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Writing for Immortality

Anne E. Boyd

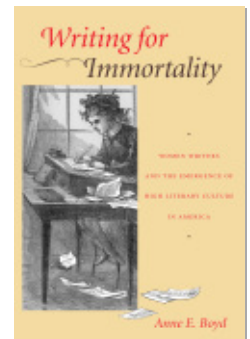
Published by Johns Hopkins University Press

Boyd, E..

Writing for Immortality: Women and the Emergence of High Literary Culture in America.

Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

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Notes

ABBREVIATIONS

Manuscript Collections

BPL	Boston Public Library, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts, Boston, MA
MH	Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA
NYCol-SC	Stedman Collection, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Butler Library, New York, NY
PSt-Sh	Shelley Collection, Rare Books, University Libraries, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA
UVA	Clifton Waller Barrett Library, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA
VTMC	Abernethy Library, Special Collections, Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT
WRHS	Mather Family Papers, 1834–1967, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, OH

Persons

CFW	Constance Fenimore Woolson
EBS	Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard
ECS	Edmund Clarence Stedman
ESP	Elizabeth Stuart Phelps
LMA	Louisa May Alcott
RHS	Richard Henry Stoddard

Introduction

1. Kate G. Wells, “The Transitional American Woman,” *Atlantic Monthly* 46 (Dec. 1880): 817–823; quotes on 817–818, 821, 819. See Kristen Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), for an examination of the dawning ambition of many women visual artists during this period.

2. Catharine Maria Sedgwick, *Life and Letters*, ed. Mary E. Dewey (1871); quoted in Judith Fetterley, ed., *Provisions: A Reader from Nineteenth-Century American Women*

(Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 44. Sedgwick to William Minot, Oct. 5, 1851; quoted in Mary Kelley, introduction to *The Power of Her Sympathy: The Autobiography and Journal of Catharine Maria Sedgwick* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1993), 3.

3. CFW to Katherine Mather, 1880, WRHS. ESP, *Chapters from a Life* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1895), 253. LMA, Feb. 1861, *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989), 103. EBS to Whitelaw Reid, n.d. (Monday evening), Reid Family Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

4. Nina Baym, *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820–1870*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 32. Fetterley, introduction to *Provisions*, 7, 6.

5. Baym, *Woman's Fiction*, 32. Elaine Showalter, *Sister's Choice: Tradition and Change in American Women's Writing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 67. Joanne Dobson, "The American Renaissance Reenvisioned," in *The (Other) American Traditions: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers*, ed. Joyce W. Warren (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 177.

6. CFW to ECS, July 23, [1876], NYCol-SC. LMA to Mrs. A. D. Moshier, April 6, [1878], in *The Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 228.

7. Elizabeth Ammons, *Conflicting Stories: American Women Writers at the Turn into the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4–5.

8. Ammons's study, *Conflicting Stories*, explores a generation of women writers at the turn of the century that was more culturally, regionally, and racially diverse.

9. The critical studies that most influenced me include Sarah Elbert, *A Hunger for Home: Louisa May Alcott's Place in American Culture* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Richard H. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), chap. 3; Carol Farley Kessler, *Elizabeth Stuart Phelps* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), and "A Literary Legacy: Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Mother and Daughter," *Frontiers* 5 (fall 1980): 28–33; Susan Coultrap-McQuin, "Elizabeth Stuart Phelps" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1979), and *Doing Literary Business: American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), chap. 7; Sandra Zagarell, "Legacy Profile: Elizabeth Drew Barstow Stoddard (1823–1902)," *Legacy* 8 (spring 1991): 39–49; Lawrence Buell and Sandra Zagarell, "Biographical and Critical Introduction," *The Morgesons and Other Writings, Published and Unpublished*, by Elizabeth Stoddard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984); Sharon Dean, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: Home-ward Bound* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995); Cheryl Torsney, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: The Grief of Artistry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989); and Joan Myers Weimer, introduction to *Women Artists, Women Exiles: "Miss Grief" and Other Stories*, by Constance Fenimore Woolson (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), ix–xliii.

10. Reprints of their works include LMA, *Moods*, ed. Sarah Elbert (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991); LMA, *Alternative Alcott*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988); ESP, *The Story of Avis*, ed. Carol Farley Kessler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985); EBS, *The Morgesons and*

Other Writings; EBS, *The Morgesons*, ed. Lawrence Buell and Sandra Zagarell (New York: Penguin, 1997); and CFW, *Women Artists, Women Exiles*.

11. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 173, 175.

12. Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790–1860* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 1. Monika M. Elbert, introduction to *Separate Spheres No More: Gender Convergence in American Literature, 1830–1930* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000), 2. The literary separate spheres model was influenced by that developed by historians in the 1970s and 1980s. Both the literary and historical models are undergoing significant revision. Elbert provides an extensive overview of the debate in her introduction to *Separate Spheres No More*. For some of the most important work revising or challenging the separate spheres model, see Gillian Brown, *Domestic Individualism: Imagining Self in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Barbara Bardes and Suzanne Gossett, *Declarations of Independence: Women and Political Power in Nineteenth-Century American Fiction* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990); Michael Newbury, *Figuring Authorship in Antebellum America* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Lora Romero, *Home Fronts: Domesticity and Its Critics in the Antebellum United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Cathy Davidson, ed., “No More Separate Spheres,” special issue of *American Literature* 70, no. 3 (1998); Karen Kilcup, ed., *Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers: A Critical Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998); Karen Kilcup, ed., *Soft Canons: American Women Writers and Masculine Tradition* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000); and Elbert, *Separate Spheres No More*.

13. Romero, *Home Fronts*, 5, and chap. 5. Newbury, *Figuring Authorship*, 32.

14. Elbert, *Separate Spheres No More*, 1. I support Elbert in her argument that Cathy Davidson’s “No More Separate Spheres” issue of *American Literature* tends to present another binary by dividing critics into two camps—those who still believe in separate spheres and those who don’t. “[I]t is more productive to analyze the overlap of private and public, of female and male, than to create an artificial either-or situation,” Elbert writes (21).

15. For discussions of this issue, see Susan K. Harris, “‘But is it any good?’: Evaluating Nineteenth-Century American Women’s Fiction,” in Warren, *The (Other) American Traditions*, 263–279; and Jane Tompkins, “‘But Is It Any Good?’: The Institutionalization of Literary Value,” in *Sensational Designs*, 186–201.

16. Buell and Zagarell, “Biographical and Critical Introduction,” *The Morgesons*, xi.

17. Baym, *Woman’s Fiction*, 14.

CHAPTER ONE: Solving the “Old Riddle of the Sphinx”

1. CFW, *Anne* (1882; reprint, New York: Harper & Bros., 1910), 91, 380. The novel began serialization in *Harper’s* in December 1880.

2. LMA, *Moods*, ed. Sarah Elbert (1864; reprint New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 84. EBS, “The Prescription,” *Harper’s* 28 (May 1864): 797.

3. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, “Literature as an Art,” *Atlantic Monthly* 20 (Dec. 1867): 746–747. His review of Harriet Prescott’s *Azarian*, *Atlantic Monthly* 14 (Oct. 1864), expresses doubt about the ability of women to become serious authors.

4. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 22, 1854, in *The Morgesons and Other Writings, Published and Unpublished*, ed. Lawrence Buell and Sandra Zagarell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 314.
5. "Female Authors," *North American Review* 72 (Jan. 1851): 163–164. Margaret Fuller, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*; reprinted in *The Portable Margaret Fuller*, ed. Mary Kelley (New York: Penguin, 1994), 288.
6. Martha Woodmansee, *The Author, Art, and the Market: Rereading the History of Aesthetics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 37.
7. Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History* (1841; reprint, Boston: Ginn, 1901), 179–180.
8. *North American Review* quoted in Russel B. Nye, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776–1830* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 241.
9. Review of *The House of Seven Gables* and *The Blithedale Romance*, by Nathaniel Hawthorne, *North American Review* 76 (Jan. 1853): 228. James Russell Lowell, review of *Sir Roban's Ghost*, by Harriet Prescott (Spofford), *Atlantic Monthly* 5 (Feb. 1860): 253. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "A Select Party," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* (July 1844): 36.
10. *Harper's* quoted in Nina Baym, *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers: Responses to Fiction in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 247.
11. Herman Melville, "Hawthorne and His Mosses," *New York Literary World* (Aug. 17 and 24, 1850); reprinted in Gordon Hutner, ed., *American Literature, American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 101. Hawthorne quoted in Caroline Ticknor, *Hawthorne and His Publisher* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1913), 141–142.
12. Michael Gilmore, *American Romanticism and the Marketplace* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 81–82.
13. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The American Scholar" (1837), in *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Alfred R. Ferguson, Joseph Slater, Douglas Emory Wilson, et al., 5 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 1:56–57. Melville, "Hawthorne and His Mosses," 97.
14. Stephen Mintz, *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 31.
15. This is Christine Battersby's argument in *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989). Battersby focuses solely on European and British ideals of gender and genius.
16. Margaret Fuller, review of *Essays: Second Series*, by Ralph Waldo Emerson, *New York Daily Tribune*; reprinted in *The Portable Margaret Fuller*, 365. Rebecca Harding Davis, "Boston in the Sixties" (1904); reprinted in *A Rebecca Harding Davis Reader*, ed. Jean Pfaelzer (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), 450. Katherine McDowell [Sherwood Bonner], "Ralph Waldo Emerson Interviewed by a Fair Southron" (1874); reprinted in *A Sherwood Bonner Sampler, 1869–1884*, ed. Anne Razez Gowdy (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 17.
17. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Genius," (1839), in *The Early Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Robert Spiller, Stephen E. Whicher, and Wallace E. Williams, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1959–72), 3:81. My interpretation of Emerson's notion of "genius" is, admittedly, simplified. I have chosen not to elaborate on Emerson's concern with the incommunicability of language because I wish to focus on

those parts of his philosophy of the artist/genius that were more available for popularization and that inspired the majority of American writers.

18. Emerson, “Self-Reliance” (1841), *Collected Works*, 2:29. Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* (1854; reprint, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 8. Quote from Emerson’s diary, July 15, 1839, in *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. William H. Gilman, Ralph H. Orth, et al., 16 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960–82), 4:306. Emerson’s letters to Emma Lazarus in Ralph L. Rusk, ed., *Letters to Emma Lazarus in the Columbia University Library* (New York: Columbia University Library, 1939).

19. Joel Myerson notes the differing interpretations of Emerson’s lecture in his headnote to the lecture in *Transcendentalism: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 615. Quote from a female audience member is in Armida Gilbert, “‘Pierced by the Thorns of Reform’: Emerson on Womanhood,” in *The Emerson Dilemma: Essays on Emerson and Social Reform*, ed. T. Gregory Garvey (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 107. Jeffrey Steele, “The Limits of Political Sympathy: Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Woman’s Rights,” in Garvey, *Emerson Dilemma*, 115, 132. I am grateful for the comments of Jay Grossman at the “New Frontiers in Early American Literature” conference at the University of Virginia (2002), which helped me to clarify my position on Emerson’s influence.

20. Fuller, *Woman*, 329, 330.

21. Fuller, *Woman*, 327, 294.

22. ESP, “The True Woman,” *Independent* 23 (Oct. 12, 1871): 1; reprinted in ESP, *The Story of Avis*, ed. Carol Farley Kessler (1877; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 269, 271, 272.

23. Alcott quoted in LaSalle (Corbell) Pickett, *Across My Path: Memories of People I Have Known* (1916; reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1970), 108. CFW to Samuel Mather, Jan. 22, [1887?], WRHS. Charlotte Forten Grimké, *The Journals of Charlotte Forten Grimké*, ed. Brenda Stevenson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 279. Emily Dickinson, *The Letters of Emily Dickinson*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 913.

24. Jewett quoted in Elizabeth Silverthorne, *Sarah Orne Jewett: A Writer’s Life* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1993), 72. Bonner quoted in Hubert H. McAlexander, *The Prodigal Daughter: A Biography of Sherwood Bonner* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981; reprint, with a new introduction, Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 60. Lazarus in Bette Roth Young, *Emma Lazarus in Her World: Life and Letters* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 72, 122.

25. LMA to Bronson Alcott, Oct. 13, [1877], in *The Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 321. LMA, “Reminiscences of Ralph Waldo Emerson,” *Youth’s Companion* (May 25, 1882): 213. LMA to Maggie Lukens, Feb. 14, [1884], in *Selected Letters*, 280; see also editors’ note on 287. LMA, Scrapbook, 1855, bMS Am 1817.2 (24), MH. She also recorded in her journal having attended one of Emerson’s classes on “Genius,” indicating that she was invited by Emerson, “a great honor, as all the learned ladies go.” LMA, Dec. 1860, in *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 101.

26. LMA, *Moods*, 1. Epigraph to *Two Men* quoted in James Matlack, "The Literary Career of Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1967), 341. EBS to Margaret Sweat, Apr. 14, [1852], PSt-Sh. EBS, Journal, in *The Morgesons*, 354. Emerson, "Self-Reliance," 47.
27. CFW to ECS, Sept. 16, [1877], NYCol-SC. Strikethrough in original. CFW to ECS, Apr. 30, [1883], NYCol-SC.
28. Fuller, *Woman*, 280, 294.
29. Lawrence Buell, *New England Literary Culture from Revolution through Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 377. RHS to R. S. Mackenzie, n.d.; quoted in Matlack, "Literary Career," 337–338.
30. EBS to Rufus Griswold, quoted in Matlack, "Literary Career," 122. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Nov. 18, 1855, quoted in Matlack, 156. CFW, "To George Eliot," *New Century for Women*, no. 2 (May 20, 1876): 1.
31. Dickinson, *Letters*, 376.
32. Theophilus Parsons, "Life and Writings of Madame de Staël," *North American Review* 11 (July 1820): 139. "Madame de Staël," *Appletons' Journal*, n.s., 10 (May 1881): 439.
33. LMA, 1852, *Journals*, 67. EBS, *The Morgesons*, 106. CFW, "At the Château of Corinne" (1887), in *Women Artists, Women Exiles: "Miss Grief" and Other Stories*, ed. Joan Myers Weimer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 229. Ellen Moers, *Literary Women* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 174.
34. See Baym, *Novels*, 259–260.
35. Julia Ward Howe, "George Sand," *Atlantic Monthly* 8 (Nov. 1861): 514, 533. Justin McCarthy, "George Sand," *Galaxy* 9 (May 1870): 663, 661.
36. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, June 19, 1855, in *The Morgesons*, 318. LMA, "Odds and Ends," bMS Am 1817 (24), MH. CFW to ECS, Sept. 28, [1874?], NYCol-SC. Lazarus in Young, *Emma Lazarus*, 183, 192.
37. "Novels of the Season," *North American Review* 67 (Oct. 1848): 355–357.
38. Margaret J. Sweat, "Charlotte Brontë and the Brontë Novels," *North American Review* 85 (Oct. 1857): 315, 316.
39. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, June 2, 1857, quoted in Matlack, "Literary Career," 168. (Matlack incorrectly cites the year as 1855, but the biography was published in 1857.) LMA, June 1857, *Journals*, 85.
40. C. C. Everett, "Elizabeth Barrett Browning," *North American Review* 85 (Oct. 1857): 415, 418. Edward Eggleston, "George Eliot and the Novel," in *Essays from "The Critic"* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1882), 49–53.
41. "Mrs. Browning's New Poem," *Putnam's* 9 (Jan. 1857): 32. Kate Field, "Elizabeth Barrett Browning," *Atlantic Monthly* 8 (Sept. 1861): 375.
42. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Jan. 11, 1857, quoted in Sybil B. Weir, "Our Lady Correspondent: The Achievement of Elizabeth Drew Stoddard," *San José Studies* 10 (spring 1984): 87–88. ESP, *Chapters from a Life* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1895), 64, 65–66. Grimké, *Journals*, 201.
43. "George Eliot," *Spectator*; reprinted in *Appletons' Journal*, n.s., 10 (Mar. 1881): 258.
44. Dickinson, *Letters*, 700. CFW, "To George Eliot," 1. Lazarus in Young, *Emma Lazarus*, 121.
45. ESP, "George Eliot," *Harper's Weekly* 29 (Feb. 14, 1885): 103. See also ESP, "Last Words from George Eliot," *Harper's* 64 (Mar. 1882): 568–571; and ESP, "George Eliot's

Short Stories,” *Independent* 37 (Apr. 30, 1885): 1–2. ESP describes her lectures on Eliot in a letter to Eliot, Dec. 1, 1876, George Eliot and George Henry Lewes Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

46. Julia Ward Howe, “George Sand,” *Atlantic Monthly* 8 (Nov. 1861): 534.

47. Fuller quoted in R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, and J. F. Clarke, *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, vol. 1 (New York: Tribune Association, 1869), 297. Helen Gray Cone, “Woman in American Literature,” *Century Magazine* 40 (Oct. 1890): 924. This view of Fuller as a superior conversationalist but an incomplete artist was also promoted by Emerson, Channing, and Clarke in the *Memoirs*.

48. Molly Vaux, “‘But Maria, did you really write this?’: Preface as Cover Story in Lydia Maria Child’s *Hobomok*,” *Legacy* 17, no. 2 (2000): 131. Carolyn Karcher, *The First Woman in the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 102. Lydia Maria Child refers to Sand as her “twin sister” in a letter to Lucy and Mary Osgood, June 12, 1858, in *Lydia Maria Child: Selected Letters, 1817–1880*, ed. Milton Meltzer and Patricia G. Holland (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), 315.

49. Susan Phinney Conrad, *Perish the Thought: Intellectual Women in Romantic America, 1830–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 220.

50. Cone, “Woman in American Literature,” 926.

51. Hale quoted in Patricia Okker, *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 38. Nina Baym, “From Enlightenment to Victorian: Toward a Narrative of American Women Writers Writing History,” in *Feminism and American Literary History: Essays* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 107.

52. The term is Mary Kelley’s, in *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 181–184.

53. Ellen Olney Kirk, “Women Fiction Writers of America,” *The National Exposition Souvenir: What America Owes to Women* (Buffalo, NY: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893), 199. Cone, “Woman in American Literature,” 926. Elsewhere, I have stressed women writers’ exclusion from the magazine. See “‘What! Has she got into the “Atlantic”?’: Women Writers, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the Formation of the American Canon,” *American Studies* 39 (fall 1998): 5–36. But here I wish to show the ways in which it also offered, particularly in its early years, a unique opportunity for women writers.

54. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 1846–1906*, ed. Mary Thacher Higginson (1921; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 103, 107.

55. LMA mentioned Spofford’s stories in a letter to Alfred Whitman, May 11, [1862], *Selected Letters*, 77. Davis described meeting LMA in “Boston in the Sixties,” 447–448. LMA, May 1862, *Journals*, 109. ESP, “Stories That Stay,” *Century* 81 (Nov. 1910): 119–120.

56. ESP, “Unhappy Girls,” *Independent* 23 (July 27, 1871): 1.

57. See Linda W. Rosenzweig, “‘The Anchor of My Life’: Middle-Class American Mothers and College-Educated Daughters, 1880–1920,” *Journal of Social History* 25 (fall 1991): 5–25.

58. Joyce Vantassel-Baska, “The Talent Development Process in Women Writers: A Study of Charlotte Brontë and Virginia Woolf,” in *Remarkable Women: Perspectives on Female Talent Development*, ed. Karen D. Arnold, Kathleen Diane Noble, and Rena Faye

Subotnik (Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1996), 298; and R. Ochse, *Before the Gates of Excellence: The Determinants of Creative Genius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), have stimulated my thinking in devising this list.

59. Ochse, *Before the Gates*, 149.

60. Jewett quoted in Blanchard, *Sarah Orne Jewett*, 31. LMA, “Sketch of Childhood,” in *Life, Letters, and Journals*, ed. Ednah Cheney (1889; reprint, New York: Gramercy Books, 1995), 15. ESP, *Chapters*, 20.

61. EBS to ECS, Apr. 24, n.y., NYCol-SC. Hawthorne quoted in Joyce W. Warren, introduction to Fanny Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), xxxv. LMA, *Journals*, 55–56. Child, *Selected Letters*, 534.

62. ESP, *Chapters*, 103–104. The incident with the thimble is recorded in Elizabeth T. Spring, “Elizabeth Stuart Phelps,” in *Our Famous Women: An Authorized Record of the Lives and Deeds of Distinguished American Women of Our Times* (Hartford, CT: A. D. Worthington, 1888), 566. Phelps developed an interest in art before literature. ESP, *Chapters*, 19. Dickinson, *Letters*, 82. ESP, *Chapters*, 82.

63. LMA, June 1860, *Journals*, 99. EBS, “Literary Folk as They Came and Went with Ourselves,” *Saturday Evening Post* 172 (June 30, 1900): 1223. ESP, *Chapters*, 22, 79. LMA to Bronson Alcott, Nov. 29, 1856, in *Selected Letters*, 26.

64. Statistics cited by Sharon L. Dean in *Constance Fenimore Woolson: Homeward Bound* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 102. Susan Coultrap-McQuin, “Elizabeth Stuart Phelps: The Cultural Context of a Nineteenth-Century Professional Writer,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1979), 6–7. ESP, *Chapters*, 77. Cheryl B. Torsney, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: The Grief of Artistry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 164. Dean, *Woolson*, 104. Woolson’s letter to Samuel Mather, Jan. 1891, about Spaulding, quoted in Dean, *Woolson*, 104.

65. LMA, “Happy Women” (1868), in *Alternative Alcott*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 203, 206.

66. Kelley, *Private Woman*, 37.

67. One of Woolson’s first publications, “The Haunted Lake,” about her great-uncle, appeared under the name of “Constance Fenimore” in *Harper’s* 44 (Dec. 1871): 20–30. On Woolson’s intention to use “Constance Fenimore” as her nom de plume, see her letter to Mary L. Booth, Feb. 2, 1871, Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ. She capitalized on her Cooper connection throughout her life: “I am still sailing on my middle name — as I have done ever since I came abroad,” she wrote to Samuel Mather, Jan. 10, [1882?], WRHS. Her mother’s autobiographical writings appear in Clare Benedict, ed., *Voices out of the Past*, vol. 1 of *Five Generations* (London: Ellis, 1929), 119–221.

68. CFW to ECS, Sept. 28, 1874, in Laura Stedman and George M. Gould, *Life and Letters of Edmund Clarence Stedman*, vol. 1 (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1910), 522. In this letter she writes of her reading the *Atlantic* “ten years ago.” Clara Benedict to Miss Mary Harris, n.d., in Benedict, *Voices out of the Past*, 292. CFW to Mrs. Lawson Carter, 1883, in Benedict, 254. Joan Myers Weimer, in her introduction to *Women Artists, Women Exiles*, xi–xii, discusses her mother’s literary legacy to her and refers specifically to Woolson’s desire to publish her mother’s writings and Woolson’s comments that her mother’s literary abilities in some ways exceeded her own.

69. CFW to ECS, July 8, [1877], Oct. 1, [1876], NYCol-SC.

70. CFW to Paul Hamilton Hayne, May 1, 1875, in Jay B. Hubbell, ed., “Some New Letters of Constance Fenimore Woolson,” *New England Quarterly* 14 (Dec. 1941): 717.

CFW to Mrs. Washburn, n.d., in Clare Benedict, ed., *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, vol. 2 of *Five Generations* (London: Ellis, 1932), 20. CFW to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Feb. 16, [1880], in Hubbell, “Some New Letters,” 734. CFW to Samuel Mather, Feb. 27, [1887?], WRHS.

71. ESP, *Chapters*, 12.

72. Austin Phelps, “Memorial,” in *The Last Leaf from Sunny Side*, by H. Trusta [Elizabeth Stuart Phelps] (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1853), 36, 37–38, 104.

73. Austin Phelps, “Memorial,” 65. ESP, *Chapters*, 12, 13.

74. ESP, *Chapters*, 15.

75. ESP, *Chapters*, 82, 101–103, 115.

76. LMA, *Journals*, 110. Bronson Alcott explicated his ideas on genius in the introduction to his *Conversations with Children on the Gospels*, vol. 1 (Boston: James Munroe, 1836); quotes on xxvii, xviii.

77. Account of Bronson’s gift on her fourteenth birthday in Cynthia H. Barton, *Transcendental Wife: The Life of Abigail May Alcott* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996), 128. Quote about gaining fame in Madelon Bedell, *The Alcotts: Biography of a Family* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1980), 245. Bronson Alcott to LMA, *The Letters of A. Bronson Alcott*, ed. Richard L. Herrstadt (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1969), 377, 379.

78. Barton, *Transcendental Wife*, 46. Barton describes the busts arrayed in Bronson’s Temple School as those of Milton, Shakespeare, Plato, and others, 40; those in his study likely were similar.

79. In *Alcott Memoirs* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1915), Frederick L. H. Willis, who was a kind of “son” in the family for about ten years, describes at length Bronson Alcott’s “impracticability” and the burden it placed on his wife. LMA, “Transcendental Wild Oats” (1873), in *Alternative Alcott*, 375. Emerson’s journal, 1842, in *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*, 8:213. Bronson often felt that he could only realize his full spiritual potential in the absence of his wife and daughters.

80. LMA quoted in Willis, *Alcott Memoirs*, 41. Abigail Alcott quoted in Barton, *Transcendental Wife*, 92.

81. Abigail Alcott quoted in Barton, *Transcendental Wife*, 156. LMA, *Journals*, 59.

82. Charles Strickland, *Victorian Domesticity: Families in the Life and Art of Louisa May Alcott* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 43. Bedell, *The Alcotts*, 239.

83. LMA, “To Mother,” in Cheney, *Life*, 11.

84. Cheney, *Life*, 8. Abigail Alcott’s poem and “Lift up your soul” quoted in Bedell, *The Alcotts*, 239. Abigail Alcott, diary, June 14, 1863, and Oct. 18, 1864, bMS Am 1130.14 (2), MH. Dedication of *Moods* in LMA, Oct. 1864, *Journals*, 133. Letter to her mother about *Flower Fables* in Cheney, *Life*, 52.

85. Cheney, *Life*, 10.

86. LMA, Mar. 1846, *Journals*, 59. Dickinson quoted in Cheryl Walker, *The Nightingale’s Burden: Women Poets and American Culture before 1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 103.

87. LMA to the *Springfield Republican*, May 4, 1869, in *Selected Letters*, 127. LMA to Louisa Caroline Greenwood Bond, Sept. 17, 1860, in *Selected Letters*, 60–61.

88. LMA, Nov. 1862, *Journals*, 110. LMA to Abigail Alcott, Dec. 25, 1854, in *Selected Letters*, 11. LMA to Hannah Stevenson, *Massachusetts Historical Society Miscellany*, no. 65 (fall 1996): 4.

89. EBS, 1901 Preface, *The Morgesons*, 259.

90. RHS, *Recollections, Personal and Literary* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1903), 108. EBS to Lillian Whiting, June 20, n.y., BPL.
91. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Jan. 29, 1855, reprinted in *The Morgesons*, 315. For Stoddard's fiction in which the sea plays such a role, see "The Prescription," *Harper's* 28 (May 1864): 794–800; and *The Morgesons*.
92. RHS, *Recollections*, 110. EBS to ECS, Feb. 3, n.y., NYCol-SC. EBS to Lillian Whiting, June 20, n.y., BPL. See also EBS to ECS, Apr. 24, n.y., NYCol-SC.
93. Matlack, "Literary Career," 40–41. EBS to Margaret Sweat, July 20, 1852, PSt-Sh.
94. EBS to Margaret Sweat, n.d., PSt-Sh. (I believe this is Stoddard's first letter to Sweat, probably written in the fall of 1851, as it begins with "I remember you well.") EBS to Margaret Sweat, July 11, [1852], May 4, [1852], PSt-Sh.
95. EBS to Margaret Sweat, Oct. 22, [1852], Dec. 23, [1852], Feb. 10, [1853], PSt-Sh.
96. Sandra Zagarell, in "Legacy Profile: Elizabeth Drew Barstow Stoddard," *Legacy* 8, no. 1 (1991): 39–49, discusses Stoddard's marriage and "crisis of identity." EBS, "Tuberoses," *Harper's* 26 (Jan. 1863): 191–197. EBS to Margaret Sweat, May 4, [1853], Apr. 14, [1853], May 12, [1853], Sept. 14, [1853], PSt-Sh. I have based the assumption that she did not publish anything for the first two years of her marriage on the bibliography assembled by Matlack, which he admits is incomplete. She may have published something anonymously or pseudonymously that he was unable to trace.
97. RHS, *Recollections*, 114. EBS to Margaret Sweat, Aug. 31, [1854], Aug. 24, [1853 or 1854], PSt-Sh.
98. EBS, 1901 Preface, *The Morgesons*, 259.
99. RHS, *Recollections*, 50. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Jan. 20, 1856; quoted in *The Morgesons*, 323.
100. EBS, "The Poet's Secret," *Harper's* 20 (Jan. 1860): 194.
101. EBS to ECS, Nov. 3, n.y., NYCol-SC. EBS to Margaret Sweat, Mar. 20, [1854], PSt-Sh. EBS to William Dean Howells, Nov. 24, n.y., bMS AM 1784 (460), MH.
102. EBS to ECS, Oct. 25, n.y., NYCol-SC. The sexist nature of RHS's literary circle and other factors that contributed to EBS's increasing self-doubt will be explored more fully in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER TWO: "Prov[ing] Avis in the Wrong"

1. ESP, "What Shall They Do?" *Harper's* 35 (Sept. 1867): 519. LMA, "Happy Women" (1868), in *Alternative Alcott*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 205.
2. Lazarus in Bette Roth Young, *Emma Lazarus in Her World: Life and Letters* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 92.
3. LMA to Mrs. A. D. Moshier, Apr. 6, [1878], in *The Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 228.
4. Marriage and divorce rates in Catherine Clinton and Christine Lunardini, *The Columbia Guide to American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 96, 129. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, "Declaration of Sentiments" (1848), in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*, ed. Paul Lauter, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 2043.
5. See Clinton and Lunardini, *Columbia Guide*, 102–107. Sarah Grimké, "Marriage"

(unpublished essay), in Gerda Lerner, ed., *The Female Experience: An American Documentary* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1977), 91, 92, 94.

6. Catherine Beecher cited in Glenna Matthews, *“Just a Housewife”: The Rise and Fall of Domesticity in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 31. For first-person accounts of women’s daily tasks, see Abby Diaz, “A Domestic Problem” (1875), quoted in Matthews, 98–99; “Cleo Dora,” letter to the editor, *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (1846), in Lerner, *Female Experience*, 119–120; and Lydia Maria Child, diary (1864), in Lerner, 124–146. ESP, “What Shall They Do?” 519.

7. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1840; reprint, New York: Mentor, 1984), 235.

8. Joanne Dobson, “‘The Invisible Lady’: Emily Dickinson and Conventions of the Female Self,” *Legacy* 3, no. 1 (spring 1986): 41–55.

9. Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 236.

10. Grimké, “Marriage,” 94.

11. Stephen Mintz, *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 123.

12. LMA to Thomas Niles, July 20, 1880, in *Selected Letters*, 249.

13. Lee Virginia Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty, A Better Husband: Single Women in America, The Generations of 1780–1840* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 134; see also all of chap. 7. While Chambers-Schiller discusses primarily sibling relationships, her remarks can be applied to relationships between women who were not sisters. ESP’s “Since I Died” and CFW’s “Miss Grief” and “Felipa” are included in the anthology *Two Friends and Other Nineteenth-Century Lesbian Stories by American Women*, ed. Susan Koppelman (New York: Meridian, 1994). For discussions of lesbian themes in their fiction, see Josephine Donovan, *New England Local Color Literature: A Women’s Tradition* (New York: Ungar, 1983), 90; Koppelman’s introduction to *Two Friends*; and Kris Comment, “The Lesbian ‘Impossibilities’ of Miss Grief’s ‘Armor,’” in *Constance Fenimore Woolson’s Nineteenth Century: Essays*, ed. Victoria Brehm (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 207–223.

14. LMA quoted in Louise Chandler Moulton, “Louisa May Alcott,” in *Our Famous Women: An Authorized Record of the Lives and Deeds of Distinguished American Women of Our Times* (Hartford, CT: A. D. Worthington, 1884), 49. For a recent survey of the critical views on Dickinson’s relationship with Susan, and a strong argument in favor of viewing it as lesbian, see Kristin M. Comment, “Dickinson’s Bawdy: Shakespeare and Sexual Symbolism in Emily Dickinson’s Writing to Susan Dickinson,” *Legacy* 18, no. 2 (2001): 167–181.

15. On ESP’s relationship with Annie Fields, see Susan Coultrap-McQuin, “Elizabeth Stuart Phelps: The Cultural Context of a Nineteenth-Century Professional Writer,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1979), 148; and ESP’s correspondence with Annie Fields at the Huntington Library, Department of Manuscripts, San Marino, CA. On ESP’s friendship with Mary Briggs Harris, see Carol Farley Kessler, *Elizabeth Stuart Phelps* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), 64, 73. CFW, “Contributors’ Club,” *Atlantic Monthly* 42 (Oct. 1878): 503. CFW’s friendship with Arabella Carter is documented in letters; see Clare Benedict, ed., *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, vol. 2 of *Five Generations* (London: Ellis, 1932), 17–19. For Stoddard’s relationship with Sweat, see her letters to Sweat in PSt-Sh.

16. CFW to Arabella Carter (later Mrs. Washburn), n.d., in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 18, 19.

17. CFW to Flora Payne, n.d., in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 16–17. Evidence in the letter indicates that she is in her teens or twenties. CFW to Samuel Mather, Feb. 8, 1892, WRHS.

18. CFW, notebooks, n.d., in Benedict, 111–112. CFW to Miss Emily Vernon Clark, n.d., in Benedict, 27–29.

19. CFW to Samuel Mather, Jan. 21, 1891; quoted in Rayburn Moore, *Constance F. Woolson* (New Haven, CT: Twayne, 1963), 154. To Samuel Mather she wrote, “the only importance I have is that of an aunt,” Feb. 8, 1892, WRHS. CFW, notebooks, n.d., in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 124.

20. See for example, “Miss Elisabetha,” *Appletons’ Journal* 13 (Mar. 13, 1875): 327–334; “In Sloane Street,” *Harper’s Bazar* 25 (June 11, 1892): 473–478; “Ballast Island,” *Appletons’ Journal* 9 (June 28, 1873): 833–839; and “‘Miss Grief’” (1880), in *Women Artists, Women Exiles: “Miss Grief” and Other Stories*, ed. Joan Myers Weimer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 248–269.

21. Sharon L. Dean, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: Homeward Bound* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 109, and all of chap. 6.

22. LMA to Annie Maria Lawrence, Feb. 3, 1865, in *Selected Letters*, 107. Ednah D. Cheney discusses LMA’s marriage offer in *Life, Letters, and Journals* (1889; reprint, New York: Gramercy Books, 1995), 64.

23. LMA to Elizabeth Powell, Mar. 20, [1869], in *Selected Letters*, 125. LMA to Samuel Joseph May, Jan. 22, [1869], in *Selected Letters*, 121–122.

24. LMA, “Happy Women,” 203, 205.

25. ESP, “What Shall They Do?” 522. ESP, *The Silent Partner* (1871; reprint, New York: Feminist Press, 1983), 260, 291, 302.

26. ESP, “The True Woman,” *Independent* 23 (Oct. 12, 1871): 1; reprinted in ESP, *The Story of Avis*, ed. Carol Farley Kessler (1877; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 272.

27. ESP to John Greenleaf Whittier, May 14, 1882, Barrett–Ward Collection, UVA. ESP, *Dr. Zay* (1882; reprint, New York: Feminist Press, 1987). For another woman writer’s negative response to the happy ending of this novel, see Lucy Larcom to ESP, Oct. 20, 1882, Benjamin Allen Miller Collection, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, MA.

28. ESP to Annie Fields, Nov. 18, 1881, Huntington Library, Department of Manuscripts, San Marino, CA. ESP, “George Eliot,” *Harper’s Weekly* 29 (Feb. 14, 1885): 103.

29. Kessler, *Elizabeth Stuart Phelps*, 78–79. Kessler points to an article in which Phelps had written approvingly of the marriages of de Staël, Brontë, Fuller, and Eliot to younger men (“The Empty Column,” *Independent* 36 [Sept. 4, 1884]). ESP, *Chapters from a Life* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1895), 243.

30. ESP to Harriet Prescott Spofford, Feb. 2, 1908, Miscellaneous Manuscripts “W,” American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

31. See EBS, “My Own Story,” *Atlantic Monthly* 5 (May 1860): 526–547; EBS, “The Prescription,” *Harper’s* 28 (May 1864): 794–800; and EBS, “Tuberoses,” *Harper’s* 26 (Jan. 1863): 191–197.

32. LMA, 1873, Mar. 1877, *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 189, 204. ESP to George Eliot, Dec. 1, 1876, George Eliot and George Henry Lewes Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.

33. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, [Oct. 8, 1854], in *The Morgesons and Other Writings, Published and Unpublished*, ed. Lawrence Buell and Sandra Zagarell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 313–314. EBS to ECS, Aug. 25, [1861], NYCol-SC. EBS to RHS, n.d. [James Matlack, in “The Literary Career of Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1967), dates the letter as late Nov. or early Dec. 1861], Hitchcock Collection, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Butler Library, New York, NY.

34. EBS, “Nameless Pain,” in *Poems* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1895), 43. EBS to ECS, Jan. 24, 1862, NYCol-SC.

35. Matlack, “Literary Career,” 564.

36. EBS, Journal, Apr. 22, 23, 25, 26, and May 8, 1866, in *The Morgesons*, 348, 349, 350–351.

37. EBS, Journal, May 18, 29, June 1, 17, 25, July 6, Sept. 5, Oct. 7, 1866, in *The Morgesons*, 352, 353, 354, 355, 357, 358.

38. See Matlack’s discussion of *Lolly Dink’s Doings*, in “Literary Career,” 505–506.

39. Linda Huf, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman: The Writer as Heroine in American Literature* (New York: Ungar, 1983), 32. Fanny Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, ed. Joyce W. Warren (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 174 (italics in original), 182. Augusta Jane Evans, *St. Elmo* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992), 274, 275, 276, 365.

40. Madame de Staël, *Corinne, or Italy*, trans. Avriel H. Goldberger (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 46. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

41. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh* (1856), in *The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, Cambridge ed., ed. Ruth M. Adams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), 1.304–305. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

42. EBS, “Collected by a Valetudinarian,” in *The Morgesons*, 285, 289. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

43. “Explanatory Notes,” in the back of *Corinne*, 431. Madelyn Gutwirth points out, in “*Corinne* and *Consuelo* as Fantasies of Immanence,” *George Sand Studies* 8, nos. 1–2 (1986–1987): 21–27, that the woman artist’s rival in Sand’s *Consuelo* is named Corilla, a name that Gutwirth claims is “the original (that is, the Pindaric) name of Staël’s protagonist” (22).

44. For discussions of bird imagery in *Jane Eyre* and other women’s works, see Ellen Moers, *Literary Women* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 245–251; and Cheryl Walker, *The Nightingale’s Burden: Women Poets and American Culture before 1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

45. Matlack, in “Literary Career,” sees the story as a “compensatory fable” (479). Ellen Weinauer, “Alternative Economies: Authorship and Ownership in Elizabeth Stoddard’s ‘Collected by a Valetudinarian,’” *Studies in American Fiction* 25, no. 2 (1997): 167–182, calls it “a consoling fiction” (178). Lisa Radinsky, in “Negotiating Models of Authorship: Elizabeth Stoddard’s Conflicts and Her Story of Complaint,” in Brehm, *Constance Fenimore Woolson’s Nineteenth Century*, reads it as “a combination of wish fulfillment or escapist fantasy and carefully veiled complaint” (45).

46. George Eliot, “Armgarth,” *Atlantic Monthly* 28 (July 1871): 94–105. This poem was later published in Eliot’s collection *The Legend of Jubal* (1874). Quotes on 96, 98, 99, 100.

47. Eliot, “Armgarth,” 100, 102, 104, 105.

48. H. Trusta [Elizabeth Stuart Phelps], “The Husband of a Blue,” in *The Tell-Tale; or,*

Home Secrets Told by Old Travellers (Boston: Phillips, Samson, 1853), 99. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

49. I am grateful to Catherine Loomis for alerting me to the significance of Mrs. Graves's name.

50. H. Trusta [Elizabeth Stuart Phelps], *The Angel over the Right Shoulder* (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1852, 1868); excerpt reprinted in Judith Fetterley, ed., *Provisions: A Reader from Nineteenth-Century American Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 209–215; quote on 215.

51. ESP, *Avis*, 23. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

52. In her notes to the novel, Kessler discusses the symbol of the Sphinx, which in its oldest forms had a female face and bird's wings; ESP, *Avis*, 258 n. 9.

53. Karen Tracey, *Plots and Proposals: American Women's Fiction, 1850–1890* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 159.

54. Jack H. Wilson, "Competing Narratives in Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's *The Story of Avis*," *American Literary Realism, 1870–1910* 26, no. 1 (1993): 73.

55. Carol Farley Kessler, "A Literary Legacy: Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Mother and Daughter," *Frontiers* 5 (fall 1980): 31.

56. Bayard Taylor, a friend of the Stoddards, wrote to his wife that "She [EBS] told me that if Wilson [her brother] got a certain appointment, she would go with him to Europe; Wilson thought it necessary for her development!" Quoted in Matlack, "Literary Career," 409.

57. ESP to Annie Fields, June 19, 1882, Huntington Library, Department of Manuscripts, San Marino, CA.

58. James Buzard, "A Continent of Pictures: Reflections on the 'Europe' of Nineteenth-Century Tourists," *PMLA* 108 (Jan. 1993): 32.

59. Leonardo Buonomo, *Backward Glances: Exploring Italy, Reinterpreting America (1831–1866)* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1996), 30. Harriet Hosmer to Miss C., Apr. 22, 1853, in *Harriet Hosmer: Letters and Memories*, ed. Cornelia Carr (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1913), 27. Lydia Maria Child, "Miss Harriet Hosmer," *Living Age* 56 (Mar. 13, 1858): 697. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun, or The Romance of Monte Beni* (1860; reprint, New York: Signet, 1961), 47.

60. Mary Suzanne Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), 2.

61. Leo Hamalian, in introduction to *Ladies on the Loose: Women Travellers of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1981), x.

62. LMA, July and Aug. 1865, *Journals*, 14.

63. For evidence that Louisa and May shared the family responsibilities, see LMA to Lukens Sisters, Dec. 18., n.y., BPL, where Alcott writes that she "cannot leave home to go any where till May comes in April to mount guard & let[s] me have a vacation." LMA to Anna Alcott Pratt [after Dec. 17, 1860], in *Selected Letters*, 62. Caroline Ticknor, *May Alcott: A Memoir* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1928), 3.

64. Quoted in Ticknor, *May Alcott*, 74, 83.

65. LMA, *Aunt Jo's Scrap-Bag. Shawl-Straps* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1872), vi, 1.

66. LMA, *Shawl-Straps*, 79, 50, 138–139, 119, 187.

67. LMA, *Shawl-Straps*, 224, 225.

68. Quoted in Ticknor, *May Alcott*, 144–145.

69. Quoted in Ticknor, *May Alcott*, 108–109.
70. May Alcott, *An Artist's Holiday*, chap. 3, “An English Outing/How We Saw the Shah,” chap. 8, “Playing Vagabond,” and “London Larks,” bMS Am 1817 (54), MH. May did publish, under the name Abigail May Alcott Nieriker, *Studying Art Abroad and How to Do It Cheaply* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1879). It is primarily a how-to guide.
71. May quoted in Ticknor, *May Alcott*, 171.
72. Quoted in Ticknor, *May Alcott*, 263–264. May Nieriker to Alcott family, dated “Mendon/78,” “Letters home, 1878–1879,” bMS Am 1130.14 (17), MH.
73. LMA, Apr. and May 1878, *Journals*, 209, 210. In “Notes and Memoranda” for 1878 in her *Journals*, Alcott recorded, “Spent a month in Boston writing about May’s artist life” (211).
74. Natania Rosenfeld, “Artists and Daughters in Louisa May Alcott’s *Diana and Persis*,” *New England Quarterly* 64 (Mar. 1991): 17.
75. LMA, *Diana and Persis* (1879), in *Alternative Alcott*, 392. Subsequent page references will be made in the text. Showalter, in her introduction to *Alternative Alcott*, explores the connections between Diana and Harriet Hosmer (xli).
76. Rosenfeld, “Artists and Daughters,” 13.
77. Puck was also the name of a famous sculpture by Harriet Hosmer.
78. Strickland, *Victorian Domesticity*, 117.
79. The open ending has received different interpretations. See Strickland, *Victorian Domesticity*, 81; Sarah Elbert, *A Hunger for Home: Louisa May Alcott's Place in American Culture* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 254; and Showalter, introduction to *Alternative Alcott*, xlii.
80. LMA to Mrs. [Clementia] Taylor, Nov. 2, [1880], uncat MS Vault 764, Betsy Beinecke Shirley Collection of American Children’s Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
81. LMA to Mary Mapes Dodge, May 29 [1880], in *Selected Letters*, 248. LMA to Mary Preston Stearns, Feb. 21, 1881, in *Selected Letters*, 254.
82. Quoted in Ticknor, *May Alcott*, 140–141.
83. Lucy H. Hooper, “American Women Abroad,” *Galaxy* 21 (June 1876): 820. Albert Rhodes, “Shall the American Girl Be Chaperoned?” *Galaxy* 24 (Oct. 1877): 457.
84. [John Hay], Contributors’ Club, *Atlantic Monthly* 43 (Mar. 1879): 399–400. CFW to John Hay, Mar. 14, 1879; quoted in Sara Foose Parrott, “Expatriates and Professionals: The Careers in Italy of Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and Artists” (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1988), 149.
85. Hooper, “American Women Abroad,” 819, 820.
86. CFW to ECS, July 23, [1876], NYC01-SC.
87. CFW, “A Florentine Experiment,” *Atlantic Monthly* 46 (Oct. 1880): 502–530; “The Roman May, and a Walk,” *Christian Union* 24 (July 26, 1881): 76–77; and “In Venice,” *Atlantic Monthly* 49 (Apr. 1882): 488–505.
88. CFW to Henry James, May 7, [1873], in Leon Edel, ed., *The Letters of Henry James* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974–80), 3:555.
89. CFW to Mary Mapes Dodge, Sept. 13, n.y., Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ. CFW to Katherine Loring, Oct. 9, 1887, Beverly Historical Society, Beverly, MA. CFW to John Hay, July 30, [1886], in Alice Hall Petry, “‘Always Your Attached Friend’: The Un-

published Letters of Constance Fenimore Woolson to John and Clara Hay,” *Books at Brown* 29–30 (1982–83): 87. CFW to Katherine Loring, Oct. 9, 1887, Beverly Historical Society, Beverly, MA.

90. CFW to Mrs. Crosswell, Apr. or May 1880, in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 184. CFW to Katherine Mather, Jan. 16, 1881, WRHS. CFW to Henry James, May 7, [1883], in Edel, *Henry James Letters*, 550.

91. CFW to ECS, Apr. 30, [1883], NYCol-SC. CFW, “In Sloane Street,” *Harper’s Bazar* 25 (June 11, 1892): 473–478. CFW, “A Florentine Experiment.”

92. CFW, “‘Miss Grief,’” in *Women Artists*, 248–269. CFW, “The Street of the Hyacinth,” in *Women Artists*, 209.

93. Cheryl B. Torsney, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: The Grief of Artistry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 106–107. CFW, “At the Château of Corinne,” in *Women Artists*, 222. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

94. Torsney, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 107. Joan Weimer translates the lyrics as “Time passes, times passes, my lady.” See “Explanatory Notes,” *Women Artists*, 289 n. 8.

CHAPTER THREE: “The Crown and the Thorn of Gifted Life”

1. Rebecca Harding Davis, “Boston in the Sixties” (1904); reprinted in *A Rebecca Harding Davis Reader: “Life in the Iron-Mills,” Selected Fiction, and Essays*, ed. Jean Pfaelzer (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), 447.

2. ESP, “A Plea for Immortality,” *Atlantic Monthly* 45 (Feb. 1880): 278, 279.

3. ESP, “Plea,” 279.

4. Nina Baym, *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers: Responses to Fiction in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 257.

5. Duff and Lombroso quoted in Christine Battersby, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 4, 79. Kant is paraphrased and quoted in Battersby, 77. ESP, *The Story of Avis*, ed. Carol Farley Kessler (1877; reprint, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 33.

6. Deborah Barker, *Aesthetics and Gender in American Literature: Portraits of the Woman Artist* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2000), 38. Madame de Staël, *Corinne, or Italy*, trans. Avriël H. Goldberger (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 46. Justin McCarthy, “George Sand,” *Galaxy* 9 (May 1870): 663.

7. Battersby, *Gender and Genius*, 90. In America, such beliefs were popularized by Dr. Edward H. Clarke, in his *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls* (1873); see George Cotkin, *Reluctant Modernism: American Thought and Culture, 1880–1890* (New York: Twayne, 1992), 77–79.

8. C. C. Everett, “Elizabeth Barrett Browning,” *North American Review* 85 (Oct. 1857): 416–417. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, *Aurora Leigh* (1856), in *The Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, Cambridge ed., ed. Ruth M. Adams (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), 2:183–189; 8.605–610.

9. Quote from *North British Review* in Elizabeth K. Helsinger, Robin Lauterbach Sheets, and William Veeder, *The Woman Question: Society and Literature in Britain and America, 1837–1883*, vol. 3, *Literary Issues* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 53. CFW, “At the Château of Corinne,” in *Women Artists, Women Exiles: “Miss Grief” and Other Stories by Constance Fenimore Woolson*, ed. Joan Myers Weimer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 233.

10. Barker, *Aesthetics and Gender*, 17. De Staël, *Corinne*, 322. ESP, *Avis*, 59.
11. Susan Wolfson, "Gendering the Soul," in *Romantic Women Writers: Voices and Countervoices*, ed. Paula R. Feldman and Theresa M. Kelley (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1995), 34. On Enlightenment theories of gender, see Nina Baym, "From Enlightenment to Victorian: Toward a Narrative of American Writers Writing History," in *Feminism and American Literary History: Essays* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 105–120.
12. Baym, "From Enlightenment to Victorian," 117. Quotes from Hale in Baym, 119, and Patricia Okker, *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 105.
13. Sarah E. Henshaw, "Are We Inferior?" *Galaxy* 7 (Jan. 1869): 127, 129.
14. Charlotte Forten Grimké, *The Journals of Charlotte Forten Grimké*, ed. Brenda Stevenson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 261.
15. S. E. Wallace, "Another Weak-Minded Woman. A Confession," *Harper's* 35 (Nov. 1867): 793–796.
16. Grimké, *Journals*, 190. Jewett quoted in Paula Blanchard, *Sarah Orne Jewett: Her World and Her Work* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1994), 77. Blanchard argues that the Harvard professor Theophilus Parsons, a mentor to Jewett, "absolved her from her guilt" by encouraging her, in his words, to "be the instrument of God" (77).
17. Rebecca Harding Davis, "Women in Literature" (1891); reprinted in *A Rebecca Harding Davis Reader*, 402, 404.
18. Theophilus Parsons, "Life and Writings of Madame de Staël," *North American Review* 11 (July 1820): 139–140. Everett, "Elizabeth Barrett Browning," 419. McCarthy, "George Sand," 668. "The Genius of George Eliot," *Southern Review* 13 (July 1873): 206.
19. See Lannom Smith, "Howells and the Battle of Words over 'Genius,'" *American Literary Realism, 1870–1910* 13 (spring 1980): 101–107.
20. See Flavia Alaya, "Victorian Science and the 'Genius' of Woman," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38 (1977): 261–280.
21. EBS to Lillian Whiting, June 25, n.y., BPL. EBS, Journal, Apr. 22, 1866, in *The Morgesons and Other Writings, Published and Unpublished*, ed. Lawrence Buell and Sandra Zagarell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 348. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, May 19, 1855, in *The Morgesons*, 317.
22. EBS, "The Chimneys," *Harper's* (Nov. 1865); reprinted in *Legacy* 7 (fall 1990): 32. EBS, "A Literary Whim," *Appletons' Journal* 6 (Oct. 4, 1871): 441.
23. EBS to Lillian Whiting, Sept. 15, n.y., Oct. 6, n.y., BPL. EBS to ECS, Aug. 28, 1891, NYCol-SC.
24. EBS to Margaret Sweat, July 11, [1852], PSt-Sh.
25. EBS to ECS, n.d., NYCol-SC.
26. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 22, 1854, in *The Morgesons*, 314. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Nov. 18, 1855, quoted in James Matlack, "The Literary Career of Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1967), 156.
27. Although Matlack does not include this publication in his bibliography of Stoddard's works in "Literary Career," I cautiously attribute the anonymous article, "Woman and Art," *Aldine Press* 3 (Jan. 1870): 3–4, to Stoddard based on the letter she wrote to Whitelaw Reid, n.d. (Monday evening), Reid Family Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C., in which she discusses an article on the subject that her husband has counseled her to publish anonymously. It is highly possible that after Reid,

editor of the *New York Tribune*, rejected the article, she published it instead in the *Aldine*, where she later published many articles and stories, many of them under pseudonyms, in 1872–1873, while her husband was the editor.

28. Elizabeth Leonard [EBS], “Woman in Art. — Rosa Bonheur,” *Aldine* 5 (July 1872): 145.

29. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Dec. 3, 1855, and Aug. 3, 1856, in *The Morgesons*, 322, 325–326.

30. EBS, “Me and My Son,” *Harper’s* 41 (July 1870): 213. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

31. EBS, “Collected by a Valetudinarian,” in *The Morgesons*, 296. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

32. Everett, “Aurora Leigh,” 416. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature* (1836), in *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Alfred R. Ferguson, Joseph Slater, Douglas Emory Wilson, et al., 5 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971–), 1:9, 10.

33. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, June 2, 1855, in *The Morgesons*, 317.

34. CFW, “Miss Elisabetha,” in *Women Artists, Women Exiles*. CFW, *East Angels* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1886), 100.

35. CFW to ECS, July 23, [1876], NYCol-SC. Sharon L. Dean, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: Homeward Bound* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 174. CFW to Katherine Loring, Sept. 19, [1890?], Beverly Historical Society, Beverly, MA. CFW’s marginalia quoted in Clare Benedict, ed., *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, vol. 2 of *Five Generations* (London: Ellis, 1932), 93.

36. CFW to Mrs. Washburn, n.d., in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 20.

37. On her fear of entering the public sphere as a writer, see CFW to Mrs. Washburn, n.d., in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 20. CFW to Henry James, Feb. 12, [1882], in *The Letters of Henry James*, ed. Leon Edel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974–80), 3:532.

38. Bette Roth Young, *Emma Lazarus in Her World: Life and Letters* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 28. Emma Lazarus, “Echoes,” in Young, 28. Paula Bennett, “‘The Descent of the Angel’: Interrogating Domestic Ideology in American Women’s Poetry, 1858–1890,” *American Literary History* 7 (1997): 596.

39. CFW, Notebooks, in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 107–108. This story was never completed.

40. CFW, Notebooks, in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 96, 99.

41. CFW to Mrs. Washburn, n.d. (two different letters), in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 21–22, 20.

42. CFW to Paul Hamilton Hayne, “All Saints Day,” [1875], Jan. 16, 1876, in Jay B. Hubbell, ed., “Some New Letters of Constance Fenimore Woolson,” *New England Quarterly* 14 (Dec. 1941): 725, 729.

43. For examples as well as surveys of other such criticism, see Patricia E. Johnson, “The Gendered Politics of the Gaze: Henry James and George Eliot,” *Mosaic* 30, no. 1 (1997): 39–54; and Eva Gold and Thomas H. Fick, “A ‘masterpiece’ of ‘the educated eye’: Convention, Gaze, and Gender in Spofford’s ‘Her Story,’” *Studies in Short Fiction* 30 (1993): 511–523.

44. ESP, *Avis*, 38, 39, 54.

45. CFW, “The Street of the Hyacinth” (1882), in *Women Artists, Women Exiles*, 183. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

46. In “The Gendered Politics of the Gaze,” Johnson examines *Middlemarch* and James’s *Portrait of a Lady*, which also may have influenced Woolson in writing “Street,” although I wish to highlight the influence of “Daisy Miller.”

47. Most of these similarities are pointed out by Cheryl B. Torsney, in *Constance Fenimore Woolson: The Grief of Artistry* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 108–109, although she does not analyze the similarities in perspective.

48. Barker, *Aesthetics and Gender*, 37.

49. Torsney, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: The Grief of Artistry*, 115.

50. George Eliot, *Middlemarch* (1872; reprint, New York: Penguin, 1994), 220, 206. Johnson, “Gendered Politics,” 46, 48.

51. Johnson, “Gendered Politics,” 53.

52. Torsney, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: The Grief of Artistry*, 124.

53. ESP, *Chapters from a Life* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1895), 82, 103.

54. ESP, *Chapters*, 94–95, 76–77, 66, 110. ESP to John Greenleaf Whittier, Feb. 27, 1879, bMS Am 1844 (325), MH.

55. Veronica Bassil, “The Artist at Home: The Domestication of Louisa May Alcott,” *Studies in American Fiction* 15 (autumn 1987): 187. Richard H. Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 88–89.

56. LMA, Feb. 1861, Feb. 1862, *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 103–104, 108. LMA, *Little Women* (1868; reprint, New York: Signet, 1983), 246. Susan Naomi Bernstein, “Writing and *Little Women*: Alcott’s Rhetoric of Subversion,” *ATQ*, n.s., 7 (Mar. 1993): 35.

57. LMA, Nov. 1858, *Journals*, 92.

58. Abigail Alcott, diary, Dec. 25, 1854, bMS Am 1130.14 (2), MH. The published version of the letter can be found in LMA, *Life, Letters, and Journals*, ed. Ednah D. Cheney (1889; reprint, New York: Gramercy Books, 1995), 51–52. Both versions of the letter are also included in *The Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), where the editors also attribute the revision of Abigail’s diary to Louisa (11–12).

59. LMA, Aug. 1860, *Journals*, 99. LMA to Louisa Caroline Greenwood Bond, Sept. 17, [1860], in *Selected Letters*, 61. LMA to James Redpath, [Feb. ? 1864?], in *Selected Letters*, 103.

60. Jewett quoted in Blanchard, *Sarah Orne Jewett*, 66.

61. LMA, “A Modern Cinderella,” *Atlantic Monthly* 6 (Oct. 1860): 427, 440.

62. Howard M. Ticknor to LMA, Mar. 13, 1860, bMS Am 800.2 (3), MH. Charles Nordhoff, “Elkanah Brewster’s Temptation,” *Atlantic Monthly* 4 (Dec. 1859): 710–721; quote on 721.

63. LMA, Sept. 1860, *Journals*, 100.

64. LMA to Maggie Lukens, Feb. 5, [1884], in *Selected Letters*, 277. LMA, “The Freak of a Genius” (1866), in *Freaks of Genius: Unknown Thrillers of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Daniel Shealy (New York: Greenwood Press, 1994), 122. LMA, Feb. 1864, *Journals*, 128.

65. LMA, “Psyche’s Art” (1868), in *Alternative Alcott*, ed. Elaine Showalter (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 207. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

66. LMA, “Diana and Persis” (1879), in *Alternative Alcott*, 391.

67. CFW to ECS, July 23, [1876], NYCOL-SC. Fanny Fern, *Ruth Hall and Other Writings*, ed. Joyce W. Warren (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 175. Torsney, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: The Grief of Artistry*.

68. Cheryl Walker, *The Nightingale's Burden: Women Poets and American Culture before 1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 88.

69. ESP, "The Rejected Manuscript," *Harper's* 86 (Jan. 1893): 286. Subsequent references will be made in the text.

70. LMA to James Redpath, [Feb.? 1864?], in *Selected Letters*, 103. LMA, *An Old-Fashioned Girl* (1870), in *Alternative Alcott*, 234. Davis depicts such downtrodden artists as Hugh in "Life in the Iron Mills," the neuralgic journalist Jenny Derby in "Earthen Pitchers," and the impoverished female writer in "Marcia."

71. Gustavus Stadler, "Louisa May Alcott's Queer Geniuses," *American Literature* 71 (Dec. 1999): 662. Although Stadler's focus is on "currents of queerness" as they are revealed in Alcott's story "The Freak of a Genius," the gender bending he identifies corresponds in some ways to the argument I am making here.

72. Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1985), 121, 123.

73. Jean Strouse, *Alice James: A Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), 291.

74. CFW to Samuel Mather, Feb. 8, 1892, WRHS.

75. CFW to John Hay, Jan. 27, 1884, in Alice Hall Petry, "'Always Your Attached Friend': The Unpublished Letters of Constance Fenimore Woolson to John and Clara Hay," *Books at Brown* 29–30 (1982–83): 64. Charlotte Forten Grimké's depression also stemmed from the racism she encountered as well as her estrangement from her father, but her difficulty in finding a voice as a writer certainly played a significant role as well.

76. ESP, *Chapters*, 233. CFW to Mrs. Lawson Carter, 1883, in Clare Benedict, ed., *Voices out of the Past*, vol. 1 of *Five Generations* (London: Ellis, 1929), 254. CFW to Kate Mather, July 2, 1893, WRHS.

77. LMA to Maria S. Porter, [after Oct. 24, 1882], in *Selected Letters*, 261. LMA, Jan. 1867, *Journals*, 157. ESP to Harriet Lothrop, July 23, 1890, BPL. Alcott refers to a "breakdown" after writing *Jo's Boys* in a letter to Thomas Niles, July 13, 1885, in *Selected Letters*, 290. Phelps broke down most severely after she wrote *The Story of Avis*; see *Chapters*, 229–242. Dean discusses Woolson's depressions after writing her novels, in *Constance Fenimore Woolson: Homeward Bound*, 8.

78. CFW to Mrs. Washburn, n.d., in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 20. ESP, *Chapters*, 86–87, 267, 266.

79. CFW to John Hay, Dec. 26, 1885, in Petry, "'Always Your Attached Friend,'" 83. ESP, *Chapters*, 12. LMA to Roberts Brothers, Dec. 28, 1869, in *Selected Letters*, 129.

80. CFW to Emily Vernon Clark, n.d., in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 28. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, June 2, 1857, quoted in Matlack, "Literary Career," 168. EBS, "Collected," 290. CFW to Linda Guilford, n.d., in Benedict, *Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 43.

81. CFW, "A Florentine Experiment," *Atlantic Monthly* 46 (Oct. 1880): 520. EBS to Lillian Whiting, Oct. 4 or 7, n.y., BPL. ESP, *Chapters*, 237, 233, 234.

82. CFW to John Hay, Jan. 27, 1884, in Petry, "'Always Your Attached Friend,'" 65. ESP to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Apr. 10, 1877, bMS Am 1340.2 (5815), MH.

83. CFW to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Jan. 16, 1876, in Hubbell, "Some New Letters," 728–729.

CHAPTER FOUR: “Recognition is the Thing.”

1. EBS, “A Literary Whim,” *Appletons’ Journal* 6 (Oct. 14, 1871): 440–441. EBS to Lillian Whiting, June 20, n.y., BPL.
2. Nina Baym, *Woman’s Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820–1870*, 2d ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993), xvii.
3. Richard Stoddard quoted in James Matlack, “The Literary Career of Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1967), 219.
4. Nancy Glazener, *Reading for Realism: The History of a U.S. Literary Institution, 1850–1910* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 20.
5. Jackson quoted in Alfred Habegger, *My Wars Are Laid Away in Books: The Life of Emily Dickinson* (New York: Random House, 2001), 555–556. Jewett quoted in Paula Blanchard, *Sarah Orne Jewett: Her World and Her Work* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1994), 112.
6. LMA to Mary E. Channing Higginson, Oct. 18, [1868], in *The Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 118. Dickinson to T. W. Higginson, June 7, 1862, in Emily Dickinson, *The Letters of Emily Dickinson*, ed. Thomas H. Johnson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 409.
7. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to ESP, Apr. 6, 1876, BPL. Oliver Wendell Holmes to ESP, Oct. 29, 1879, in John T. Morse, *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1896), 260–261. ESP to Longfellow, May 17, n.y., bMS Am 1340.2 (5815), MH.
8. ESP to John Greenleaf Whittier, Dec. 7, 1879, UVA. ESP to Whittier, Dec. 22, 1879, Mar. 13, 1868, Apr. 5, 1878, bMS Am 1844 (325), MH.
9. ESP, *Chapters from a Life* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1895), 153, 166. Susan Coultrap-McQuin, “Elizabeth Stuart Phelps” (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1979), 136.
10. For her critique of Howells, see ESP, *Chapters*, 260–264. ESP, “The Man without a Country,” *Independent* 32 (May 6, 1880): 1–2.
11. Leon Edel, *The Life of Henry James*, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1953–72), 2:411–412, 417.
12. In 1875 Woolson remarked to her friend Paul Hamilton Hayne that James was among her favorite authors; quoted in Jay B. Hubbell, ed., “Some New Letters of Constance Fenimore Woolson,” *New England Quarterly* 14 (Dec. 1941): 724. CFW, “The Contributors’ Club,” *Atlantic Monthly* 43 (Jan. 1879): 106–108; (Feb. 1879): 259.
13. CFW, “Miss Grief” (1880), in *Women Artists, Women Exiles: “Miss Grief” and Other Stories by Constance Fenimore Woolson*, ed. Joan Myers Weimer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 248, 250. Subsequent references will be made in the text. In *The Life of Henry James*, Edel points out two of the similarities noted here, and he argues that the story “reflects a close reading of Henry’s work” (2:416).
14. CFW to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Feb. 13, [1876], in Hubbell, “Some New Letters,” 730. CFW to Henry James, Feb. 12, 1882, in *The Letters of Henry James*, ed. Leon Edel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974–80), 3:529.
15. Edel, *Life of Henry James*, 2:417. Alfred Habegger, *Henry James and the “Woman Business”* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 25, 4. CFW to Henry James, Feb. 12, 1882, in Edel, *Letters of Henry James*, 3:535.
16. Edel, *Life of Henry James*, 2:309.

17. CFW to Henry James, May 7, 1883, in Edel, *The Letters of Henry James*, 3:550–551.

18. Priscilla L. Walton, *Disruption of the Feminine in Henry James* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 38. Henry James, *Roderick Hudson*, in *Henry James, Novels 1871–1880*, ed. William T. Stafford (New York: Library of America, 1983), 293, 301–302, 270. (This edition reproduces the original American publication in 1875.)

19. See Walton, *Disruption*, 41.

20. Woolson to James, Feb. 12, [1882], in Edel, *Letters of Henry James*, 3:528.

21. CFW to John Hay, January 27, 1884, in Alice Hall Petry, “‘Always Your Attached Friend’: The Unpublished Letters of Constance Fenimore Woolson to John and Clara Hay,” *Books at Brown* 29–30 (1982–1983): 65. CFW to Henry James, August 30, 1882, in Edel, *Letters of Henry James*, 3:542.

22. Henry James, “Miss Woolson,” in *Women Artists, Women Exiles*, 271, first published as “Miss Constance Fenimore Woolson,” in *Harper’s Weekly* (Feb. 12, 1887): 114–115.

23. EBS to Elizabeth Akers Allen, [1873–74], in *The Morgesons and Other Writings, Published and Unpublished*, ed. Lawrence Buell and Sandra Zagarell (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984), 341. Dedication to *The Morgesons* quoted in Matlack, “Literary Career,” 223. EBS to ECS, Nov. 3, n.y., NYCol-SC.

24. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Nov. 18, 1855; quoted in Matlack, “Literary Career,” 156. (While she spoke here to the “courageous woman” author, she clearly did so from personal experience.) Bayard Taylor to EBS, Nov. 21, 1862, Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY. For the names they called her, see Matlack, 448, 466.

25. Bayard Taylor to EBS, Feb. 27, 1863, Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY. EBS to ECS, May 1, 1865, NYCol-SC. EBS to Julia Dorr, July 31, 1881, VTMC.

26. Nathaniel Hawthorne to EBS, Jan. 26, 1863, Berg Collection of English and American Literature, New York Public Library, New York, NY, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations. See 1901 preface in *The Morgesons*, 262. EBS to Lillian Whiting, June 20, n.y., BPL.

27. EBS to Julia Dorr, Oct. 5, [1888], VTMC. ECS believed that EBS was dissatisfied with his review of *The Morgesons*, according to a letter to Thomas Bailey Aldrich, quoted in Matlack, “Literary Career,” 221. EBS to ECS, Nov. 25, n.y., NYCol-SC. ECS’s diary quoted in Matlack, 192. ECS to James Russell Lowell, quoted in Matlack, 440. EBS to ECS, [Oct. or Nov. 1887], NYCol-SC. EBS to Julia Dorr, Oct. 5, [1888], VTMC.

28. Stedman’s 1901 introduction to Stoddard’s novels is included in his *Genius and Other Essays* (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1911). ECS, ed., *An American Anthology, 1787–1900* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1900).

29. Ellery Sedgwick, *The “Atlantic Monthly,” 1857–1909: Yankee Humanism at High Tide and Ebb* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 40–41.

30. ESP, *Chapters*, 78, 79. LMA, Nov. 1858, *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and associate ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), 92. EBS to William Dean Howells, Nov. 24, n.y., bMS Am 1784 (460), MH. CFW to Thomas Bailey Aldrich, June 30, [188?], bMS Am 1429 (4842), MH. Davis quoted in Sharon Harris, *Rebecca Harding Davis and American Realism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 99. Jackson quoted in Elizabeth A. Petrino, *Emily*

Dickinson and Her Contemporaries: Women's Verse in America, 1820–1885 (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998), 179. Final quote in the paragraph is from a speech by Mr. Howard at the *Atlantic-Whittier Dinner*, quoted in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 18, 1877, 1.

31. Joan Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe, A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 289, 290. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Letters and Journals of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 1846–1906*, ed. Mary Thacher Higginson (1921; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 106, 108.

32. “Whittier’s Birthday,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 18, 1877, 1. “The Atlantic-Whittier Dinner—A Woman’s Thoughts Thereon,” *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 20, 1877, 1. Richard S. Lowry, “Littery Man”: *Mark Twain and Modern Authorship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 30–40, describes and analyzes the event, where Twain gave his infamous speech, as well as the protest published in the *Daily Advertiser*. “The Absence of Women at the Whittier Dinner,” *New York Evening Post*, reprinted in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, Dec. 28, 1877, 2.

33. Arthur Gilman, “Atlantic Dinners and Diners,” *Atlantic Monthly* 100 (Nov. 1907): 654, 657.

34. Hedrick, *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, 314–315.

35. See Sedgwick, *The “Atlantic Monthly,”* 48, 55; Matlack, “Literary Career,” 184; and Alcott, Nov. 1859, *Journals*, 95.

36. Sedgwick, *The “Atlantic Monthly,”* 56. On the pressure Lowell felt to “‘popularize’” the magazine, see Sedgwick, 50, and Martin Duberman, *James Russell Lowell* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1966), 173–174.

37. EBS to James Russell Lowell, Jan. 12, [1860], Jan. 27, [1860], Apr. 23, [1860], bMS Am 765 (727) MH

38. EBS to Lowell, May 5, 1860, bMS Am 765 (727), MH.

39. EBS quoted in James Matlack, “Hawthorne and Elizabeth Barstow Stoddard,” *New England Quarterly* 50 (1977): 299. “Recent American Fiction,” *Atlantic Monthly* 64 (July 1889): 127–128. About her unhappiness with the review, see EBS to Lillian Whiting, June 27, [1889], BPL. “Some Recent Novels,” *Atlantic Monthly* 88 (Dec. 1901): 848. EBS to Bliss Perry, Nov. 25, 1901; quoted in Matlack, “Literary Career,” 273.

40. LMA, Nov. 1859, *Journals*, 95. Abigail Alcott, diary, Jan. 19, 1860, bMS AM 1130.14 (2), MH.

41. Howard M. Ticknor to LMA, Mar. 13, 1860, bMS Am 800.23, MH. LMA, *Journals*, Feb. 1860, 98. On the *Atlantic*’s antislavery stance, see Sedgwick, *The “Atlantic Monthly,”* 62–64.

42. LMA to Alfred Whitman, Aug. 4, [1861], Aug. 6, [1862], *Selected Letters*, 67, 72. Howard Ticknor to LMA, Dec. 7, 1861, Dec. 10, 1861, UVA.

43. For example, vol. 10 (July–Dec. 1862) features eleven fiction pieces, eight by women and three by men. Vol. 15 (Jan.–June 1865) features ten fiction pieces, four by women and six by men. Vol. 19 (Jan.–June 1867) features thirteen fiction pieces, four by women and nine by men. Richard Brodhead, *The School of Hawthorne* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 87. Kenneth S. Lynn, *William Dean Howells, An American Life* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970), 140.

44. Sedgwick, *The “Atlantic Monthly,”* 74–75, 89, 97–98.

45. EBS to ECS, May 5, 1860, in *The Morgesons*, 336. On Fields’s rejection of Davis, see Harris, *Rebecca Harding Davis*, 138–139.

46. LMA, May 1862, *Journals*, 109. LMA returned the forty dollars in 1871, after she had become rich with her children's books. See LMA to James T. Fields, July 3, 1871, *Selected Letters*, 160.

47. LMA describes her stay with James and Annie Fields in a letter to Alfred Whitman, Apr. 6, [1862], *Selected Letters*, 73. LMA to Annie Fields, June 24, [1863], *Selected Letters*,

84. LMA, May 1863, *Journals*, 119.

48. LMA, Aug. 1863, *Journals*, 120. LMA to James Redpath, [early Sept. 1863], *Selected Letters*, 91.

49. LMA to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Nov. 12, [1863], *Selected Letters*, 96–97. Bronson Alcott, *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, ed. Odell Shepard (Boston: Little, Brown, 1938), 361.

50. LMA, Oct. 1863, Nov. 1863, July 1864, Nov. 1864, *Journals*, 120–121, 131, 133.

51. LMA, Nov. 1864, *Journals*, 133. Howard M. Ticknor to LMA, June 21, 1865, July 13, 1865, Sept. 7, 1866, UVA. LMA to Lucy Larcom, [Jan.? or Feb.? 1866], *Selected Letters*, 119.

52. Review of *An Old-Fashioned Girl*, by LMA, *Atlantic Monthly* 25 (June 1870): 753. “Contributors’ Club,” *Atlantic Monthly* 42 (Oct. 1878): 507. G. P. Lathrop, “Recent Literature,” *Atlantic Monthly* 40 (July 1877): 109.

53. “Two New England Women,” *Atlantic Monthly* 65 (Mar. 1890): 420–421.

54. ESP, *Chapters*, 92, 93, 149, 143, 147.

55. Coultrap-McQuin, “Elizabeth Stuart Phelps,” 182. ESP to Henry Houghton, May 20, 1882; quoted in Coultrap-McQuin, 206. ESP to James R. Osgood, June 29, 1871, June 5, 1871, May 13, 1871, bMS Am 2 100 (12), MH.

56. ESP to James R. Osgood, Nov. 13, 1872, bMS Am 2 100 (12), MH. ESP to William Dean Howells, Aug. 11, 1874, Feb. 9, 1881, bMS Am 1784 (515), MH. ESP to James R. Osgood, Apr. 17, 1876, bMS Am 2 100 (12), MH.

57. ESP to Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Mar. 14, 1881, bMS Am 1429 (4490), MH. Coultrap-McQuin, “Elizabeth Stuart Phelps,” 183.

58. Review of *Hedged In*, *Atlantic Monthly* 25 (June 1870): 756–757. William Dean Howells, Review of *Poetic Studies*, *Atlantic Monthly* 36 (July 1875): 108–109.

59. Harriet Preston, “The Story of Avis, and Other Novels,” *Atlantic Monthly* 41 (Apr. 1878): 487, 489. “Contributors’ Club,” *Atlantic Monthly* 43 (Mar. 1879): 397. “Contributors’ Club,” *Atlantic Monthly* 43 (Feb. 1879): 258. “Contributors’ Club,” *Atlantic Monthly* 41 (May 1878): 667.

60. Horace Scudder, “The Annexation of Heaven,” *Atlantic Monthly* 53 (Jan. 1884): 138–139.

61. For example, vol. 35 (Jan.–June 1875) features thirteen pieces of fiction, eight by women and five by men, and vol. 44 (July–Dec. 1879) features ten fiction pieces, seven by women and three by men.

62. Howells, “Recollections,” 193, 187.

63. CFW to William Dean Howells, Oct. 27, [1874], Nov. 5, [1877], bMS AM 1784 (558), MH.

64. William Dean Howells, “Recent Literature,” *Atlantic Monthly* 35 (June 1875): 736–737. Thomas Sargeant Perry, “Some Recent Novels,” *Atlantic Monthly* 46 (July 1880): 125. Horace Scudder, “Recent American Fiction,” *Atlantic Monthly* 50 (July 1882): 111–113.

65. CFW to Thomas Bailey Aldrich, June 30, [1882?], bMS Am 1429 (4842), MH.

66. Horace Scudder, "American Fiction by Women," *Atlantic Monthly* 52 (July 1883): 119–120. Horace Scudder, "Recent Novels by Women," *Atlantic Monthly* 59 (Feb. 1887): 267. Scudder's review of her next novel, *Jupiter Lights*, was even more negative; "Recent American Fiction," *Atlantic Monthly* 65 (Jan. 1890): 126–128.

67. CFW to Paul Hamilton Hayne, Jan. 16, 1876, in Hubbell, "Some New Letters," 728. EBS to Lillian Whiting, June 20, n.y., BPL. CFW to William Dean Howells, June 28, [1875], bMS Am 1784 (558), MH. Dickinson to T. W. Higginson, June 1869, in *Letters of Emily Dickinson*, 460.

68. *United States Review* quoted in Joyce W. Warren, "Introduction: Canons and Canon Fodder," *The (Other) American Traditions: Nineteenth-Century Women Writers*, ed. Joyce W. Warren (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 1.

69. EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 22, 1854, in *The Morgesons*, 314.

70. "Female Authors," *North American Review* 72 (Jan. 1851): 160. This is the same piece quoted in Chap. 1, lamenting "the entrance of the Amazonian mania into literature" (163). EBS, *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 22, 1854, in *The Morgesons*, 314. EBS, "Woman in Art. — Rosa Bonheur," *Aldine* 5 (July 1872): 145.

71. CFW, "Contributor's Club," *Atlantic Monthly* 42 (Oct. 1878): 502–503.

72. Review of *Jupiter Lights*, *Literary World* 21 (Feb. 1890): 41. "Miss Woolson's 'Anne,'" *Critic* 2 (July 15, 1882): 187.

73. Henry James, review of *Moods*, *North American Review* 101 (July 1865): 276–281; reprinted in Louisa May Alcott, *Moods*, ed. Sarah Elbert (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 223, 220.

74. Review of *The Story of Avis*, *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1877, 2.

75. Review of *Temple House*, *Nation* 6 (Jan. 23, 1868): 74.

76. Review of *Horace Chase*, *Nation* 58 (Mar. 29, 1894): 233. Review of *Men, Women, and Ghosts*, *Overland Monthly* 3 (Sept. 1869): 292.

77. Review of *Hedged In*, *Nation* 10 (Apr. 14, 1870): 245. Review of *The Story of Avis*, *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1877, 2.

78. Review of *For the Major*, *New York Times*, June 16, 1883, 3; reprinted in Cheryl B. Torsney, ed., *Critical Essays on Constance Fenimore Woolson* (New York: G. K. Hall, 1992), 35. Review of *For the Major*, *Literary World* (Aug. 11, 1883): 261; excerpted in *Critical Essays on Constance Fenimore Woolson*, 40. "Miss Woolson's 'Anne,'" *Critic* 2 (July 15, 1882): 187. Henry James, "Miss Woolson," reprinted in *Women Artists, Women Exiles*, 271.

79. William Dean Howells, review of *Two Men*, *Nation* 1 (1865): 537. "Editor's Literary Record," *Harper's* 47 (Sept. 1873): 619. Reviews of *Hospital Sketches* from the *New England Farmer* and the *Boston Cultivator*; quoted in advertisement, unidentified newspaper clipping no. 290, UVA. "Miss Phelps's New Novel," *Literary World* 8 (Nov. 1877): 98. "Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward," *Independent* 70 (Feb. 2, 1911): 269.

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82. "Miss Phelps's New Novel," *Literary World* 8 (Nov. 1877): 98. Review of *Moods*, *Harper's Weekly* 9 (Jan. 21, 1865): 35. Julian Hawthorne, "Novelistic Habits and 'The Morgesons,'" 869. "Anne," *Literary World*, 12 (July 15, 1882): 227.

83. Review of *The Oath of Allegiance*, *Nation* 89 (Nov. 18, 1909): 487.
84. “Novel Views of Marriage,” unidentified newspaper clipping no. 291, UVA. LMA to Moncure Daniel Conway, Feb. 18, 1865, in *Selected Letters*, 108.
85. “New Publications,” unidentified newspaper clipping no. 291, UVA. Henry James, Jr., review of *Moods*, *North American Review* 101 (July 1865): 276–281; reprinted in *Critical Essays on Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1984), 71, 73. Review of *Moods*, *Harper’s Weekly* 9 (Jan. 21, 1865): 35.
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89. ESP, *Chapters*, 120, 121. George Eliot to ESP, Dec. 16, 1876, George Eliot and George Henry Lewes Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT.
90. ESP, *Chapters*, 157. Review of *The Story of Avis*, *Harper’s* 56 (Jan. 1878): 310. “Gail Hamilton’s Criticism,” *Woman’s Journal* 29 (Mar. 30, 1878): 99; reprinted in *The Story of Avis*, ed. Carol Farley Kessler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 275. For other reviews, see “Miss Phelps’s New Novel,” *Literary World* 8 (Nov. 1877): 97–98; review of *The Story of Avis*, *Nation* 26 (Mar. 21, 1878): 202; and review of *The Story of Avis*, *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1877, 2. “New Books,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Oct. 31, 1877; reprinted in *The Story of Avis*, 273.
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96. George Ripley, review of *Two Men*, *New York Tribune*, Nov. 16, 1856, 6: quoted in Matlack, “Literary Career,” 370–372. EBS to William Dean Howells’s, n.d., bMS Am 1784 (460), MH. (A clipping of a notice with an excerpt from Howells’s *Nation* review is pasted at the head of the letter.) William Dean Howells, review of *Two Men*, *Nation* 1 (1865): 537–538.
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Conclusion. The Question of Immortality

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2. Alfred Bendixen, introduction to “*The Amber Gods*” and *Other Stories* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989), xxi. Sharon Harris, *Rebecca Harding Davis and American Realism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), 292, 307. Notice of Davis’s death identifying her as the “widow of L. Clarke Davis” in Harris, 307. Tillie Olsen, “Biographical and Critical Introduction,” *Life in the Iron Mills and Other Stories* (New York: Feminist Press, 1985), 152. *New York Times* obituary of Davis quoted in Olsen, 153.

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10. Vedder, *American Writers*, 193, 194, 200. Painter, *Introduction*, 267–268. Pattee, *History* (1896), 415. Hawthorne and Lemmon, *American Literature*, 287.

11. “Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward,” *Independent* 70 (Feb. 2, 1911): 269. “Mrs. E. S. P. Ward Dies in 67th Year,” *New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1911, 11. Obituary for Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, *Dial* 57 (Feb. 16, 1911): 116. Coultrap-McQuin, *Doing Literary Business*, 184.

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13. See M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *American Bookmen: Sketches, Chiefly Biographical, or Certain Writers of the Nineteenth Century* (1898; reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1972); Henry A. Beers, *Initial Studies in American Letters* (New York: Chataqua Press, 1891); Richard Burton, *Literary Leaders of America: A Class-Book on American Literature* (New York: Scribner, 1904); and Edwin Greenlaw, *Literature and Life* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1922).

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16. Review of “Stedman’s Library of American Literature,” *Atlantic Monthly* 66 (Nov. 1890): 707.

17. Paul Lauter, “Race and Gender in the Shaping of the American Literary Canon: A Case Study from the Twenties,” in *Canons and Contexts* (New York: Oxford University

Press, 1991), 24, discusses Foerster's book. Burton, *Literary Leaders*. Edwin W. Bowen, *Makers of American Literature: A Class-Book on American Literature* (New York: Neale, 1908). Horace E. Scudder, *American Prose* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1885).

18. Charlene Avallone, "What American Renaissance? The Gendered Genealogy of a Critical Discourse," *PMLA* 112 (1997): 1102–1120. Nancy Glazener, *Reading for Realism: The History of a U.S. Literary Institution, 1850–1910* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 229–255; quote on 235.

19. "Our 'Forty Immortals,'" *Critic* 4 (Apr. 12, 1884): 169–170. Nonwhite males were also excluded. Frederick Douglass and Sitting Bull were nominated by readers but excluded by the editors for unclear reasons. Their "only claim to eligibility consisted in the fact that they were born, and have always lived, on American soil" (170). For a reader's protest, see William F. Peck, letter to the editor, *Critic* 4 (May 3, 1884): 210.

20. "Notes," *Critic* 4 (Apr. 26, 1884): 202. "American Women of Letters," *Literary World* 14 (Apr. 21, 1883): 126.

21. Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 219–220. Photo of "Group of Immortals," *Book News Monthly* 29 (Mar. 1911): 443.

22. Glazener, *Reading for Realism*, 229–255. For Horace E. Scudder's efforts at canonizing the Boston Brahmins, see Ellery Sedgwick, *The "Atlantic Monthly," 1857–1909: Yankee Humanism at High Tide and Ebb* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 213; and Nina Baym, "Early Histories of American Literature: A Chapter in the Institution of New England" in *The American Literary History Reader*, ed. Gordon Hutner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 83–84. Scudder's works that helped canonize these writers include *American Poems* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1879); *American Prose* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1885); *Men and Letters: Essays in Characterization and Criticism* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1887); and *Literature in School* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1888).

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24. Moss, "Novels," 263.

25. Sharon Dean, *Constance Fenimore Woolson: Homeward Bound* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 200; and "Edith Wharton's Early Artist Stories and Constance Fenimore Woolson," in *Constance Fenimore Woolson's Nineteenth Century: Essays*, ed. Victoria Brehm (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 225–239.

26. Donna M. Campbell, *Resisting Regionalism: Gender and Naturalism in American Fiction, 1885–1915* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997), 150. Deborah Lindsay Williams, *Not in Sisterhood: Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, Zona Gale, and the Politics of Female Authorship* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 3, 2. Amy Kaplan, *The Social Construction of American Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 70.

27. For a thorough overview of such criticism and the issues it raises, see June Howard, "Unraveling Regions, Unsettling Periods: Sarah Orne Jewett and American Literary History," *American Literature* 68 (June 1996): 365–384.

28. Vivian R. Pollak, in *Dickinson: The Anxiety of Gender* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), writes of "The Female Artist as a Private Poet" in chap. 8. Judith

Farr's *Passion of Emily Dickinson* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) begins with a chapter titled "The Hidden Face." Joanne Dobson's influential study of Dickinson as representative is titled *Dickinson and the Strategies of Reticence: The Woman Writer in Nineteenth-Century America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

29. Avallone, "What American Renaissance?" 1107.