter **s** in **last** not printed.
105	CHAPTER VI.—*Discovery*.	Period after **VI** not printed.
105	fastened the horse to a	Word **horse** obscured by tear.
109	child slept; at first	Semicolon dot does not print.
109	are safe. We must	Period after **safe** does not print.
109	woman," said Mrs. Shelby,	Period after **Mrs.** faint.
109	about this." "Didn't	Period not printed.
113	ice presented a hopeless barrier	Word **a** obscured by tear.
113	by the bar, in the corner	Comma after **bar** faint.
113	quivering voice, and with	Comma faint.
113	"he! he! he! It's neatly	Paper fleck after final **he!**.
113	¶"Jes so," said Haley;	Paper crease through next five lines.
113	fence, or perched aloft in	Word **or** and first **e** in **perched** obscured.
121	¶"Why not? Cudjoe is an excellent driver."	Letter **o** in **Cudjoe** and letters **ce** in **excellent** obscured by tear.
121	as it may, if our	Letter **a** in **may** obscured.
121	sticks fast, while Cudjoe	Letter **f** in **fast** not printed.
121	thing," said honest John, as	Letter **s** in **honest** not printed.
125	triumphantly, "haint we got a	Ink blot obscures **we**.
125	em I can. Now ye see,	Period after **can** faint.
129	in creation generally, for	Phrase **creation generally,** obscured by tear.
129	¶"See here, now, Mr. Wilson,"	Comma after **now** obscured by tear.
137	sort of recitation, half aloud,	Paper fleck after **recitation**.
137	he did," she repeated	Ink blot, **h** in **she** resembles **b**.
137	some of ye," said	Comma after **ye** faint.
137	up, and handing him to	Letters **ha** in **handing** obscured by fold.
137	*domestic life*." But Tom,	Period after ***life*** faint.
149	this day. ¶Miss Ophelia, as	Letter **i** in **Miss** lacks dot.
150	the use?" said St.	Question mark lacks dot.
150	looked despairingly, as her	Hyphen above **e** in **despairingly**. Type slipped(?).
153	days are dawning. Here is	Period after **dawning** faint.
153	business-like New England cousin	Faint **e** in **New**.
153	budget of cares off your	Faint **s** in **cares**.
153	about me would drive me	Letters **ould** obscured by tear.
153	and muslins, and one real	Letter **a** in second **and** obscured by tear.
158	and the gigantic fellow really	First **i** in **gigantic** has no dot.
169	very fine, and used to impress me strongly. 'See	Letters **ver** in **very** obscured by tear, and opening single quote before **See** faint.
169	There must, he says,	Tail of comma after **must** faint.
169	said Miss Ophelia, "how came	Comma after **Ophelia** not visible.
169	pressing up, and claimed	Comma not visible.
177	in a wild, fantastic sort	Letter **d** in **wild**obscured by tear.
177	"But," she added, "I really	Tear obscures bottom of letters in **added**.
181	to me, mamma, the Bible	First **a** in **mamma** obscured by tear.
185	said Eva, putting it gently	Letters **uttin** in **putting**obscured by tear.
193	her hand what seemed	Tear obscures **t** in **what**.

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Pg.		Description
22	to Lucy's bas- / ket; one o'	Letter **e** in **basket** damaged.
25	would be coward- / ly, and easily	Letters **ly** in **cowardly** and comma obscured by tear.
25	¶"You see," said the	Tail of comma after **see** faint.
25	think I was, he would	Tail of comma after **was** faint.
25	gave him laudanum, and held	Tear obscures letters **h** in **him**, **h** in **held**, and **lau** in **laudanum**.
37	we be free?" ¶ "I am	Letters **ee?** in **free** in tear.
37	thrall was somehow gone.	Bottom of **h** in **somehow** obscured.
41	inner world, produced by	Letter **p** in **produced** obscured by tear.
41	Windows were rattling, shutters	Letters **rat** in **rattling** obscured by tear.
41	Quick," said Em- / meline.	Hyphen in **Em-** obscured by tear.
53	people in America. I have	Letter **r** in **America** obscured by tear.
53	coming ages. ¶ "Do you say	Opening double quote obscured by tear.
53	enslaved brethren? I think	Letters **br** in **brethren** obscured by tear.

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