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Citation
Winship, Michael. 2014. “Yours for freedom”: John P. Jewett writes to Charles Sumner. Harvard Library Bulletin 24 (2): 1-26.

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"Yours for Freedom": John P. Jewett Writes to Charles Sumner

Michael Winship

During the decade before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, two events did much to polarize public opinion in the debate over slavery: the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852 and the brutal caning of Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner on the floor of the Senate by Congressman Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina in 1856. Sixteen letters written by John P. Jewett, publisher of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, to Sumner in the Houghton Library collections shed interesting light on both events. The two men were both strong advocates of the anti-slavery cause, and their shared efforts in its support led to a relationship that went beyond one based merely on business. These letters, the largest surviving collection written to a single recipient, also put a human face on Jewett and illuminate his role as publisher in the slavery debate.

John Punchard Jewett was born in Lebanon, Maine, on August 16, 1814. After serving an apprenticeship in a Salem, Massachusetts, bookshop, he established himself in that city as bookseller and publisher in 1836, but, following a brief stint in Cincinnati from 1844 to 1845, moved his business to Boston in 1846. There he became one of the largest and most successful publishers of the 1850s. His greatest success, of course, was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which first appeared as two volumes on March 20, 1852, but his list included such notable works as Maria S. Cummins's *The Lamplighter* (1854), Margaret Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century, and Kindred Papers* (1855), Caroline Lee Hentz's *Ernest Linwood* (1856), and several works by William A. Alger, including his *Forty Years in the Wilderness of Pills and Powders* (1859). Overall, his publications were wide-ranging in subject and genre, including among others almanacs, maps, music, schoolbooks, and works on architecture, medicine, agriculture, and travel. He published many anti-slavery works, even before his success with Stowe's masterpiece, but an even greater strength in his list was religion, especially those works representing the evangelical branch of Congregationalism that was centered around the Andover Theological Seminary.[1]

1 The fullest account of Jewett's life and career, including a checklist of his publications, is Michael Winship, "John Punchard Jewett, Publisher of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: A Biographical Note with a Preliminary Checklist of His Imprints" in *Roger Eliot Stoddard at Sixty-Five: A Celebration* (New York: Thornwillow

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Jewett's correspondent, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner (1811–1874), was a leader of the anti-slavery movement nationwide and one of the most forceful orators in the cause.[2] His speeches were widely reprinted, often in multiple editions, and made a strong case against the evils of slavery. Between 1853 and 1856, Jewett's firm published editions of three of these: while most editions were produced at newspaper presses as cheap pamphlets in order to ensure wide distribution, Jewett's were of higher quality. The first, which appeared in February 1853, was an elegant reprint of Sumner's *White Slavery in the Barbary States*—a lecture originally delivered before the Boston Mercantile Library Association on February 17, 1847—ornamented with thirty-seven small vignette illustrations designed and engraved by Boston artist Hammatt Billings. This was followed by a pamphlet edition, but with gilt edges, of *The Landmark of Freedom*, the speech that Sumner delivered in the Senate on February 21, 1854, against the "repeal of the Missouri prohibition of slavery north of 36° 30′." Finally, in 1856, in the aftermath of Brooks's attack on Sumner, Jewett published his *The Crime against Kansas*, the speech that had so angered Brooks. Jewett's edition appeared in two forms—one printed on plain paper in paper wrappers; and one on "fine" paper, gilt edged, in a flexible cloth binding—both with a handsome lithographed portrait frontispiece of Sumner.[3]

The letters from Jewett to Sumner concern many of the details involved in the preparation of these three editions, but also address many other topics. The early letters provide news of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and related works: the very first, written on December 18, 1852, reports that sales of the cheap, one-volume edition of *Uncle Tom* were approaching sixty thousand and mentions Jewett's expectation that the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853), a compilation of material intended to refute complaints about the objectivity of Stowe's novel, would be ready for publication in January 1853. That month, Jewett passed along the proofs of the legal portions of the *Key* to Sumner so that he could vet the details. Publication of the *Key* was delayed until April, when a first printing of sixty thousand copies was ordered, Jewett reports to Sumner, but sales of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* during its first year had come to 305,000 copies. By early 1854, the relationship between Stowe and Jewett had soured, and she had arranged with Phillips & Sampson, another Boston firm and a "pro slavery concern" according to Jewett, to act as her publisher in future. Most scholars have supposed that the break was caused by lack of generosity on Jewett's part, but in a letter of February 25, 1854, Jewett claims that Stowe "has shown great ingratitude, & a most selfish, and mercinary disposition," and suggests that fault may lie with her.

Press, 2000), 85–114. I have referred to this checklist by number in parentheses following the title of Jewett's publications mentioned in this article.

2 The standard biography remains David Herbert Donald's *Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 1960) and *Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man* (New York: Knopf, 1970).

3 For a full bibliographical description of these three works, see Appendix. Location symbols for copies examined are those used in the *National Union Catalog*.

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The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May 1854, which in effect finally nullified the Missouri Compromise of 1820, was followed by the crisis over "Bleeding Kansas" and the question of the extension of slavery into the territories. On May 19 and 20, 1856, Sumner denounced the result in his powerful "Crime against Kansas" speech that argued for the immediate admission of Kansas into the Union as a free state. Two days later, Preston Brooks confronted Sumner on the floor of the Senate and proceeded to beat him savagely with his cane. On May 28, Jewett wrote to Sumner stating that he had been on the verge of writing to congratulate Sumner for his "noble utterances in behalf of freedom" when the telegraphic wires brought the news that he had been "most cruelly beaten by a South Carolina Bulley." Although he assured Sumner that "each one of those blows will tell more for freedom, than all the speeches, which, even your matchless eloquence has uttered," Jewett rushed to announce and publish his own edition of Sumner's speech, which was ready before the end of June. Over the course of the subsequent summer and fall, Jewett wrote multiple times to express his concerns about Sumner's health and hopes for his recovery, going so far in October as to offer Sumner a "quiet rural retreat" at his York Cottage in Roxbury Highlands.

The summer of 1856 also saw the campaign of the new Republican party's first presidential candidate, John C. Frémont, who ran on the political slogan of "Free Men, Free Soil, Free Men, Frémont" to signal his support of the anti-slavery cause. Jewett was a strong proponent of Frémont, and in a letter of September 3 provides a list of the dozen works that his firm had published, in both English and German, in support of the campaign and was "scattering . . . by the hundred thousand." On October 23, just ten days before the election, another letter accompanied "our last campaign Bombshell," which he claimed established the current administration's "complicity with border ruffianism in Kansas." Despite Jewett's efforts, Frémont lost the election to James Buchanan, candidate of the Democratic party, who during his term proved unable to stop the inevitable move toward secession and war over the question of slavery.

Like many other businessmen, Jewett found himself hard-pressed by the contraction of credit and tight money that resulted in the Panic of 1857 and, on September 28, 1857, his publishing firm was forced to suspend payment of his obligations. Reorganization followed, with the infusion of a small amount of new capital, but the firm never fully recovered and finally ceased business in August 1860. A final letter to Sumner, written in October 1861, mentions Jewett's financial difficulties and suggests that he would welcome Sumner's patronage in acquiring a job as a government employee: "Could any other than a military man fill the office just vacated in this State by Col E. W. Stone? I think I could bring honesty, to any office." No response from Sumner is recorded, and evidence documenting the remainder of Jewett's career is sketchy. By 1868, he had resettled in Orange, New Jersey, and for a few years during the 1870s he returned to the publishing business in New York City in a minor way. He died at his home in New Jersey, after an illness of nearly a year, on May 14, 1884, having survived Sumner by a decade.

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The Letters

These sixteen letters from John P. Jewett to Charles Sumner have been transcribed from "Charles Sumner Correspondence, 1829–1874" (MS Am 1, folder 3471) in the collections of Houghton Library, Harvard University; they are also available on microfilm as part of the *Correspondence of Charles Sumner*, ed. Beverly Wilson Palmer (Chadwyck-Healey, 1988). I am grateful to Beverly Wilson Palmer for bringing these letters to my attention.

The letters are presented chronologically. Each letter is numbered and provided with a brief identifying description in italics, thus: "1. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, December 18, 1852* (film 9/551)" indicating the first (i.e., earliest) letter, written by Jewett to Sumner from Boston on December 18, 1852, available on the Chadwyck-Healey microfilm as item 551 on reel 9. The transcriptions themselves have not been regularized, though the positioning of date, address, salutation, closing, and signature has been made uniform. Pen flourishes in signatures and dates are not indicated in the transcriptions. Where abbreviations have been expanded, truncated words completed, punctuation supplied, or other comments added, the supplied material is placed in square brackets. Words or letters that have been cancelled by crossing out or overwriting are, where legible, supplied in angle brackets. Interlined words or phrases are marked at beginning and end by arrows pointing up. Single and double underlining for emphasis in the originals is retained. In two letters (nos. 9 and 11), the address in the heading is printed on the stationery, but has been included in the transcription with the printed text indicated in bold. The Jewett firm's publications that are mentioned in these letters are identified in the notes with references, in parentheses following the title, to the checklist in my article cited in note 1.

The letters are written on a variety of paper stocks, mostly cream, though letters 3 and 7 are on blue paper. Several letters are written on stationary with printed advertising, which is described in the notes. Almost all letters are written on single sheets folded to four pages (sizes of the resulting pages ranging from 18 x 11.5 cm to 27 x 21 cm), with two letters (3 and 5) inscribed on torn half sheets. All letters have item numbers stamped (by Sumner's secretaries?) in ink in the upper right corner on the first page of writing, except letter 9, which has a number supplied by pen. These numbers are not included in the transcriptions. All letters show signs of having been previously tipped into albums. See Charles Sumner Correspondence finding aid at <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.Hough:hou00232> (accessed January 10, 2014).

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1. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, December 18, 1852* (film 9/551):

Boston Dec. 18 1852
Hon Chas Sumner
My dear Sir
Mr Billings[4] will commence immediately upon the designs for White Slavery, & the Engravers will engrave them as fast as he will prepare them, & I shall hope to get it out before the adjournment of Congress. I hope we shall make it sell well when published. I suppose you have seen the Earl of Carlisle[']s Preface. We started it in the Traveller & it is now going the rounds & doing good.[5] We are selling now on the 60th thousand of the cheap ed[ition] of Uncle Tom, only been out 3 wks. We cannot supply the demand. The Key will be out I hope in January.[6] It will be strong enough I assure you.
Gov. Jones[7] will find it a poser.
Your true friend
John P. Jewett

2. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, January 18, 1853* (film 9/635):

Boston Jan 18/53
Hon Chas Sumner
My dear Sir
I send you to-day by request of Mrs Stowe a complete set of proofs of part 2, the legal portion of the Key. Will you please examine it carefully & see if it is

4 Hammatt Billings also illustrated two of Jewett's editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; for a full study of Billings's life and work, see James F. O'Gorman, *Accomplished in All Departments of Art: Hammatt Billings of Boston, 1818–1874* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998) and O'Gorman, *A Billings Bookshelf: An Annotated Bibliography of Works Illustrated by Hammatt Billings (1818–1874)*, 3rd ed., rev. and ill. (Wellesley, Mass.: Wellesley College, 1993).

5 This preface, dated October 9, 1852, was written by George Howard, seventh Earl of Carlisle, for a reprint of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* published that month in London by George Routledge & Co. Apparently Jewett arranged to have the text published in the Boston *Daily Evening Traveller*, where it appeared on December 10, 1852; it was subsequently reprinted in other newspapers.

6 Publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe, *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (53-27), was delayed until April; see letter no. 5.

7 Probably a reference to James Chamberlain Jones, the former governor of Tennessee who in 1852 was serving as U. S. senator from Tennessee as a member of the Whig party; Jones would go on to support the Democrat Buchanan in the 1856 presidential election.

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all right, & if Senator Chase[8] would look it over with you Mrs Stowe would be pleased, do not let any one else see it. If you can attend to it immediately you will oblige us, as it is now nearly ready to go to press. It will be a poser for Old Hunkerdom.[9] White Slavery is progressing. I am troubled as usual to get the designs from Billings, still I am doing quite as well as usual & shall hope to get it out in Feb. I have written a glowing letter to England in regard to it, & hope to get an order for 1000 copies from London.

Yours truly
J. P. Jewett

3. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, February 2, 1853* (film 9/664):

Boston Feb 2d 1853
Hon Chas Sumner
My dear Sir
We shall commence the printing of White Slavery this week. We shall bind it in cloth with thin, flexible, boards & letter on the side. Have you any choice or fancy about the side title, here are three

Sumner['s]
White Slavery.

over[10]

White Slavery
In The Barbary States.
Sumner.

White Slavery.
Sumner

Yours &c
JPJ.

8 Salmon P. Chase served from 1849 to 1855 as the U. S. senator from Ohio as a member the Free Soil party and would go on to be a prime mover in the founding of the Republican party.

9 "Hunker" was a term used to describe the conservative Democrats and Whigs who were prepared to compromise on the question of the extension of slavery into the territories.

10 The remainder of the letter is written on the reverse of the leaf. Written in pencil in another hand

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4. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, March 1, 1853* (film 10/9):

> Boston Mar 1st 1853
>
> Friend Sumner
>
> Your beautiful book is finished & my clerks have sent you 100 copies I think to day. It makes a splendid book, & I hope we shall be able to sell a large number. I must to meet the cost which was $1200 for the 1st 3000. I send 500 to England tomorrow by the steamer. My chief object in writing now is to ask of you a favor. Perhaps you do not know that we are about starting an enterprise, which if successful as we expect it will be, will be immensely so. You are aware of the new process of stereotyping which has been adopted by the Smithsonian Institution. A company of us own the patent right for this, for Great Britain. We intend to establish an Agency immediately in London, for the manufacture of plates, for the publishing of such English books as will be likely to sell well in ^this country, & allowing English authors a copyright upon them. We shall in this way we think secure the hearty cooperation of Authors & Publishers in England.[11] Our Agent sails in the steamer tomorrow. <and> He has a large number of letters of introduction, from some of our most distinguished literary men to literary men in England. Mr Everett[12] has sent him a number. If you will be kind enough to furnish a few to your literary friends I shall be obliged to you. Our Agent is a liberally education [i.e., educated?] man but for the last

opposite the first design is "Semi Circular / German Text" and opposite the second design, "Semi circ". The second design was chosen for the published book.

11 John P. Jewett's younger brother, Charles Coffin Jewett, was serving at the time as librarian of the Smithsonian Institute, where he proposed a plan to produce a "general catalogue of public libraries of the United States, by means of stereotyped titles" using a new process invented by Josiah Warren, who was issued patent no. 4479 (April 25, 1846) and reissue no. 246 (July 28, 1853); see C. C. Jewett's report on "The Smithsonian Cataloging System," in *Norton's Literary and Educational Register, for 1854* (New York: Charles B. Norton, 1854), 63–71. Before the Chace Act of 1891, legal copyright protection in the United States was restricted to American citizens and residents, so Jewett's generous plan to allow English authors a "copyright" is using the term in its nineteenth-century sense of a royalty or other payment. The plan for a London agency seems not to have been successful, though many of Jewett's publications of this period were "lithotyped" by the American Stereotype Company, 29 Phœnix Building, Boston.

12 Edward Everett, a Whig who on the date of this letter was serving the final days of his term as secretary of state, would take up the position of U. S. senator from Massachusetts on March 3, 1853. Everett had been appointed secretary of state by President Willard Fillmore to complete Daniel Webster's term after the latter's death in November 1852, and from 1841 to 1845 had served as U. S. ambassador to the Court of St. James.

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5 years has been a publisher & bookseller at Andover.[13] He is a very worthy & excellent man, & understands our new stereotyping process thoroughly. If you can send the package of letters to me so that I can send them to him by the next steamer I shall be glad. Mrs Stowe[']s Key will be along by & bye, & if the croakers don[']t find the nails clinched then, I'm mistaken. Uncle Tom continues to go, by the 20th of this month which is just one year since the 1st book[?] was sold, we shall have issue[d] 300,000 copies.

As ever your friend
John P. Jewett

5. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, March 24, 1853* (film 10/55):

Boston Mar 2<3>4/53
Hon Chas Sumner
My dear Sir

I send you the proof of your new matter & hope it will suit you. The book is selling well[,] first 3000 nearly gone. Shall print again immediately. Mrs Stowe[']s Key will be for sale about the 7th of April. We are printing 60 000 copies for the first ed. Last Saturday was the anniversary of the first sale of Uncle Tom, during the year we have published 305 000 copies.

Your friend
John P. Jewett

6. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, February 25, 1854* (film 10/510): [see figures 1.2 and 1.3]

Boston Feb 25 1854
Hon Chas Sumner
My dear Friend

If you would appreciate a word of praise from me, in regard to your recent most admirable Speech on the Nebraska infamy, I herewith bestow it from a full heart. Your speech was Grand, Noble, Manly, Elegant, Eloquent, Learned, abounding in historical allusions of points, & pungency, and a

13 The name of this agent is not given, but it may have been William Henry Wardwell, of whom it is reported that "after engaging for ten years in the book trade and printing in Andover, he removed to Boston and was successively associated with Messrs. John P. Jewett & Co. and Grant, Warren & Co."; see *The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register* 51 (July 1897): 367.

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perfect demolition of the infamous pretensing of Douglas & Co. I believe it is general[ly] considered here your greatest effort, and even some of the old Hunker Whigs, think that it contrasts most favorably with the milk & water effort of Everett.[14] How would it do for me to print an elegant edition of it on choice paper large type, & gilt edges? And is the report in the Tribune correct?[15] Please reply immediately because if done at all it should be at once. I have just published a very interesting work entitled the Lamplighter, which is having a great sale.[16] I don[']t know if I have told you that I had refused to publish anything more for Mrs Stowe.

She has treated me very unhandsomely. So much so that I positively refused to have anything more to do with her. She has shown great ingratitude, & a most selfish, and mercinary [*sic*] disposition. I will tell you the whole, at some future time, but cannot write it. She has gone to Phillips & Sampson, a pro slavery concern.[17]

Truly your friend
John P. Jewett

17 & 19 Cornhill.

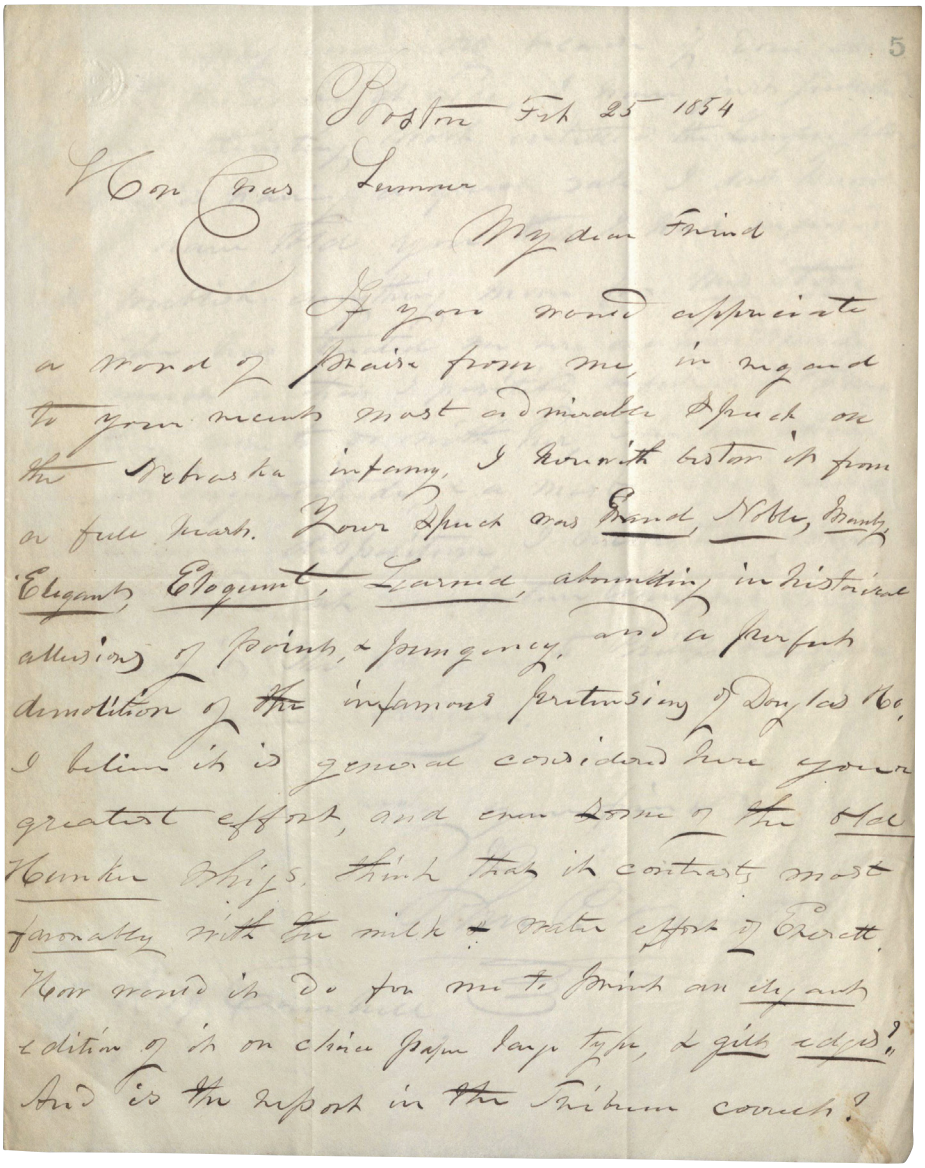
14 The speech was published by Jewett as *The Landmark of Freedom*; the references are to Stephen A. Douglas and Edward Everett. Douglas, a Democrat from Illinois, served as U. S. senator from 1847 to 1861 and was an architect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act that authorized popular sovereignty to decide whether slavery should be allowed to expand into the territories beyond the 36° 30′ line of the Missouri Compromise. For Everett, see note 12.

15 The text of Sumner's speech was printed in the *New-York Daily Tribune* on February 22, 1854; apparently Jewett planned to use this text as the source for his edition.

16 Maria S. Cummins's *The Lamplighter* (54-14), published by Jewett in February 1854, became the second best-selling novel of the 1850s after *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: it is reported to have sold 20,000 copies in twenty days, and 40,000 copies in eight weeks. By year's end, nearly 75,000 copies had been produced; by the end of the decade, total sales in the United States were about 90,000. See Michael Winship, "Hawthorne and the 'Scribbling Women': Publishing *The Scarlet Letter* in the Nineteenth-Century United States," *Studies in American Fiction* 29 (2001): [3].

17 In the summer of 1851, the Boston publishers Phillips, Sampson & Co. had been offered the opportunity to become the publishers of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* but had declined, in part because they feared that it would interfere with their market in the South. They were Stowe's primary American publisher from 1854 until the dissolution of the firm in 1859. The firm also published works by Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Francis Parkman, and William Hickling Prescott during the 1850s, and launched *The Atlantic Monthly*, noted for its anti-slavery stance, in December 1857.

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Boston Feb 25 1854

Hon Chas Sumner

My dear Friend

If you would appreciate a word of praise from me, in regard to your recent most admirable Speech on the Nebraska infamy, I know with what it from a full heart. Your Speech was Grand, Noble, Manly, Elegant, Eloquent, Learned, abounding in historical allusion of point, & pungency, and a perfect demolition of the infamous pretensions of Douglas & Co. I believe it is general considered here your greatest effort, and even some of the old Hunker Whigs, think that in contrast most favorably with the milk & water effort of Everett. How would it do for me to print an elegant edition of it on china paper large type, & gilt edged?! And is the report in the Tribune correct?

Figure 1.2. John P. Jewett's letter to Charles Sumner, Boston, February 25, 1854, page [1], verso blank. MS Am 1, folder 3471. Letter 6 in this article. 25.5 cm.

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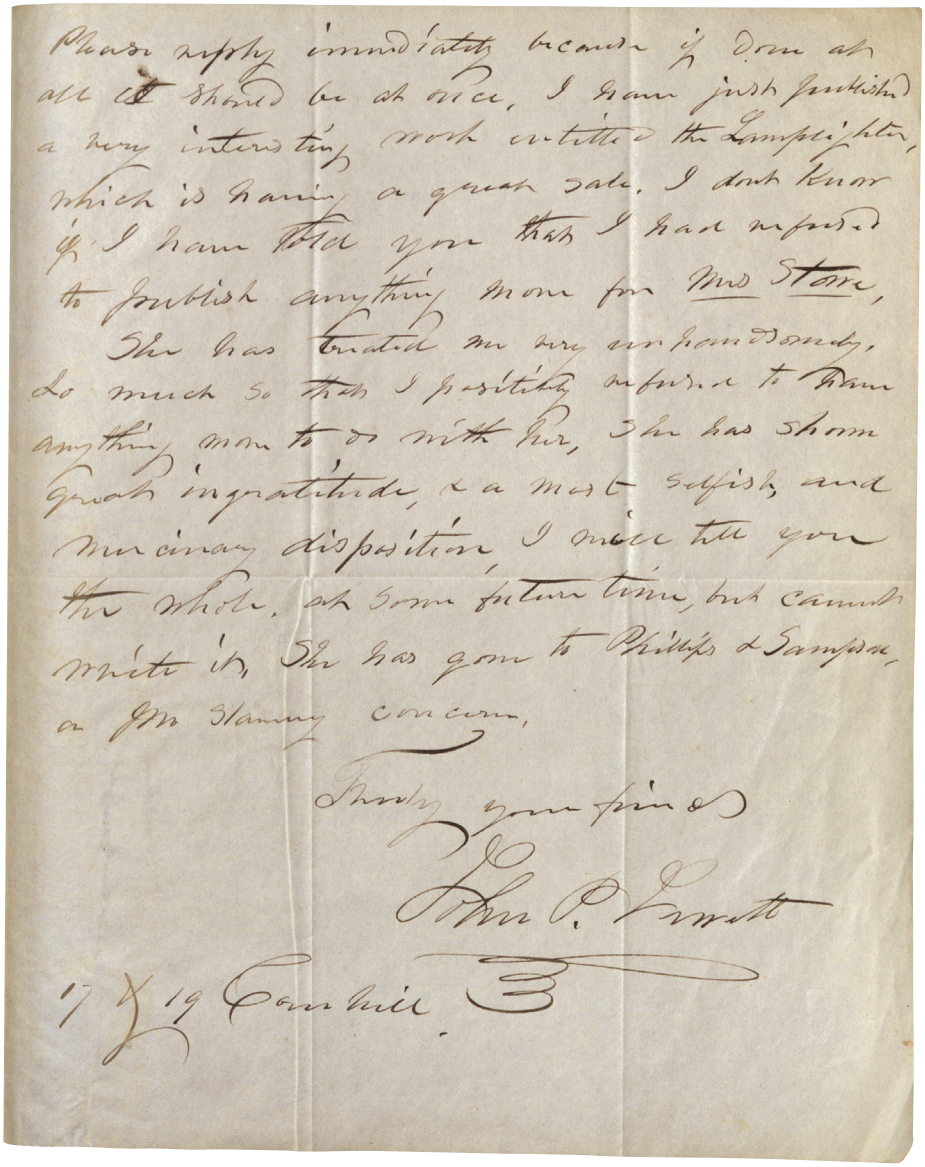


Figure 1.3. John P. Jewett's letter to Charles Sumner, Boston, February 25, 1854, page [3].

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7. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, March 3, 1854* (film 10/564):

Boston Mar 3d 1854
Hon Chas Sumner
My dear Friend
I send you to day, through the Nat[ional] Era office 25 copies of the elegant ed[ition] which we have just published of your eloquent speech. I hope you will consider the garb worthy of the contents. I want Southern Senators to see it, & to <s> know from them if a speech can be printed in that style in slavery[']s dominions? We expect to lose money on it, but we got it up for other reasons than to make money. We make no charge for the 25 sent you. We have sent 25 to the Era office on sale at 37 1/2 c[en]ts ea[ch.][18]
Yours truly
John P. Jewett

8. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, March 22, 1854* (film 10/675):

Boston Mar 22d/54
Friend Sumner
We are going on with your Speech. It will be out in a few days. We rec[eive]d your corrections last evening & in Season. Your speech as we are getting it up will be the most elegantly printed one, ever published in America, as it is one of the most able, & eloquent, ever delivered. Douglas & Everett are both dead. It is the almost universal feeling in this State now, that we are represented by but one Senator, & if the popular vote were taken to day through the State on ∧↑the↑ question, Shall Edward Everett be recalled? I believe the vote would be yea, 4 to 1. The fact is you are clear up, with all parties & Everett is down. By putting the Nebraska bill into committee of the whole, is virtually killing it I suppose. Old Bullion[19] did well. We shall send you 25 copies of the

18 *The National Era*, an anti-slavery weekly published in Washington, D.C., had been the original publishers of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a serial from June 20, 1851 to April 1, 1852. Subsequent letters (see nos. 8 and 10) suggest that the fifty copies mentioned in this letter as having been sent to the *National Era* office must have been a pre-print prepared before the regular plain and fine paper editions.

19 Nickname for Thomas Hart Benton, influential politician from Missouri who served in the U. S. Senate from 1842 to 1851 and in the House of Representatives from 1853 to 1855. A Democrat and advocate for western expansion, Benton had declared himself against the institution of slavery in 1849. He vigorously opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act and on April 25, 1854, would deliver an important speech, "Kansas and Nebraska," in the House of Representatives. He was also the father-in-law of John C. Frémont; see note 23.

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speech as soon as out. You can then show Southern bullies what your free soil publisher can do.

Your friend
John P. Jewett

9. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, May 28, 1856* (film 13/467): [see figures 1.4 and 1.5][20]

117 Washington St., Boston, May 28/56

Hon Chas. Sumner

My dear friend,

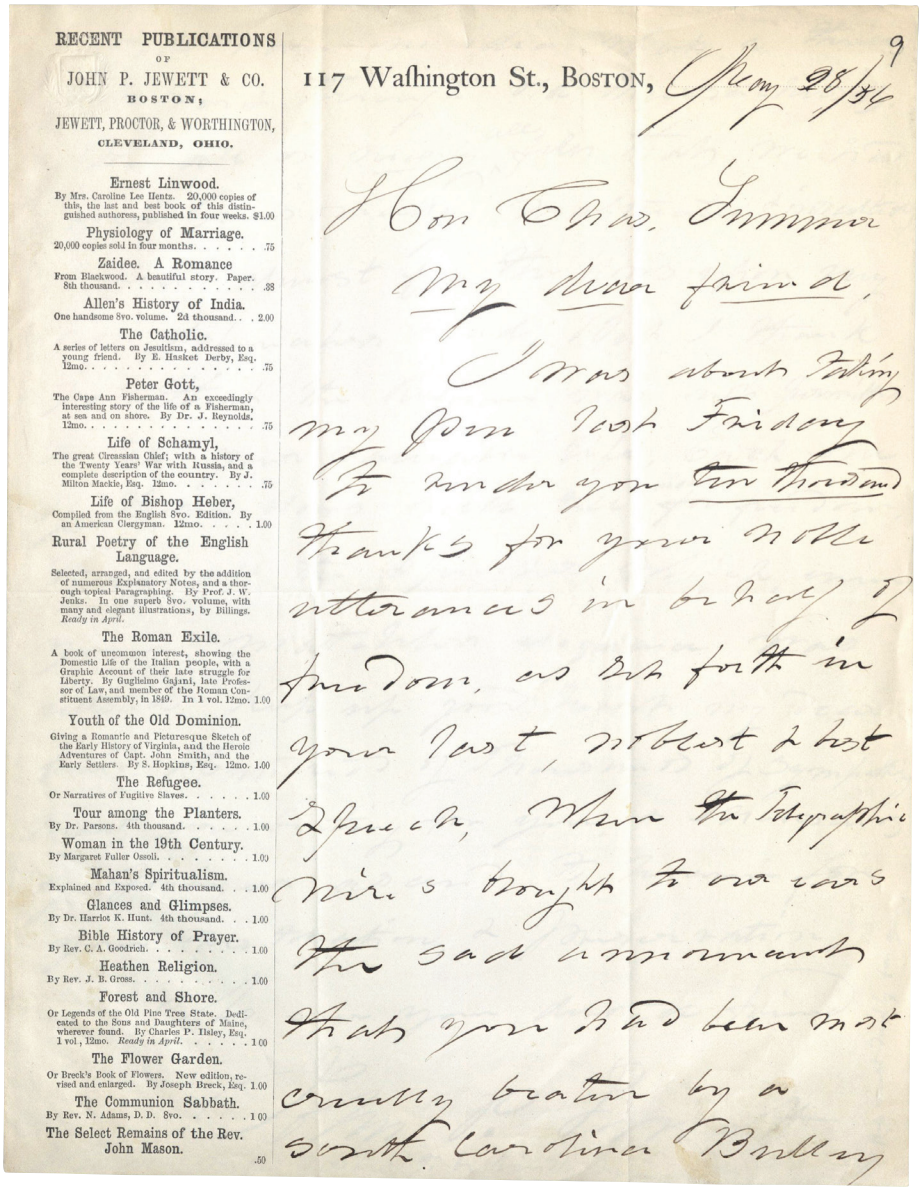
I was about taking my pen last Friday to render you ten thousand thanks for your noble utterances in behalf of freedom, as set forth in your last, noblest & best speech, when the Telegraphic wires brought to our ears the sad announcement that you had been most cruelly beaten by a South Carolina Bulley[?] You have no idea what a thrill it sent through old Massachusetts. We all or nearly ∧↑all↑ felt that we had been personally maltreated & insulted. I could almost feel the blows upon my own defenceless head. But I thank God that the Ruffian was not permitted to take your valuable life. Each one of those blows will tell ∧↑more↑ for freedom, than all the speeches, which, even your matchless eloquence has uttered. Keep up good heart my dear friend. Hundreds of Thousands of sympathising hearts are beating for you, & Thousands of prayers ascend to heaven for your restoration, & preservation.

As ever your devoted friend
John P. Jewett

p.s. My wife desires to be kindly remembered to you[.] She feels most deeply for you.

20 Written on stationary with printed advertisement for "Recent publications" in a column forming the left margin of page [1].

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS
OF
JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.
BOSTON;
JEWETT, PROCTOR, & WORTHINGTON,
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Ernest Linwood.
By Mrs. Caroline Lee Hentz. 20,000 copies of this, the last and best book of this distinguished authoress, published in four weeks. $1.00

Physiology of Marriage.
20,000 copies sold in four months. 75

Zaidee. A Romance
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The Select Remains of the Rev. John Mason.
.50

117 Washington St., Boston, May 28/56

9

Hon Chas. Sumner

My dear friend,

I was about taking my pen last Friday to write you ten thousand thanks for your noble utterances in behalf of freedom, as set forth in your last, robust & true speech. When the telegraphic wire brought to our ears the sad announcement that you had been most cowardly beaten by a South Carolina Bully

Figure 1.4. John P. Jewett's letter to Charles Sumner, Boston, May 28, 1856, page [1], verso blank. Written on John P. Jewett & Co. stationary with printed advertisement for "Recent publications" forming the left margin. MS Am 1, folder 3471. Letter 9 in this article. 27 cm.

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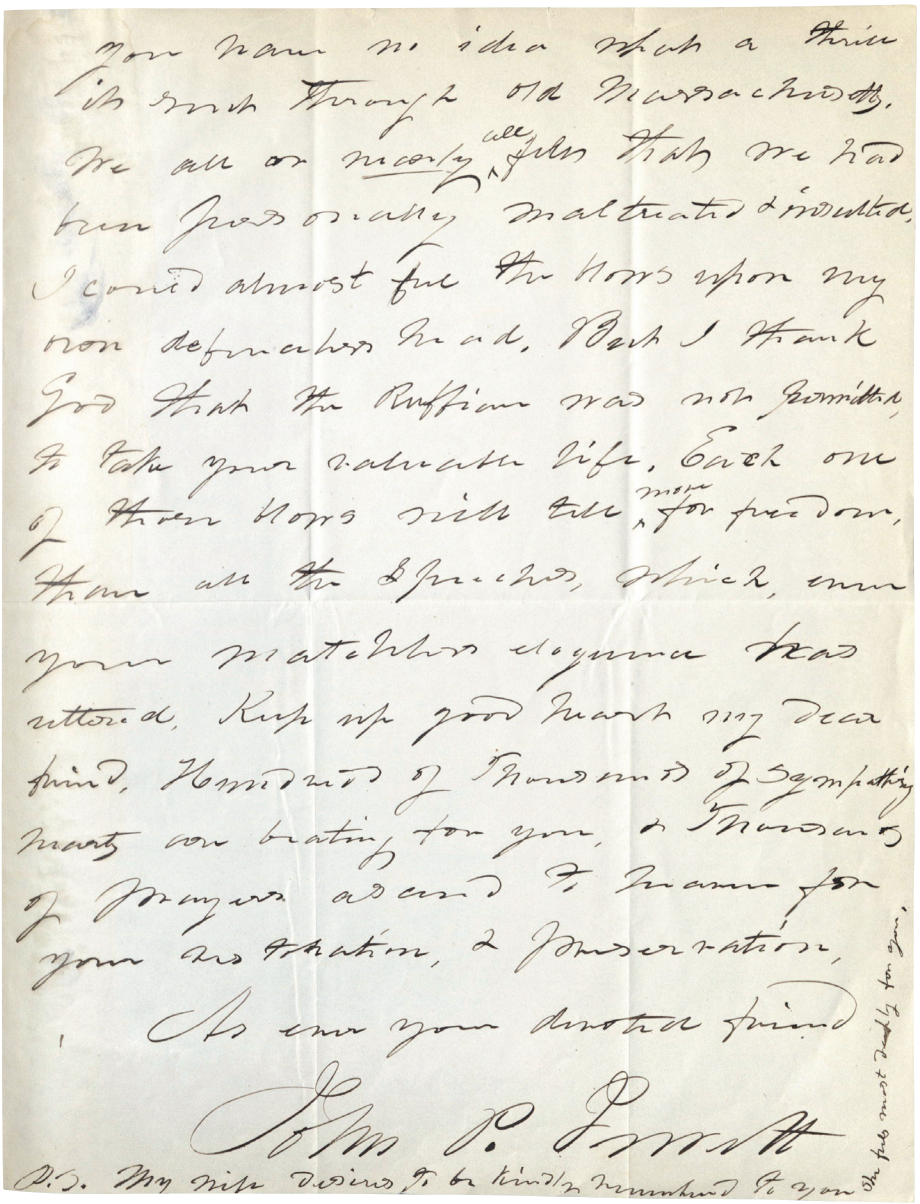


Figure 1.5. John P. Jewett letter to Charles Sumner, Boston, May 28, 1856, page [3].

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10. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, June 14, 1856* (film 13/741): [see figures 1.6 and 1.7][21]

Boston June 14/56
Hon Ch. Sumner
Dear Friend
By the circular on the opp. pp. you will see that we intend to try the market on a fine ed[ition] of your admirable speech. Should we be fortunate enough to make money on it, we shall remember the Author.
Hoping soon to see you renewed in health & strength
I remain your friend
John P[.] Jewett

11. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, June 25, 1856* (film 14/118):[22]

117 Washington St., Boston, June 25/56

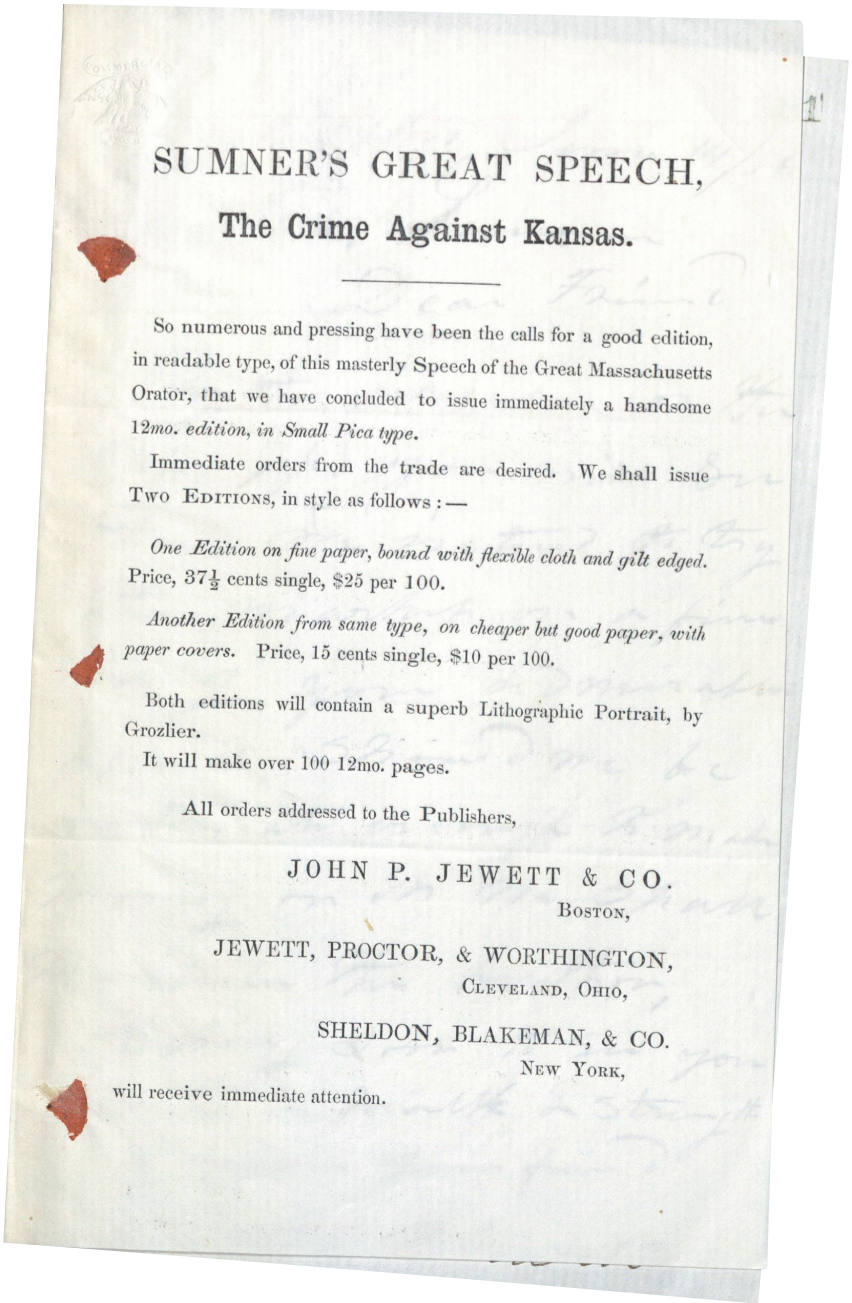
Hon Chas Sumner
My dear Sir
My clerk sent you yesterday by mail 12 copies of our edition of your great Speech. We think it looks pretty well although we should have made it look better if we had had more time. If you want more copies to give to your friends, please advise us & we will send them to you. I sincerely hope you are improving from day to day, & that you will soon be as well as you were before the brutal ruffian attacked you. The Fremont ball is rolling & will roll until it grinds to powder Buck & Breck & the accursed administration which they endorse.[23]

21 Written on a four-page flyer for *The Crime Against Kansas*, printed on page [1] only, advertising that the work will be issued in two forms: "*One Edition on fine paper, bound with flexible cloth and gilt edged*. Price, 37 1/2 cents single, $25 per 100. *Another Edition from same type, on cheaper but good paper, with paper covers*. Price, 15 cents single, $10 per 100. Both editions will contain a superb Lithographic Portrait, by Grozlier."

22 Written on the same stationery with printed list of recent publications as letter no. 9 (see note 20).

23 John C. Frémont was the unsuccessful Republican presidential candidate in 1856; "Buck & Breck" refers to the winning Democratic ticket of James Buchanan Jr. and John C. Breckinridge. Frémont, who as a military man led four exploratory expeditions in the west, became one of the first two senators from California in 1850 and in 1856 was nominated by the Republican Party as its first presidential candidate. Buchanan, from Pennsylvania, served a single term as president of the United States and, because of his failure to avoid the secession crisis, is generally considered to have had one of the least distinguished records of those who have held that office. His running mate Breckinridge, from Kentucky—the youngest American

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SUMNER'S GREAT SPEECH,

The Crime Against Kansas.

So numerous and pressing have been the calls for a good edition, in readable type, of this masterly Speech of the Great Massachusetts Orator, that we have concluded to issue immediately a handsome 12*mo. edition, in Small Pica type.*

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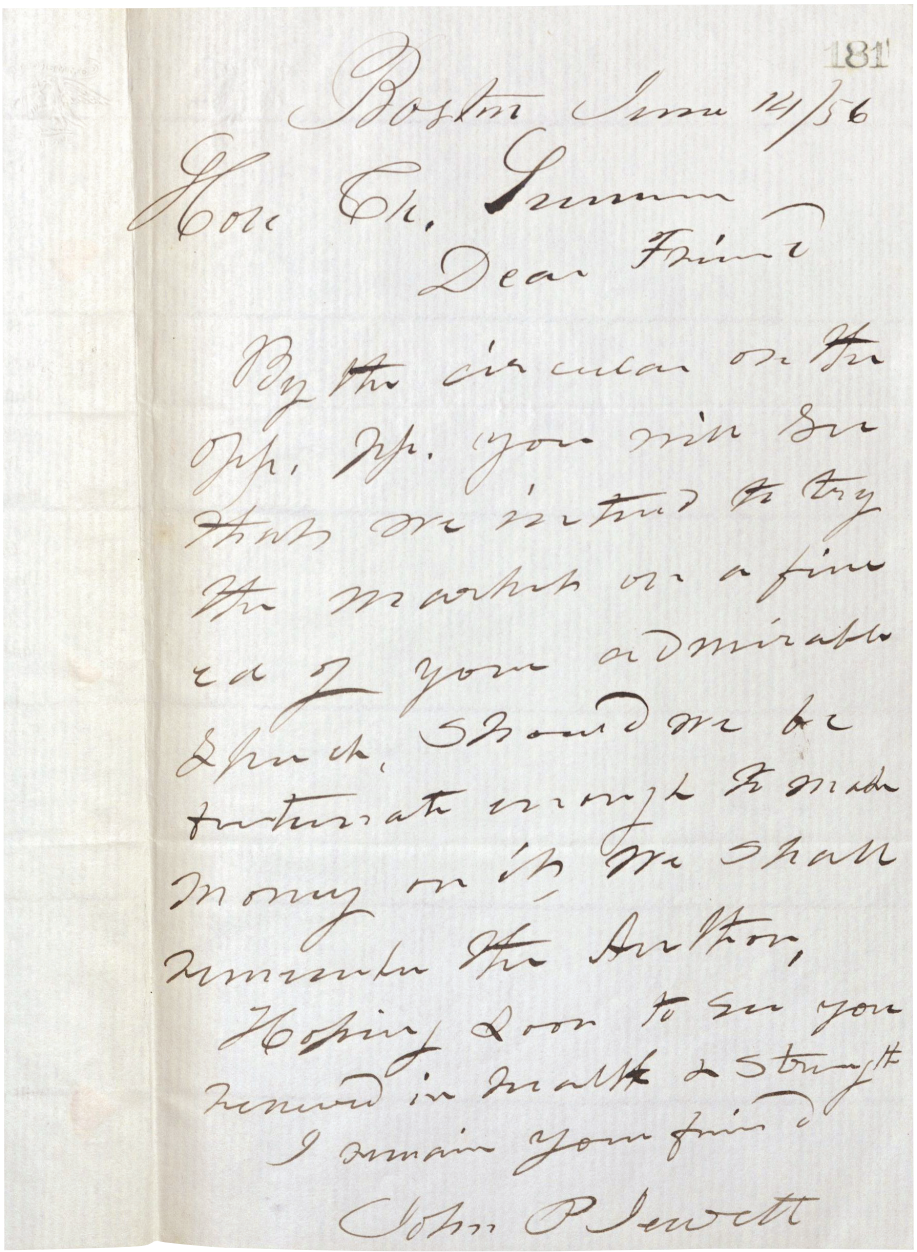
JEWETT, PROCTOR, & WORTHINGTON,
Cleveland, Ohio,

SHELDON, BLAKEMAN, & CO.
New York,

will receive immediate attention.

Figure 1.6. Four-page flyer for *The Crime Against Kansas* on which John P. Jewett wrote to Charles Sumner, Boston, June 14, 1856. MS Am 1, folder 3471. Letter 10 in this article. 21 cm.

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Boston June 14/56

Hon Ch. Sumner

Dear Friend

By the circular of the
Ofs. Ofs. you will see
that we intend to try
the market on a fine
ed of your admirable
Speech. Should we be
fortunate enough to make
money on it, We shall
remember the Author,
Hoping Soon to see you
Rewarded in Health & Strength
I remain Your friend
John P Jewett

Figure 1.7. John P. Jewett letter to Charles Sumner, Boston, June 14, 1856, page [3].

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Fremont will be our next President & I most sincerely hope that Charles Sumner <will> ∧↑may↑ be our next Secretary of State.

From your Sincere friend
John P. Jewett

12. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, September 3, 1856* (film 14/499):

Boston Sept 3[d] 1856
Hon Chas. Sumner
My dear friend,

I have watched with almost breathless anxiety every telegraphic dispatch, and have read first of all, every letter in the news papers emanating from friends who have seen you, so anxious have I been in common with thousands of others here to know from day to day & minutely, the state of your health, & the prospects of your restoration. On Saturday I rec[eive][d] your own kind note, written in your own familiar hand writing. I was rejoiced to see it, & to peruse it, for it seemed to inspire me with fresh hope for the future, & it gave me real pleasure to know, for I had the demonstration before me, that my noble friend ∧↑and humanity[']s friend↑ was gaining ∧↑in↑ health & strength. God grant an answer to the many prayers which I know have ascended from sincere hearts for your speedy recovery. How I long once more to clasp your honest hand, and sit an[d] chat with you as in days of yore.

I earnestly hope however that you will keep quiet, & retired from the busy world until you are fully restored. It must be a sore trial to you to be obliged to keep silent during a political campaign in which such momentous issues are at stake, at the same time you cannot but be consoled with the thought, that every thing is tending to a victory of the right. I fully believe that John C. Fremont will be the next President of the United States. If he is not it will not be my fault, for I am devoting almost all my time to the publication and dissemination of campaign documents, as follows:

Your Kansas Speech.
Burlingame[']s d[itt]o
The Republican Manual, containing the lives of the candidates &c &c.
The same book in German.
Fremont Songs For The People
A Plain Statement addressed to All Honest Democrats.

ever to hold the office of vice president—supported the right to secession, came second behind Abraham Lincoln in the Electoral College vote in 1860, and later served as the Confederate secretary of war during the final months of the Civil War.

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The ∧↑same↑ in German.
Dr Tyng[']s Sermon
Rev. H. M. Dexter[']s Sermon
Dix's Review of Choate.
Fremont Letter & Note Papers
d[itt]o Badges &c &c.[24]

I am scattering these documents by the hundred thousand, & they are doing good. If you would like to see any of them it will afford me great pleasure to send them to you. I have employed 3 men to canvass Penn. until the election with these bombshells. I am determined to sift in the German editions among the Germans in that State. I saved a large number of papers for you, coming from all sections of the country, commenting upon the Brooks outrage. I will give them to you when you get home if you would like them.

My wife joins with me in the kindest expressions of esteem & sympathy.

Ever your friend

John P. Jewett.

13. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, October 17, 1856* (film 14/605):

Boston Oct 17th 1856

Hon Chas. Sumner

My dear friend,

I thank you sincerely for your last kind letter my dear & noble friend. It always affords me real pleasure to peruse a letter from you. I have not written to you as freely as I have felt disposed too [*sic*], fearing that you might feel compelled to answer, & knowing that your extensive correspondence must be a severe tax upon you, in your enfeebled condition. You did not speak particularly in your last in regard to your health. I most sincerely hope ∧↑that↑ you are improving,

24 Jewett here lists the following works: Charles Sumner, *The Crime against Kansas* (56-49); Anson Burlingame, *Defence of Massachusetts* (56-10); *Republican Campaign Edition for the Million: Containing the Republican Platform, the Lives of Fremont and Dayton . . . Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution* (B56-43); *Republikanisches Handbuch für die Millionen Deutsche in den Verein. Staaten: Enthaltend die Republikanische Platform, Biographien von Fremont und Dayton . . . Ebenfalls die Unabhängigeits-Erklärung und die Constitution* (56-45); Thomas Drew (comp.), *Fremont Songs for the People, Original and Selected* (56-18); *A Plain Statement Addressed to All Honest Democrats by One of the People* (56-39); *Eine Einfache Darstellung Gerichtet an Alle Ehrliche Demokraten von Einem aus dem Volk* (not in checklist); Dudley Atkins Tyng, *Our Country's Troubles* (56-51); Henry Martyn Dexter, *Our National Condition and Its Remedy* (56-14); and, William Giles Dix, *The Presidency: A Reply to the Letter of . . . Rufus Choate to the Whig State Committee of Maine* (56-15). I have not been able to find surviving copies of the presumably ephemeral Frémont letter and note papers or Frémont badges.

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& that at no very distant day, you may be entirely restored. Oh the miserable assassin, & his base backers & indorsers [*sic*]. I feel more angry, than is proper, I fear, whenever I think of them. I thank you for your elegant & highly commendatory notice of Anthony Burns. I showed your letter to Mr Stevens, he was delighted with it.[25] I shall take occasion to use it publicly soon. I don[']t remember if I informed you how pleased Dr Gajani was with your note to me in reference to his book.[26] I intend to use that soon. The result of the election, ^↑in Penn↑ so far as we have heard is not so cheering as we could have wished. I hope for better results in Nov. If Col Fremont is not elected it will not be my fault. I have published and scattered more campaign documents than any other house [preceding word written over something illegible] in the country excepting perhaps the Tribune office. If the border ruffian party should succeed in Nov. what will become of this nation God only knows. You have my kindest wishes and most fervent prayers.

Ever your friend
John P. Jewett.

14. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, October 23, 1856* (film 14/619) [see figure 1.1]:

Boston Oct 23^{d}/56
Hon Chas Sumner
Dear Friend
I enclose our last campaign Bombshell. It is a hard one for the Administration. It establishes the fact of its complicity with border ruffianism in Kansas. We are scattering them by thousands[.][27]
Yours for freedom
John P[.] Jewett

25 Jewett published Charles Emery Stevens's *Anthony Burns: A History* (56-48) in 1856. Burns, an escaped African American slave, was imprisoned in Boston in 1854 and, after a failed attempt by a crowd of abolitionists to free him, tried and returned to his Virginia master, Charles F. Suttle, under the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act. Burns's freedom was afterward purchased, and he went on to attend Oberlin College and eventually settled in Canada.

26 Jewett also published Guglielmo Gajani's autobiographical *The Roman Exile* (56-18) in 1856. On the title page of this work, Gajani is identified as "Professor of Civil and Canon Law, and Representative of the People in the Roman Constituent Assembly in the Year 1849"; see also Giuseppi Monsagrati, "Guglielmo Gajani" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 79 vols. (Rome: Intituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960–2013), 51:319–320. Presumably Sumner supplied Jewett with blurbs supporting this work and Steven's history of Anthony Burns (see note 25).

27 Possibly Preston Smith Brooks, *Speech . . . Delivered at Columbia, South Carolina, Aug. 29, 1856* (56-9), which Jewett published as Disunion Document, No. 1.

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15. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, October 28, 1856* (film 14/632):[28]

Boston Oct 28/56

Hon. Chas Sumner

Dear Friend

Yours of the 23d is rec[eive]d. You have always directed my letters properly, John P. Grieved as all your friends are that the state of your health is such as to prevent your visiting Boston this fall, yet the general feeling is that it would not be prudent for you to come. The excitement would be intense. Nothing would afford me greater pleasure than the privilege of entertaining you for a month at my quiet rural retreat on Roxbury Highlands, at York Cottage. But this with other pleasures we must forego for the greater good, your perfect restoration.

As ever your devoted friend

John P. Jewett

16. *Letter, JPJ to CS, Boston, October 5, 1861* (film 23/326):

Boston Oct 5 1861

My dear friend

I am more than provoked with the unmitigated flunkeyism, of the Boston Journal, & Advertiser in their criticisms of your manly and excellent speech, at Worcester.[29] Posterity will do you justice, even if the sneaking toadyism of the day refuse it to you. I cannot refrain from writing you a word of sympathy, although perhaps you do not feel the need of it. Rest assured my noble friend that God and all truly great & good men are with you, therefore you have nothing to fear from the malice of cowardly time servers. I am still living on faith, having but little business. A good office under government, would have helped me much, but as our government seems to prefer to encourage spies and traitors, even at the country[']s heart the chances for men of my principles seem

28 Written on a printed four-page flyer for Maria Jane McIntosh's *Violet, or the Cross and the Crown* (56-34), printed on page [1] only, announcing the book as "in press" and ready "about the 25th of November." The first four sentences ("I am more . . . cowardly time servers.") are marked with blue pencil for publication as an extract; the text appears in *Charles Sumner: His Complete Works, with Introduction by Hon. George Frisbie Hoar*, Statesman Edition, 20 vols. (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1900), 7:301.

29 Sumner addressed the Massachusetts Republican State Convention in Worcester on October 1, 1861. The text of this speech, which linked slavery and the right to secession, is collected as "Emancipation Our Best Weapon" in Charles Sumner, *Works*, 15 vols. (Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1870–1883), 6:7–29, with critical comments from the *Boston Journal* on p. 39 and from the *Boston Daily Advertiser* on p. 38.

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small. Could any other than a military man fill the office just vacated in this State by Col E. W. Stone?[30] I think I could bring honesty, to any office.

Believe me as ever my dear
Sir, your true & uncompromising friend
John P. Jewett

To
Hon Chas Sumner

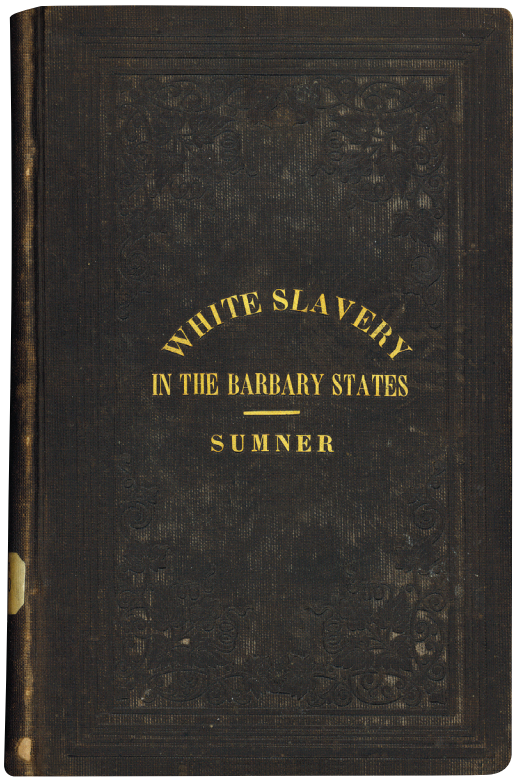


Figure 1.8. Charles Sumner, *White Slavery in the Barbary States.* Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1853. Lin 670.5. See Appendix.

30 Ebenezer Whitten Stone, Massachusetts adjutant-general from 1851 to 1860, served from April to October 1861 as chief of ordnance and "armed and equipped twenty-four regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and three light batteries of artillery"; see James Grant Wilson & John Fiske, eds., *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*, 6 vols. (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1888), 5:701.

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Appendix: Works by Charles Sumner published by John P. Jewett & Co.

WHITE SLAVERY IN THE BARBARY STATES (53-31)

WHITE SLAVERY / IN / THE BARBARY STATES. / BY / CHARLES SUMNER. / [2-line quote from Horace] / Horace. / [3-line quote from Epistles to the Romans] / Epistle to the Romans, Chap. ii. v. 3. / BOSTON: / PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT AND COMPANY. / CLEVELAND, OHIO: / JEWETT, PROCTOR, AND WORTHINGTON. / LONDON: LOW AND COMPANY. / 1853.

bl. [1–2], [3–4], text 5–135, bl. [136]. Illustrated: 37 small wood engravings. 7" x 4 1/4".

[a-b]^4, 2–8^8, 9^4.

Printer's imprints, p. [4]: ORIGINAL DESIGNS BY BILLINGS. / ENGRAVED BY BAKER, SMITH, AND ANDREW. / [rule] / STEREOTYPED AT THE / BOSTON STEREOTYPE FOUNDRY. / GEO. C. RAND, PRINTER, CORNHILL.

Brown T cloth. Front goldstamped: WHITE SLAVERY [arched] / IN THE BARBARY STATES / [rule] / SUMNER Spine plain. Yellow end papers. Flyleaves.

Two bindings noted; no sequence established:

A: Sides blindstamped with 5-rule frame, with 4 leafy cornerpieces (see figure 1.8).

B: Sides blindstamped with 3-rule frame, with small knot ornaments at corners and center of sides, and small floret cornerpieces.

Originally delivered as a lecture before the Boston Mercantile Library Association February 17, 1847, and published in 1847 by William D. Ticknor & Co. of Boston. Letter no. 5 of March 24, 1853, indicates that the first printing of 3,000 was "nearly gone" and suggests that there would be a second printing containing "new matter" then in proof; this extended edition has not been identified.

Letter no. 4 states that Jewett planned to send 500 copies to England on March 2, 1853; a rebound copy of the English issue (Michael Winship, Austin, Texas) has the imprint: LONDON: / SAMPSON LOW, SON & CO., / 47 LUDGATE HILL. / 1853.

Copies examined: MB (A,B) MH (A) MWA (B)

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THE LANDMARK OF FREEDOM (54-42)

THE LANDMARK OF FREEDOM. / [rule] / SPEECH / OF / HON. CHARLES SUMNER / AGAINST THE / REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI PROHIBITION OF SLAVERY / NORTH OF 36° 30′. / IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, / FEBRUARY 21, 1854. / [rule] / "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbor's landmark. And all the people shall say, Amen." / Deuteronomy, xxvii. 17. / [rule] / BOSTON: / PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT AND COMPANY. / CLEVELAND, OHIO: / JEWETT, PROCTOR, AND WORTHINGTON. / 1854.

[1–2], text [3] 4–72. 8 1/2" x 5 1/2".

$[1]^4$, $2–9^4$.

Printer's imprint, p. [2]: CAMBRIDGE: / ALLEN AND FARNHAM, PRINTERS.

Printed green-coated paper wrapper. Front: [all within an ornamental frame] / THE LANDMARK OF FREEDOM. / [ornamental rule] / SUMNER. Otherwise blank. Stabbed, not sewn. All edges gilt.

Copies examined: MH ViU

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THE CRIME AGAINST KANSAS (56-49)

THE CRIME AGAINST KANSAS. / [wavy rule] / THE APOLOGIES FOR THE CRIME. / [wavy rule] / THE TRUE REMEDY. / [rule] / SPEECH / OF / HON. CHARLES SUMNER, / IN THE / SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, / 19th and 20th May, 1856. / [ornamental rule] / BOSTON: / PUBLISHED BY JOHN P. JEWETT & COMPANY. / CLEVELAND, OHIO: / JEWETT, PROCTOR, & WORTHINGTON. / NEW YORK: SHELDON, BLAKEMAN & CO. / 1856.

[1–2], speech [3] 4–95, bl. [96]. Portrait frontispiece, with tissue guard, inserted.

$1–8^6$. Signed $\$1,3$ (-1_1).

Published in two forms; no sequence:

A: Plain paper, all edges plain; leaf size 7 1/2" x 4 3/4". Stabbed. Printed blue paper wrapper. Front repeats letterpress from title page within a double rule frame. Back wrapper prints ads. Inner wrapper blank.

B: Fine paper, all edges gilt; leaf size 7 7/8" x 4 3/4". Flexible brown T cloth. Sides blindstamped with a 3-rule ornamental frame; front goldstamped: SUMNER'S SPEECH.

Copies examined: MB (A) MH (A) MWA (A) British Library, London UK (B) Michael Winship, Austin, Texas (B)

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Contributors

Melissa Banta is Projects Curator in Harvard Library's Weissman Preservation Center.

Liz Maynes-Aminzade is a Lecturer in History and Literature at Harvard University. Her recent publications include "The Omnicompetent Narrator from George Eliot to Jonathan Franzen," in *Studies in the Novel* 46, no. 2 (Summer 2014), and "You're Part of Something Bigger: Macrorealist TV," in *RaVoN* 63 (April 2013). She is currently working on a book about a genre of fiction that she calls macrorealism, which tries to raise awareness about the ethical problems accompanying a global economy.

Michael Winship is the Iris Howard Regents Professor of English II at the University of Texas at Austin, was an editor and contributor for the *A History of the Book in America* series, and has published extensively on American literary publishing of the industrial era. He completed the final three volumes of *Bibliography of American Literature* (1983–1991), for which he received the bibliography prize of the International League of Antiquarian Booksellers, and is the author of *American Literary Publishing in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Business of Ticknor and Fields* (1995).

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