Moral Enterprise
Derek Pacheco

Published by The Ohio State University Press

Pacheco, Derek.
Moral Enterprise: Literature and Education in Antebellum America.
The Ohio State University Press, 2013.
Project MUSE. muse.jhu.edu/book/27565.

For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/27565
NOTES

Introduction

2. Ibid., 134; emphasis in original.
9. A pioneer in the discipline of history of the book, William Charvat took for granted the antagonism between literary artist and market. See “Literary Economics and Literary History,” rpt. in The Profession of Authorship in America, 1800–1870, ed. Matthew Bruccoli (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 292. In the 1980s, Michael Gilmore refined this formulation, arguing that American romantics such as Melville, Hawthorne, and Emerson were deeply ambivalent about the marketplace, harshly critical of the new economic order, and yet still drawn


13. In examining this irony, I take my lead from Ronald and Mary Saracino Zboray, who remind us that most antebellum authors wrote “to fulfill social responsibilities to their specific surrounding coterie” of colleagues, family, and friends, while the market played a “mere supporting role” in their efforts. For this reason, the “role of coteries” must be “kept front and center” in any study of antebellum authorship, should one wish to “deal adequately” with the realities of literary production or dissemination, even for those writers who aspired to or attained much wider ends. See *Literary Dollars*, 204.


149
Notes to Introduction

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 290, and Mary Kelley, “Introduction” to “Section III. Educating the Citizenry,” in A History of the Book in America, Volume 2, 269. Common-school reform in New England, for instance, tended to emphasize such things as modernized schoolhouses, Pestalozzi-influenced curriculum, adequate teacher training, standardized texts, and even a distinctive national literature appropriate to children.


19. Vásquez, Authority and Reform, xvi.


27. For “hobby” and “one or two classes,” see “Discussion on School Libraries,” American Annals of Education 6.12 (December 1836): 553; for “multiplicity of school books,” see “Schools in Massachusetts,” American Annals of Education 7.3 (March 1837): 101; for “feature of the era,” see Goodrich, Recollections, 2:382–83; for the United States’ outstripping Europe in school books, see Tebbel, History of Book Publishing, 222. For example, Murray’s English Reader (1799) was the most-bought book in the English-speaking world (selling an estimated 20 million copies by mid-century), rivaled only by the likes of McGuffey, whose Eclectic Readers series had


American women found in education the “key both to [their] entering civil society and to the influence they exercised as makers of public opinion,” even as they continued to be excluded from participation in the political realm of the state. See Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America’s Republic (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 15.

42. Messerli, Horace Mann, 336.

Chapter 1

1. Sarah J. Hale, The Juvenile Budget Opened; being Selections from the Writings of Dr. John Aikin (Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb, 1840), 7. Subsequent references to this edition will appear in parentheses.

7. McGill, American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 7.


10. For “neat,” see First Annual Report, 13; for 15 to 20 percent, see Horace Mann, “District School Libraries,” Common School Journal 2.5 (2 March 1840): 71. Subsequent references to this text will appear in parentheses. For $57.50, see Mann [1840], Draft of a letter explaining the activities of the Board of Education since its formation, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 5. Louise Hall Tharp claims that this estimate is for only 50 titles, but, at 40 and 75 cents per volume, 100 volumes would cost $57.50. See Tharp, Until Victory: Horace Mann and Mary Peabody (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1953), 146.


12. Horace Mann to George Bancroft, 11 July 1839, George Bancroft Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Mann refers here to both the large number of completed manuscripts (“in esse” means “in actuality”) and proposals (“in posse” means “in potentiality”) received.

13. Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb to Horace Mann, 27 and 28 December 1838, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 5. For plans to publish “History of the Pilgrims, by a Lady,” see Marsh to Mann, 13 March 1839, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1899), reel 5. For Mary Peabody submitting the book for Mann’s consideration and his response, see Mary Tyler Peabody to Horace Mann, 20 May 1838, and Mann to Peabody, 4 June 1838, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1899), reel 5. Neither volume was published.


15. For Hawthorne’s text, see “The School Library,” in Third Annual Report, 31. For Mann’s response to Hawthorne’s fiction, see Horace Mann to Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 10 March 1838, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1899), reel 5. For plans to publish “History of the Pilgrims, by a Lady,” see Marsh to Mann, 13 March 1839, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1899), reel 5. For Mary Peabody submitting the book for Mann’s consideration and his response, see Mary Tyler Peabody to Horace Mann, 20 May 1838, and Mann to Peabody, 4 June 1838, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1899), reel 5. Neither volume was published.

16. Ultimately, its publishers issued, or at least proposed to issue, contributions from the Board’s own members as well as its family and friends. For instance, they advertised contributions by Board members Jared Sparks, Edward Everett, and Robert Rantoul Jr., as well as their associates, Everett’s brother, Alexander Everett, his sister, Sarah P. E. Hale, and Mann’s confidante, Elizabeth Peabody.

17. Horace Mann to Samuel Gridley Howe, 21 July 1839, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1899), reel 5.

18. Mann, [1840] Draft of a letter explaining the activities of the Board of Education since its formation, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1899), reel 5. By 1840, when Mann offers this comparison, the first two series, or 95 volumes, of Harper’s School District Library could be bought for $38. By 1846, Harper’s School

19. Quoted in Exman, Brothers Harper, 130. Octodecimo (18mo) and duodecimo (12mo) refer to book page sizes, produced by folding printed sheets into 18 or 12 leaves (36 or 24 pages), respectively. The School Library’s publishers issued volumes of its Juvenile series in the cheaper 18mo format, while those in the adult series appeared in the more expensive 12mo format. Publishers often used what they could acquire most cheaply as contents for their series formats (Exell, Social Authorship, 135), and Harper & Brothers was no exception, placing their own authors in the School District Library, as well as duplicating titles between their various library series. Robert Freeman observes that over fifty percent of the titles in the School District Library were duplicated from Harper’s earlier Family Library, and that over eighty percent of their library titles, in general, were reprints of popular British works (a common practice in the absence of international copyright). See Freeman, “Harper & Brothers’ Family and School District Libraries, 1830–1846,” in Libraries to the People, ed. Robert Freeman and Robert Hovde (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2003), 27.


21. Zboray, A Fictive People, 11. John Tebbel observes that for the $1 cost of a single book, a buyer might purchase “five loaves of bread, twelve pounds of beef, or a third of a gallon of brandy. Even one of the cheapest books, at eighteen and one third cents, was equivalent to two-dozen eggs or twenty quarts of milk” (History of Book Publishing, 217).

22. Zboray, A Fictive People, 4. In its Second Annual Report, the Board remarked that the costs of obtaining books from urban centers such as Boston could be prohibitively expensive (19), and Mann recorded in his Third Annual Report that many residents were often forced to rely on the unreliable stock of itinerant salesmen, much of which was remainders, books “no longer salable at the bookstore nor inquired for at the circulating library” (73). For further confirmation of his views, see Zboray and Zboray, Literary Dollars, xxii–xxiii.

23. Third Annual Report, 57. In the category of “public” libraries, Mann included university, mechanical and scientific institute, town, and social libraries; he omitted from his estimates circulating and Sabbath school libraries, since most of their books, he contended, were “confessedly ill-adapted” for general use (82). Sabbath libraries, he believed, tended to be too denominational in nature, while circulating libraries were known to contain large stocks of “pernicious” fictions, romances, and novels (82, 72).


25. In 1838, Mann got into a heated public debate with Frederick Packard, Secretary of the American Sunday-School Union, when he rejected John Abbot’s Child at Home (1834), which Packard had offered as part of a library sold by the ASSU to common schools. Animosities flared when Mann “hastily” dismissed the text, asserting it would “not be tolerated in this State, as a District School Library book” because its orthodox religious lessons would be “in the highest degree offensive” to the state’s more liberal denominations, such as Unitarianism. See Horace Mann to Frederick Packard, 18 March 1838, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 5. State law prohibited public schools from using books “calculated to favor the tenets of any particular sect of Christians” (Second Annual Report, 20). In the controversy that followed, Packard repeatedly and publicly accused Mann of attempting to secularize the schools’ curriculum, while Mann’s supporters countered
that such accusations were simply a case of sour grapes on the part of a publisher denied the chance to peddle its denominationally divisive books to the state’s schoolchildren. For more on this controversy, see Culver, *Horace Mann and Religion*, 55–110; Tharp, *Until Victory*, 147–49; Messerli, *Horace Mann*, 309–15; and Anne Boylan, *Sunday-School: Formation of an American Institution, 1790–1880* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 52–59.


28. For “small,” see Adams, *Richard Henry Dana*, 1: 119; for pay relative to labor, see Zboray and Zboray, *Literary Dollars*, 38; for “fair chance of profit,” see Nathaniel Hawthorne to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 12 January 1839, in *CE* 15: 288; for “quite repaid,” see Sarah P. E. Hale to Edward Everett, 23 January 1841, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; for payment of $142.50, see Thomas H. Webb to Sarah P. E. Hale, 27 May 1841; for “better than . . . expected,” see Sarah P. E. Hale to Alexander Everett, 10 June 1841, Hale Family Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, North Hampton, Mass. No doubt, she was pleased that the publisher had managed to pay her at all. For “common laborer’s wages,” see Theodore H. Palmer to Horace Mann, 23 December 1839, *Horace Mann Collection*, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 5. While Palmer’s *Teacher’s Manual* was not a contribution to *The School Library* per se, it was published by Marsh under Mann’s instructions. Palmer’s response to the terms of publication are an enlightening example of the way in which the reality of such arrangements could conflict with the value an author assigned his or her own work, even when popular education was ostensibly its aim.


31. For “1500 copies” and “no risk” see Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to George Washington Greene, 4 September 1840, in *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, ed. Andrew Hilen (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), 245–46. For 10 percent, see Zboray and Zboray, *Literary Dollars*, xxii. While a lucky author might get 15 percent or more, many authors were far worse off than 10 percent. Indeed, it was not uncommon for authors to assume the burden and risk of financing their books’ publication. For more, see Charvat, *Literary Publishing in America*, 41–44, and Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 210. As a stipulation of their agreement with the Board, however, Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb agreed that “the enterprise should be undertaken wholly at the publishers’ risk, neither the
Board nor the State having any pecuniary interest in it” (Mann, “District School Libraries,” 70).


35. George Bancroft to Horace Mann, 9 June 1839, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 5. Mann encouraged Bancroft to submit his book to the Board’s review, telling him: “I doubt not, it would be highly agreeable to them to examine your works. . . . My impression is, that it would have no competitor, tho—of this I am not quite sure.” See Horace Mann to George Bancroft, 11 July 1839, George Bancroft Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Governor Everett, on the other hand, was not so sanguine. Having received the first two volumes from Bancroft, and a query from his publisher, James Brown, he declined to endorse the history for The School Library. Although “emphatically & warmly” in favor of Bancroft’s work, he claims that it “contains some speculations on important points in which I do not concur” and that, as it was not written “expressly for a Common School Library,” it had assumed “a somewhat different form” than their library series required. If corrected and “compendiously printed,” however, he should “cheerfully consent” to its inclusion in the series. See Everett to James Brown, 4 June 1839, Edward Everett Papers, microfilm edition, 54 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1972), reel 26. The history did not appear in the library. As Bancroft’s letter to Mann indicates, he had hoped to place it “in the form I have given it,” thus aligning him with at least one other author, Henry Dana Jr., who declined to efface his work in exchange for the Board’s sanction. Dana took offense at Mann’s recommendations for emending his book, Two Years Before the Mast (1840). He thought Mann a “school-master gone crazy,” recording in his journal that he had never seen “such an exhibition of gaucheness and want of tact in [his] life” (Adams, Richard Henry Dana, 1:119). For more on Dana and Mann, see Messerli, Horace Mann, 345–46. For Dana’s journal entry, see Adams, Richard Henry Dana, 1:117–20.


38. For the “carnivalesque” dimensions of antebellum print culture, see Lehuu, Carnival on the Page.

40. Ibid., 75.


50. For “newly arranged” and “modifications,” see “The School Library,” in *Third Annual Report*, 26, 27. For “mere republication” see E. B. H., “Art. VI. The School Library,” 389. The reviewer also compliments the “American Editor” of Duncan’s *Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons* for “important alterations” such as the “occasional insertion of fine passages from some of our own
writers, and the substitution of a few unexceptionable religious papers, in place of those that might offend some particular faith or feeling” (394).


56. Ibid., xxvii, xxiv.


58. For the “public reach of home-based teaching” that was the aim of “domestic literacy narratives,” see Robbins, *Managing Literacy*, 67, 69.


63. Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, 101. For sentimental economy of exchange, see Lehuu, 78, 98.


69. In 1844, for instance, The School Library was implicated in the “Common School Controversy,” a public feud begun between Mann and conservative opponent Edward Newton, a former member of the Board of Education who had resigned in protest over the library during the Packard controversy. For more, see Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 181–88, and Messerli, Horace Mann, 409–21.

70. J. Pickering to Horace Mann, 7 February 1843, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 38. The confusion, it seems, was not confined to Capen's new libraries. In early 1843, the state legislature mistakenly reported that the Board had approved 250 books by various firms for use in school libraries. One of the books, Elegant Extracts, had been attacked in the local papers for its inappropriate content. See Thomas H. Webb to Horace Mann, 8 February 1843, Horace Mann Collection, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 7, and Culver, Horace Mann and Religion, 174–77.


75. “Editor's Table,” Godey's Lady's Book 21.10 (October 1840): 190–91.

76. Sarah P. E. Hale's royalty statements for 1883–98 (Hale Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, North Hampton, Mass.) indicate that her estate continued to benefit from her two editions in The Massachusetts School Library well beyond the volumes' original publication date. Indeed, they kept selling until at least the end of the century; from January 1874 through January 1883, the volumes earned $882 in royalties. While Harper & Brothers stopped reprinting the edition of Columbus thereafter, the Balboa volume still brought in $109 in the next eight years (from 5 January 1883 to 5 June 1891), another $64 from 19 January 1892 to 5 July 1893, $79 from 5 July 1893 to 31 December 1896, and $26 in 1898.

77. For literacy training, fiction, and legitimization of antebellum women writers, see Crain, The Story of A; Robbins, Managing Literacy; and Sánchez-Eppler, Dependent States.


Chapter 2

1. Irving, Sketch-Book, 105.

3. In a letter to his friend George Hillard, Hawthorne describes the “concocting of school-books” and other genres as “what is called drudgery” (CE, 16:23). Lesley Ginsberg observes that he often described his adult fiction in “hardly more elevated” a fashion. See Ginsberg, “Hawthorne,” 50. In his letter to Hillard, Hawthorne also mitigates the severity of this description by phrasing it “what is called drudgery” (emphasis added), although he does not specify who calls it this; for this reason, I am inclined to read this claim as another one of his characteristically self-effacing comments about his writing, rather than as an indication of any particular animus toward children literature as a genre.


7. In her study of nineteenth-century responses to fiction, Nina Baym argues against the “essential premise on which our history of the American novel is based, that the nation was hostile to fiction,” claiming that the U.S. was, in fact, a “nation of novel readers.” See Novels, Readers, and Reviewers: Responses to Fiction in Antebellum America (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 14.

8. Magazine editors such as Goodrich paid Hawthorne about $1 per page—when they paid him at all. For the 27 pieces used in Goodrich’s Token, Hawthorne received a total of $380. For Hawthorne’s Token earnings, see J. Donald Crowley, “Historical Commentary,” in CE, 9:497; for more on Hawthorne and his editors, see Lillian B. Gilkes, “Hawthorne, Park Benjamin, and S. G. Goodrich: Three-Cornered Imbroglio,” Nathaniel Hawthorne Journal 1971 (Middleton, CT: Microcard Edition Books, 1971), 83–112.

9. Hawthorne quit the magazine mere months after accepting his position, citing Goodrich’s parsimony; see CE, 15:236.

10. The full title is Peter Parley’s Universal History on the Basis of Geography, for the Use of Families (Boston: American Stationer’s Company, 1837). Unsurprisingly, Hawthorne declined a second project from Goodrich when he was offered only $300 to write a lengthy volume “on the manners, customs, and civilities of all countries.” See Samuel Goodrich to Nathaniel Hawthorne, 13 December 1836, as quoted in Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1884), 1:138. Sarah Wadsworth suggests that the subsequent success of Universal History, which went through numerous editions and reportedly sold over one million copies, and of the Peter Parley series more generally, “must have been galling [to Hawthorne], considering they appeared at a time when he, having been paid so little for writing them, was diligently but unsuccessfully attempting to earn a living by his pen.” See In the Company of Books, 29.

11. McGill, Culture of Reprinting, 223.


17. The *Grandfather’s Chair* series comprised three separate volumes published between December 1840 and March 1841. The titles and publication dates for the first editions are *Grandfather’s Chair* (December 1840, but dated 1841), *Famous Old People* (January 1841), and *Liberty Tree* (March 1841).

18. It seemed to Hawthorne that the collaboration on “The Boys’ Wonder-Horn” would be “far more credible” than any of his other literary plans, “and perhaps quite as profitable” (*CE*, 15:266).

19. See, for instance, Hawthorne’s 16 May 1839 letter to Longfellow, or his 20 April 1840 letter to John O’Sullivan, in *CE*, 15:310–11, 447–48. Hawthorne’s tenure at the customhouse taught him that the cost of making a good living was an almost complete inability to write; indeed, the manuscript for *Grandfather’s Chair* was one of the few things he had been able to produce during the period. Ironically, Hawthorne had thought the appointment would provide the perfect opportunity and material for writing. For more, see Hawthorne’s 11 January 1839 letter to George P. Morris, written shortly after accepting the job, in *CE*, 15:285.


24. Wadsworth compares Hawthorne’s “relatively prosaic Parley-like historical sketches” unfavorably to his more “innovative” myths to trace a “radical concurrent transformation of the juvenile literature market.” See *In the Company of Books*, 26. Patricia Valenti similarly sug-
gests that, as his career progressed, Hawthorne would learn to abandon the “established boundaries” and “generic conventions” that had “constrained juvenile literature and his possibilities for success in that arena.” See “‘None But Imaginative Authority’: Nathaniel Hawthorne and the Progress of Nineteenth-Century (Juvenile) Literature in America,” *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 36.1 (Spring 2010): 12.

25. Richard Brodhead argues that school reformers such as Mann sought to revolutionize the education system by molding the common school into a kind of “second home.” See *Cultures of Letters*, 24.


29. Hawthorne would repeat this sentiment in his 25 March 1843 letter to Horatio Bridge; see *CE*, 15:681–82.

30. For examples of this logic, one might look to the ample supply of editorials in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, a political journal and literary magazine founded in October 1837 by Hawthorne’s friend John O’Sullivan. One editorial locates the “moral” of the Panic in the national “sin” of the credit system and its paper monies, which it likens to the immorality and excess of gambling; see “The Moral of the Crisis,” *United States Democratic Review* 1.1 (October 1837): 108, 110. Essentially, this editorial argues that the so-called “elasticity” championed by proponents of paper money actually makes such currency prone to fluctuations of the most violent and disastrous excess; in the writer’s view, what the currency, and by extension the nation, needs is not elasticity but the stability found in a currency of “intrinsic value” (here, specie), whose value exists beyond manipulation and above external turmoil (114). For further discussion of “hard” Democrats and their hostility toward the banking system, see Naomi Lamoreaux, *Insider Lending: Banks, Personal Connections, and Economic Development in Industrial New England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).


32. According to Brodhead, the antebellum fascination with sensationalized scenes of beatings, floggings, and whippings was vital to a large-scale, bourgeois consolidation of cultural power through which corporal punishment became a “sign of [the] insufficiency” and “inferiority” of “rival [cultural] formation[s],” “first of the older patriarchal New England culture,” and then of the “Irish immigrant” and “Southern planter class” cultures. See *Cultures of Letters*, 26.


34. Whereas I argue that Hawthorne harnesses the home-centered pedagogies dominating educational reform, Goodenough claims he complicates the progressive notions of childhood on which such efforts were premised—placing him outside the middle-class cultural agenda that Brodhead describes. Grandfather’s approbation of Cheever’s methods, in her view, represents Hawthorne’s own “ambivalent view of the child,” as well as his belief in “opposing pedagogical approaches for different species of children” (“Hawthorne’s ‘Deeper History,’” 37, 32). But this assertion is hard to reconcile with Grandfather’s description of the corporal punishment, the children’s reactions to it, or his own teaching methods. Goodenough herself concedes that the description lies in “direct contrast to the instructional space created by the outer ‘modern’ frame” of the book (37).


39. Quoted in Mellow, *Hawthorne in His Times*, 142.


43. For a discussion of Hawthorne’s investment in such standards of bourgeois domesticity, see T. Walter Herbert, *Dearest Beloved: The Hawthornes and the Making of the Middle-Class Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993). Herbert suggests that, while the “Hawthornes’ stubborn commitment to home schooling formed a sharp contrast . . . to Horace Mann’s leadership in the creation of public schools,” they “shared with [him] a belief in disciplining children through nurturing love rather than applications of the rod” (xix). If Mann was intent upon molding public schools into a second home, as Brodhead argues, then Hawthorne was equally invested in turning the home into a kind of loving school. For more on loving “domestication” as the province of children’s literature, see Karen Sánchez-Eppler, “Hawthorne and the Writing of Childhood,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Richard H. Millington (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 143–59; for love and nationalism, see Gillian Brown, “Hawthorne’s American History,” 121–42.

44. The phrase “fair brick house” is from Cotton Mather’s *Magnalia*, a source with which Hawthorne was intimately familiar. See *Magnalia Christi Americana, Books I & II*, ed. Kenneth Murdock (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), 280. As Hawthorne’s letter suggests, his investment in children’s literature, along with the riches he conjures out of it for Sophia, might be understood as yet another compensatory fantasy of treasure marking him as a “paper money man” of the sort David Anthony has identified, albeit in a manner varying from the “tabloid” manhood at work in *The Blithedale Romance* or the attempt to put
“race into service as a means of negotiating fiscal insecurity and masculine dispossession” distinguishing *The House of Seven Gables*. See *Paper Money Men: Commerce, Manhood, and the Sensational Public Sphere in Antebellum America* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2009), 148, 157. In other words, even as Hawthorne continually excoriates the modern, paper and credit economy, seeking in children’s fiction a kind of literary analog to political hard metalism that might secure him much-deserved wealth, his early children’s writings nonetheless are, to use Anthony’s language, a “speculative project” undertaken to relieve himself of “debtor embarrassment” (Anthony, 60).

45. See Crowley, “Historical Commentary,” in *CE*, 9:523. On 16 September 1841, Hawthorne joked to Sophia, “if [Munroe] cheats me once, I will have nothing more to do with him, but will straightway be cheated by some other publisher—that being, of course, the only alternative” (*CE*, 15:573). For more on Hawthorne’s feelings about Munroe, see his 27 September 1841 letter in *CE*, 15:580–81.

46. Noting this contrast, Laffrado argues that *Biographical Stories* is Hawthorne’s effort to “write his enclosed condition, write his attempt at living his resignation” in the face of constraining personal circumstances and repeated career failures (*Hawthorne’s Literature for Children*, 63).

47. James Boswell recounts the incident thus, in Samuel Johnson’s own words: “I refused to attend my father to Uttoxeter-market. Pride was the source of that refusal, and the remembrance of it was painful. A few years ago, I desired to atone for this fault; I went to Uttoxeter in very bad weather, and stood for a considerable time bareheaded in the rain, on the spot where my father’s stall used to stand. In contrition I stood, and I hope the penance was expiatory.” See *Life of Johnson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 1357. For Hawthorne’s career-long interest in this scene from Johnson’s life, see Gloria Erlich, *Family Themes and Hawthorne’s Fiction* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), 127, and Helen Deutsch, *Loving Dr. Johnson* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 197–207.


Chapter 3


2. Quite literally, Thoreau’s remedy for the state of modern publishing consists in a return to the “classics” of literature; he defends the ancient literature of Greece and Rome, read “in the original,” as the “noblest recorded thoughts of man” (*Walden*, 106, 100).


7. In his biography of her life, Bruce Ronda argues that Peabody is a “practical intellectual,” going so far as to declare her one of the few “practitioners of praxis” in her circle. See *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 4–5. Nina Baym has argued that Peabody was not a transcendentalist per se but rather a feminist “millennial thinker.” See “The Ann Sisters: Elizabeth Peabody’s Millennial Historicism,” *American Literary History* 3.1 (Spring 1991): 28. While the significance of the feminism inherent in Peabody’s Christian vision should not be understated, it is unnecessary, I think, to distinguish between the terms “Christian” and “transcendentalist” with regard to her, particularly as transcendentalism itself was not monolithic but rather eclectic and heterogeneous. In a sense, Peabody represents one point in a range of Christian-centered transcendentalisms including the likes of William Ellery Channing (who was older and whose transcendentalism was more moderate in several respects than Peabody’s) or Theodore Parker (who was younger and more socially and intellectually extreme in many of his attitudes), both of whom were her close friends and confidants. Ultimately, Peabody’s life disrupts, as Ronda suggests, a scholarly affinity for clearly defined literary categories, a propensity to organize “literary and cultural history through divisions and discontinuities rather than . . . continuities and connections.” See Ronda, “Elizabeth Peabody and the Fate of Transcendentalism,” in *Reinventing the Peabody Sisters*, ed. Monika Elbert, Julie E. Hall, and Katharine Rodier (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006), 232.

8. For a discussion of what Monika Elbert calls the “impassioned (feminine) voice” of Peabody’s transcendentalism (206), see “Elizabeth Peabody’s Problematic Feminism and the Feminization of Transcendentalism,” in *Reinventing the Peabody Sisters*, ed. Monika Elbert, Julie E. Hall, and Katharine Rodier (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006), 199–215. I prefer the term “feminist” to “feminine” or “feminized” when discussing Peabody’s transcendentalism because, while it was impossible for Peabody to completely escape certain conventional, bourgeois notions of women’s “place,” still, her understanding of transcendentalism was wrapped up in the promise of female intellectual equality that would “transcend” arbitrary constructions of gender. I also prefer the term “feminist” because I want to avoid any associations with the term “feminization” as either a kind of dilution of more rigorous styles of cultural thought, or as an essentialist logic that posits inherently masculine and feminine concerns or modes of expression. For a seminal discussion of the term “feminization,” see Ann Douglas’s *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1977). Finally, I use the term “cosmopolitanism” for a specific reason as well. Peabody’s bookstore and foreign circulating library appear remarkably similar in principle to historian David Hollinger’s definition of the term as:

> the desire to transcend limitations of any and all particularisms in order to achieve a more complete human experience and a more complete understanding of that experience. The ideal is exactly counter to the eradication of cultural differences, but counter also to their preservation in parochial form. Rather, particular cultures and subcultures are viewed as repositories for insights and experiences that can be drawn upon in the interests of a more comprehensive outlook on the world. In so far as a particular ethnic heritage or philosophical
tradition is an inhibition to experience, it is to be disarmed; in so far as that
heritage or tradition is an avenue toward the expansion of experience and un-
derstanding, access to it is to be preserved.

See Hollinger, “Ethnic Diversity, Cosmopolitanism, and the Emergence of the American Liberal

Elizabeth Peabody,” in A Living of Words: American Women in Print Culture, ed. Susan Albertine
(Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995), 35; for the gendered necessity of mediation, see
Vásquez, “Declaration and Deference,” 45–65, and Authority and Reform, 87–112.

10. Margaret Fuller, Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, eds. Ralph Waldo Emerson et al.
(Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1852), 1:321. Subsequent references to this edition,
hereafter cited as Memoirs with volume and page number, will appear in parentheses.

11. One late-nineteenth-century historian of Boston literally does this, relegating Peabody
to a footnote at the end of a chapter on transcendentalism. See George Bradford, “Philosophic
Thought in Boston,” in The Memorial History of Boston: Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts,

12. For instance, see Susan H. Irons, “Channing’s Influence on Peabody: Self-Culture and

13. His thoughts on the subject carried special weight with Peabody because she saw him as
one of the fathers of American transcendentalism. Asserting that, in the movement’s history, she
knew “of no name older,” Peabody concludes that, when Emerson and Carlyle began to “quicken
our Boston thinking” in the early 1830s, “at last Dr. Channing’s spiritual philosophy had begun
to pervade society.” See Reminiscences, 364.

14. For a discussion of Peabody’s initial enthusiasm for the school, see Josephine Roberts,
“Elizabeth Peabody and the Temple School,” New England Quarterly 15.3 (September 1942):
497–508. Even years after their collaboration’s dissolution, Peabody could not help but feel
exasperated with Alcott’s egoism. In August 1840, one month into her new bookselling busi-
ness and four years after she had left the Temple School, she notes rather smugly that others
in town still discussed “Mr. Alcott & his wild sayings.” Worrying about the potential pitfalls of
the transcendental mindset, she fears Alcott is “ruined by ‘self-esteem’ as the phrenologists say.
Some one has said he was a spiritual dandy. He does not know the line between universal mind
and Alcolism and calls a good deal of the latter by the name of the former.” See Elizabeth Pea-
body to William Ellery Channing, August 1840, in “Biography of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody”
[manuscript draft] by Mary Van Wyck Church, page 405 (5), Massachusetts Historical Society.

15. Peabody lived with Alcott and his family while she worked at the Temple School be-
because he could afford to pay her so little. The arrangement, however, came to an abrupt close
when he and his wife pried into Peabody’s personal correspondence, looking for evidence that
Peabody was turning against Alcott amidst their intensifying professional disputes. When Alcott
confronted her with the letters, Peabody determined that his unprecedented violation of her pri-
cy required her to withdraw from his household. For more, see Marshall, The Peabody Sisters,
324–25.

16. For further discussion of Peabody’s 1836 preface and her defense against charges of ego-
isim at the school, see Irons, “Channing’s Influence on Peabody.”

17. Elizabeth Peabody, Record of a School (Boston: James Munroe, 1835), iv–v.
18. Peabody quickly recognized this rumbling of discontent among parents whose children, she tells Alcott, were “being talked about by the whole city,” and she warned him that such gossip could have no positive outcome. See Elizabeth Peabody to Bronson Alcott, 8 October 1835, in *Letters*, 152. But even Channing began to have doubts over the details of the school’s management, particularly regarding “the degree to which the mind of the child should be turned inward.” He warned Peabody that the “soul is somewhat jealous of being watched, and it is no small part of wisdom to know when to leave it to its impulses, and when to restrain it.” See William Ellery Channing to Elizabeth Peabody, 24 August 1835, quoted in Peabody, *Reminiscences*, 356–57.

19. *Letters*, 152. Like Channing, Peabody felt that Alcott’s emphasis on introspection, combined with his questionable habit of having his students read their private journals aloud, gave students a forced self-consciousness (the overwrought tendency toward self-analysis) unbefitting the needs of their development, and fostered an undesirable “moral competitiveness” among them: “I think you are liable to injure the modesty and unconsciousness of good children, by making them reflect too much upon their actual superiority to others” (152). “Moral competitiveness” is Ronda’s term; see Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 125. For more on Peabody’s growing disagreements with Alcott, see Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters*, 319–26.


22. In her eagerness to help his cause, Peabody had agreed to be his assistant, teaching only two and a half hours a day, and for “such compensation as he could afford to pay.” Both Alcott and his wife “said the terms were altogether too small—but it was not a partnership—& he could give me no more possibly—with thirty scholars as his expenses would be great.” See Elizabeth Peabody to Mary Tyler Peabody, July 1834, “Cuba Journal,” quoted in Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 115. His treatment of Elizabeth grew so bad that Mary eventually told her that if she should stay “for the sake of serving Mr. Alcott at the expense of your peace of mind, I shall think you are altogether quixotic & foolish,” especially since Alcott could easily find another recorder, “though never such an one as you are”—implying that he would have a difficult time finding someone as supportive as Elizabeth, or as patient with his faults. See Mary Tyler Peabody to Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, [1836] (6), *Horace Mann Collection*, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 4.

23. Mary Tyler Peabody to Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, [1836] (6), *Horace Mann Collection*, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 4. As Megan Marshall observes, Peabody would stay up long into the night dutifully copying over the notes she had taken during the day’s class, only to have Alcott later alter the dialogue to suit his liking (*The Peabody Sisters*, 322).


25. Mary Tyler Peabody to Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, [1836] (6), *Horace Mann Collection*, microfilm edition, 40 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1989), reel 4; emphasis in original. For Fuller’s life in the provincial regions of New England, such as Groton or Providence, see Capper, *Margaret Fuller, Vol. 1*.


27. The fervor surrounding the book’s appearance is well documented. For instance, Joseph Buckingham, editor of the *Boston Courier*, offered the now-famous, second-hand account of
Andrews Norton, who purportedly claimed that “one-third [of the book] was absurd, one-third was blasphemous, and one-third was obscene.” Quoted in Larry Carlson, “Those Pure Pages of Yours: Bronson Alcott’s Conversations with Children on the Gospels,” *American Literature* 60.3 (October 1988): 454; italics in original.

28. Several years earlier, before Peabody had won him over with her enthusiasm for his ideas, Alcott recorded this impression of her in his journal: She “may aim perhaps at being ‘original’ and fail in her attempt, by becoming offensively assertive. On the whole there is, we think, too much of the man, and too little of the woman, in her familiarity and freedom.” See Amos Bronson Alcott, “Journal for 1829,” quoted in Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 73; emphasis in original.


30. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody to Horace Mann, 2 March 1837, in “Biography of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody” [manuscript draft] by Mary Van Wyck Church, page 304, Massachusetts Historical Society.


33. Her article is not all praise; it begins with a lengthy recitation of the book’s numerous faults. She grants that “about a dozen of the passages had better have been left in the oblivion into which the Recorder had consigned them,” that “the names of the young interlocutors had better been left out of so disputable a book,” and that, most significantly, given her own problems with Alcott’s methods, it was “unwise” and “unnecessary” to “encumber his already disputed method of Spiritual Culture with questionable matter so extraneous to its great principle, by holding those portions of the Conversations in the first instance (the subjects of which I have observed the children themselves did not introduce).” She then concludes these remarks with the stinging observation that “as an *Exegesis of Scripture*—the book has no value” (“Mr. Alcott’s Book,” 1; emphasis in original).


35. Ronda, *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody*, 182. As one might imagine, this has been a source of consternation and speculation to biographers and critics. Organizing his aunt’s papers in 1904, Benjamin Pickman Mann struggles to “formulate a statement” on the “transition” between what he calls her “teaching period” of 1822–36 and the “business period” of 1840–52. See Benjamin Pickman Mann to Mary Van Wyck Church, 2 January 1904, in the Biography of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody Archive, Massachusetts Historical Society. More recently, Leslie Perrin Wilson has offered “personal and family financial need” as a practical answer to the question of what “brought Peabody—first and foremost a teacher—to the decision to enter commercial life” (“‘No Worthless Books,’” 124, 123). Yet these articulations, over 90 years apart, both posit an anachronistic dichotomy between teaching and commerce; if anything, the Temple School controversy had taught Peabody that teachers were never out of the marketplace, especially when they “depended on the goodwill and active support of parents [or other customers] for [their]
Notes to Chapter 3

livelihood” (Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 155). Her decision, therefore, to abandon her position and retreat to Salem for the sake of her reputation made good business sense, even if she resisted the provincial expectations that made such an exile necessary, just as her choice to open a bookstore was not a “transition” away from the business of teaching, so much as an educational enterprise (with all the economic connotations this word carries) in yet another form.


39. See the advertisement entitled “E. P. Peabody’s Book Room” in the 10 and 11 August and 7, 21, and 24 September 1840 editions of the Boston Morning Post. In a trade bill printed that August announcing the opening of her store, Peabody mentions she has the “choicest editions” for sale in her shop, and that she has “already ordered a choice selection” of texts for her circulating library as well, playing upon both the quality of printed materials and the superiority of her own methods of choosing texts for her establishment. For more, see “New Bookstore and Foreign Library” (Boston: Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 1840), Massachusetts Historical Society. For further discussion of Peabody’s advertisements, see Wilson, “No Worthless Books.”


41. For sale of School Library, see “New Bookstore and Foreign Library” (Boston: Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 1840), Massachusetts Historical Society.

42. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody to Samuel Gray Ward, 13 September 1841, Samuel Gray Ward Papers MS Am 1465 (955), Houghton Library, Harvard University; emphasis in original.

43. Peabody, Record, v.

44. Peabody, Reminiscences, 320. Bulwer-Lytton was a common target in the press at the time. For more on antebellum American responses to his writing, see Baym, Novels, Readers, and Reviewers.

45. Ronda, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 81.


48. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, “Journal,” 11–15 April 1836, as quoted in Bruce Ronda, “Elizabeth Palmer Peabody’s Views of the Child,” Emerson Society Quarterly 23.2 (1977): 110; emphasis in original. Even “at the utmost of his liberality,” Peabody laments, Alcott can do little more than merely “endure the suggestion of a contrary view,” and he “rather avoids than seeks any communication with persons who differ from himself” (110; emphasis in original). Unlike him, she believed that books, as manifestations of the “thought and views of other minds” or the historical record of the human mind’s progress as it unfolded throughout the ages, were important to self-culture precisely because they demonstrated the operations of human nature in vastly differing circumstances and could offer the provocation for an individual’s further development.

50. Proprietary shares cost $300, and were hereditary, easily transferred or willed to other family members. See Story, “Class and Culture in Boston,” 179, 192.


52. Ronda, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 94. Women were not merely the targets of new circulating libraries but were also their proprietors. For instance, Marty Sprague of Boston ran the “New Circulating Library” out of her millinery shop from 1802 through 1806, where, an advertisement in the Independent Chronicle tells us, “mingling useful with the musing,” she “flatter[ed] herself she shall receive the patronage of her Sex.” Quoted in Charles Bolton, “Circulating Libraries in Boston, 1765–1865,” Publications of the Colonial Society in America 11 (February 1907): 205. Also see Kaser, A Book for a Sixpence, 68. Similarly, in 1804 Boston milliner Kezia Butler opened a circulating library in her own millinery shop. See Bolton, “Circulating Libraries,” 205–6. To name but a few other ventures run by local women, N. Nutting operated a successful “Ladies Circulating Library” at 45 ½ Newbury Street in Boston during the 1820s, while Hannah Harris’s “Central Circulating Library” in Salem (Elizabeth Peabody’s hometown) during the same period flourished with an estimated 4,000 volumes. See Kaser, A Book for a Sixpence, 69.


55. Parker does concede that, having learned “more of the scheme through Miss Ripley, the plan strikes me as much better and the more I think of it, the more feasible it does appear.” Ultimately, he embraces the idea, declaring: “I should think you might now fill a vacancy and supply a want that has been long felt in Boston.” Theodore Parker to Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 1 July 1840, Theodore Parker Papers, microfilm edition, 4 reels (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1986), reel 2.

56. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody to William Ellery Channing, 10 July 1840, in “Biography of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody” [manuscript draft] by Mary Van Wyck Church, page 402, Massachusetts Historical Society; emphasis in original.

57. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody to William Ellery Channing, August 1840, in “Biography of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody” [manuscript draft] by Mary Van Wyck Church, page 405, Massachusetts Historical Society. Not only had she “learned to keep books in a week,” but she also saw the “advantages I possess in knowing something of the interior of books. Especially in this importing business I can detect mistakes made by even the shrewd house in New York which I shall never be liable to, although I will undoubtedly to many others” (405.1, 405). Channing was never quite convinced. He tells Peabody: “I rejoice in your bright prospects. If heroic endurance entitles one to success, you may put in a claim. I cannot judge of the facts you give me as proofs of your prospering or of your business talent; but it is so pleasant to believe, that I start no objection” (Reminiscences, 413).

58. As Leslie Perrin Wilson suggests, Peabody offered a selection “deliberately tailored” to her cosmopolitan-minded transcendentalist customers. See “‘No Worthless Books,’” 134.


60. For more on Burditt, see footnote 2 in LMF, 2: 120. See also Rollo Silver, The Boston Book Trade: 1800–1825 (New York: New York Public Library, 1949), 22.


63. As Leslie Perrin Wilson has already demonstrated, the bookstore and circulating library contained two different sets of books; Peabody maintained costlier editions for sale in the bookstore, while the circulating library, having been assembled for “content rather than high-end elegance,” was more practical, disseminating foreign knowledge at relatively minor cost to subscribers. See Wilson, “‘No Worthless Books,’” 142.


65. Many of Peabody’s friends would help her stock the circulating library by lending their books to the business. For instance, see Elizabeth Peabody’s letter to Channing from August 1840:

> The Library I have more and more hopes of. At first I scarcely expected to more than clear myself of danger xxx Mr. George Bancroft lends me Italian books—nearly enough to begin with during which time I can test how much they are wanted and what is wanted. If any of them circulate enough to become injured, they will become necessary to me, and I can import others for Mr. Bancroft. His generosity therefore will not impair his library in the end, but this does not take from the liberal character of his offer, which was made impulsively, because he thought whoever undertook the enterprise would need assistance at first. Before long the library would create its own clientele. Miss [Lee?] and Mr. Waldo Emerson have also given and lent me many desirable and expensive works in German and English.

See Elizabeth Palmer Peabody to William Ellery Channing, August 1840, in “Biography of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody” [manuscript draft] by Mary Van Wyck Church, page 405, Massachusetts Historical Society.


67. She notes elsewhere that, almost from the moment she set up shop, the “book-publishers combined against me, and though my friend Dr. Channing gave me his ‘Emancipation’ and
Hawthorne his ‘Grandfather’s Chair,’ yet I could not fight them all successfully, and finally relinquished business.” Quoted in Cooke, Historical and Biographical Introduction, 1:148. She would in fact go on to publish other texts throughout the decade, but it seems she would have to temper her hopes for financial success in that business.

68. For “shrewd business,” see Dowling, Business of Literary Circles, 133. Dowling identifies the book as Channing’s Slavery (Boston: James Munroe, 1835), but the edition Peabody published is a later treatise, Emancipation, inspired by Joseph John Gurney’s account of the emancipated British West Indies, Familiar Letters to Henry Clay of Kentucky. See references to “Emancipation” in Reminiscences, 410, 420; for the book’s genesis, see also “Introductory Remarks” in Emancipation (Boston: E. P. Peabody, 1840), iii–iv, and Jack Mendelsohn, Channing: The Reluctant Radical (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1971), 248.

69. Coultrap-McQuin, Doing Literary Business, 34.

70. Ibid., 47, 38.

71. Even Channing, who confessed to Peabody his “great desire to see a variety of employments thrown open to women,” registers the conventional gender proprieties of his day when he expounds upon the scope he envisions for her enterprise. Declaring that he saw “nothing in the business inconsistent with [her] sex,” he yet imagined it as a strictly female affair: a “bookstore kept by a lady would become a favored resort of your sex. The ladies want a literary lounge, and good might come from the literary intercourse that would spring out of such a place of meeting.” See William Ellery Channing to Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, 22 June 1840, quoted in Peabody, Reminiscences, 408–9.


73. For her arrangements with Wiley and Putnam, see Marshall, The Peabody Sisters, 393, 424, and 561 fn. 393, as well as Wilson, “No Worthless Books,” 125.

74. Elizabeth Palmer Peabody to William Ellery Channing, June 1841, in “Biography of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody” [manuscript draft] by Mary Van Wyck Church, page 411, Massachusetts Historical Society. “Perhaps I may make some plan to go on,” she concludes, “but I should abandon it for anything worth five hundred dollars a year. It has only paid itself and a very little over, hitherto, and this is not enough with an employment whose highest results are in the purse. I thought at least to fill the requisitions of a life asking so little as mine” (411). For a time, Peabody also tried renting a second office on Washington Street, which was just around the corner on Boston's publishers' row, in the hopes that a new location might help business. For example, she tells Sam Ward: “I have removed to no. 109 Washington Street, and already see that I shall have a great deal more custom from persons whom I have not previously known as well those I did know to whom I am more accessible—and I do desire to make some effort to get upon my counter what will attract them in frequently—or at least to ascertain I am to give this up finally.” See Elizabeth Palmer Peabody to Samuel Gray Ward, 13 September 1841, Samuel Gray Ward Papers MS Am 1465 (955), Houghton Library, Harvard University.


76. Zboray and Zboray, Literary Dollars, 141–42.

77. In a 9 April 1842 letter, Fuller tells Emerson: “As to pecuniary matters, Miss Peabody I have found more exact and judicious than I expected” (LMF, 3:58).


81. Theodore Parker to Ralph Waldo Emerson, 7 April 1842, quoted in Myerson, *New England Transcendentalists*, 77. Ironically, Munroe would hurry *The Dial* into the ground within the year; as George Willis Cooke explains, he led Emerson to believe that with a more careful business management, and in connection with his own publishing business, the *Dial* could be made to succeed . . . but the subscription list did not increase, while the expenses did. Monroe [sic] charged one-third of the selling price for its management, and the result was the abandonment of the enterprise at the end of the first year under his control.


Chapter 4


shape preeminently in words, particularly in the written words of mass-marketed fiction, advice literature, and periodicals" (61–62).

7. For “age of conversation,” see Capper, Margaret Fuller, 1:296; for conversation as a transcendental art, see Lawrence Buell, Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973); also see Noelle Baker, “Conversations,” in The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism, ed. Joel Myerson et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 341–60; for Channing’s conversations, see Peabody’s Reminiscences; for Peabody’s, see Charlene Avallone, “Elizabeth Palmer Peabody and the ‘Art’ of Conversation,” in Reinventing the Peabody Sisters, eds. Monika Elbert, Julie Hall, and Katharine Rodier (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006), 23–44. Although Fuller’s, like Peabody’s, time with Alcott at the Temple School left her skeptical of his methods, the experience nonetheless provided her with “many valuable thoughts” (LMF, 1:279).

8. For Fuller’s experiences at the Greene Street School, see Capper, Margaret Fuller, 1:206–51. For comparison between the Greene Street and Temple schools, see Judith Albert Strong, “Transition in Transcendental Education: The Schools of Bronson Alcott and Hiram Fuller,” Educational Studies 11 (Fall 1980): 209–19.


15. For “chiefly conversational” and “required thought,” see Allen, “School Journal,” 1: 30; emphasis in original. “So different” is quoted in Harriet Hall Johnson, “Margaret Fuller as Known
by her Scholars,” rpt. in Critical Essays on Margaret Fuller, ed. Joel Myerson (Boston: G. K. Hall & Company, 1980), 139. Subsequent references to this text will appear in parentheses.


18. Ibid.


23. Hewitt, Correspondence and American Literature, 69, 65.


26. Higginson, Margaret Fuller Ossoli, 118; Capper identifies the passage as one of Fuller’s journal entries from 1844, after she had given her final Conversations series. See Margaret Fuller, 1:297.


29. Similarly, Jeffrey Steele suggests that Fuller’s “profoundly dialogic imagination” sought “reflective surfaces . . . to inspect the self she was fashioning.” See “Keys to ‘the labyrinth of my own being’: Margaret Fuller’s Epistolary Invention of the Self,” in Letters and Cultural Transformations in the United States, 1760–1860, ed. Theresa Strouth Gaul and Sharon Harris (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 100.

30. Ellison, Delicate Subjects, 218.


32. Ibid., 50.

33. Ibid., 46, 47.

34. Zwarg, Feminist Conversations, 178.

35. Larry Reynolds characterizes The Dial, and Fuller’s contributions to it, as an “intertextual conversation,” quite literally the printed extension of the “ongoing discussion or dialogue” that Fuller’s circle was having on topics such as friendship, love, and marriage. See Reynolds, “From Dial Essay to New York Book: The Making of Woman in the Nineteenth Century,” in Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America, ed. Kenneth Price and Susan Belasco Smith (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 19–20. Similarly, Tiffany Wayne calls the magazine “another forum for ‘conversation’ among and between friends.” See Feminism and Transcendentalism in Nineteenth-Century America (New York: Lexington Books, 2005), 28. Rather than retracing any of these topics, my interest in The Dial lies in the theory and practice of conversation informing Fuller’s editorship, especially as they grow out of earlier teaching enterprises.
36. While Christina Zwarg argues that Emerson constructs “Waldo” as a parodic caricature of a man unable to assimilate Fuller into his masculine perspective, I am inclined to view Emerson as merely capitulating to nineteenth-century gender proprieties. See Feminist Conversations, 238–68.

37. For $500, see Packer, “The Transcendentalists,” 444; for $600, see Capper, Margaret Fuller, 2: 50; for $200, see Packer, “The Transcendentalists,” 449; for lack of payment, see Vol. 3 of The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 36. All subsequent references to Emerson’s letters are to this edition, hereafter cited in parentheses as LRWE with volume and page number. For $1,000, see LMF, 1:280.

38. See Kelley, Private Woman, Public Stage.

39. Memoirs, 1:323. Emerson implies that The Dial’s average contributor was male and loath to give the periodical “his best work” because, given its private, feminine character under Fuller, it would not offer “paying employment” for contributions (Memoirs, 1:323). Perhaps Emerson is projecting, as Fuller seemed to think be reserved his best work for other avenues: “From Mr Emerson we may hope good literary criticisms, but his best thoughts must, I suppose take the form of lectures for the present” (LMF, 2:126).

40. Fuller’s description is closer to the sentiments expressed in George Ripley’s “Prospectus”: “The purpose of this work is to furnish a medium for the freest expression of thought on the questions which interest earnest minds in every community. It aims at the discussion of principles, rather than the promotion of measures; and while it will not fail to examine the ideas which impel the leading movements of the present day, it will maintain an independent position with regard to them.” “Prospectus” for The Dial, in Transcendentalism: A Reader, ed. Joel Myerson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 290.

41. For the problem of calling, see Henry Nash Smith, “Emerson’s Problem of Vocation: A Note on ‘The American Scholar,’” New England Quarterly 12.1 (1939): 52–67. For its gendered aspects, see Elizabeth Peabody’s notes on Fuller’s first series of Conversations, where Fuller suggests that the reason there are so few women artists is that traditional gender roles often precluded it: “Miss Fuller said it troubled her to think there was no great musical composer among women. It is true that at the period of life when men gave themselves to their pursuit most women became mothers—but there were some women who never married. I suggested that these too often spent the rest of their lives in mourning over this fact—and society spoke so uniformly of woman as more respectable for being married—that it was [not] long before she entirely despaired” (“Journal,” 215). For a discussion of later transcendental feminists and the problem of vocation, see also Wayne, Woman Thinking: Feminism and Transcendentalism in Nineteenth-Century America (New York: Lexington Books, 2005), 79–105.

42. Vásquez, Authority and Reform, 200.


45. Fuller’s Dial notebook, [ca. April 1840], as quoted in Capper, Margaret Fuller, 2:56.

46. For more on the literary dialogue, see Capper, Margaret Fuller, 2:56; for “considerably more versatile,” see Sylvia Jenkins Cooke, Working Women, Literary Ladies: The Industrial Revolution and Female Aspiration (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 78. The essay was Emerson’s chosen form. Pointing to differences in their rhetorical styles, James Perrin Warren
contrasts Emerson’s and Fuller’s notions of eloquence: “For Emerson, eloquence takes the form of the secularized sermon—the lecture or address,” while for Fuller it “develops from the give-and-take of conversation, not from the oracular utterances of a divinely inspired speaker.” See *Culture of Eloquence*, 102. It is also a gendered distinction, founded in the discourse of self-reliant manhood and the other-centered language of nineteenth-century womanhood.

47. Reynolds, “From *Dial Essay*,” 20. Myerson’s seminal study undervalues Fuller’s agency in shaping *The Dial*, tending to reinforce conventional depictions of Fuller as an egotist (an image unfairly passed on by contemporaries more often than not threatened by the presence of such female intellect). He suggests, for instance, that her decision to accept the journal’s editorship was little more than “her own natural desire to be at the center of attention coincid[ing] with her wish to help the Transcendentalists.” See Myerson, *New England Transcendentalists*, 37.

48. As Capper observes, in “Fuller’s *Dial*, seasoned Transcendentalists . . . shared the stage with literary novices like Dwight, James Russell Lowell, and Caroline Sturgis; female reformers such as Peabody and Sophia Ripley; and a medley of Unitarian, Trinitarian, Transcendentalist, Quaker, and even, occasionally, Calvinist seekers. If such a cacophony approached at times incoherence, it had one saving grace: it projected Transcendentalism as something more than either simply a circle of Unitarian renegades, or, as it would largely be in Emerson’s *Dial*, a literary vehicle for himself and his young literary protégés.” See Capper, *Margaret Fuller*, 2:14. Sylvia Cooke remarks that, while Emerson’s *Dial* would continue to publish a “good deal” of Fuller’s work after her departure, fewer women were published in its pages, and even fewer of its contributors evinced much interest in the concerns of gender. See Cooke, *Working Women*, 75–76, 90.


51. For Alcott’s, Parker’s, and Ripley’s responses to the first issue, see Myerson, *New England Transcendentalists*, 43, 39.

52. Margaret Fuller to James Freeman Clarke, 1 January 1840, Fuller Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, as cited in Capper, *Margaret Fuller*, 1:345.


55. For “crowded out” see Emerson to William Emerson, 30 June 1840, in LRWE, 2:308; for “large” see Emerson to Fuller, 7 & 8 June 1840 in LRWE 2:303. In the letter to Fuller, he estimates that the essay is 63 pages long. In her response, Fuller admits that the printers had printed a “good deal before finding it would be too long.” She thus dropped his essay until the next issue and instead inserted a few poems by herself and Sarah Clarke in the final two pages. See LMF, 2:146, and 148 fn. 3.

56. For her worries about the small number of subscribers, see LMF, 2:136; for complaints about quality, see, for instance, her comment that the first issue was far from the “eaglet motion” she had hoped. See LMF, 2:146.

57. For example, Fuller excoriates the “contemptuous” attitude displayed in such commonplace expressions as “women and children”—disparagements even used “in no light sally of the hour, but in works intended to give a permanent statement of the best experiences” (*Woman*, 20). For Emerson’s view of *The Dial* and his anxieties over the effeminate, imitative character of (American) art, see Packer, “The Transcendentalists,” 447. For Fuller’s own move away from this kind of masculine language in her *Dial* writings, see Cooke, *Working Women*, 77–87.

59. Steven Fink, “Margaret Fuller: Evolution of a Woman of Letters,” in *Reciprocal Influences: Literary Production, Distribution, and Consumption in America*, ed. Steven Fink and Susan Williams (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press: 1999), 63–64. For a discussion of Thoreau in Fuller’s *Dial*, see Fink, *Prophet in the Marketplace* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1992), 11–37, and pp. 26–33 for “The Service” in particular; for Fuller’s response to Thoreau’s submissions, see Capper, *Margaret Fuller*, 2:16–17; for a highly critical reading of Fuller’s editorship, see Bernard Rosenthal, “The Dial, Transcendentalism, and Margaret Fuller,” *English Language Notes* 8 (1970): 28–36. While Fink suggests that Fuller’s attitude in her letter to Emerson masks “the real pleasure she took . . . in the exercise of literary and professional power,” and is an example of her “deep-seated ambivalence about her role and values as she shaped herself as a woman of letters in a complex and evolving literary marketplace” (Fink, “Evolution,” 64), Rosenthal calls her editorship “intensely possessive,” and claims that “what has been taken as the journal of a community of men was . . . primarily the journal of one woman” (Rosenthal, “The Dial,” 29) who was egotistical, more interested in representing her “exotic” tastes (35) than in offering a “panoramic view of the American transcendentalist milieu” (36).

60. For “objection,” see Vol. 7 of *Emerson’s Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*, ed. William Gilman et al. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 293; for Clarke’s opinion of the essay as poorly written, see Myerson, *New England Transcendentalists*, 49; for “foolish,” see 10 August 1840, in Parker’s journal, 1:35, as quoted in *LRWE*, 2:324, fn 326. Parker adds: Emerson said Thoreau’s essay “was full of life. But alas the life is Emerson’s, not Thoreau’s, & so it had been lived before. . . . I hope he will write for the newspapers more & less for the Dial” (324).


62. Fuller’s accusation might also be read as exasperation at what David Dowling calls her fellow editor’s “incapacity for expansion outward into the commercial world of resources.” Indeed, even those innovations Emerson adopted to encourage *The Dial’s* success, like the “New Poetry” section soliciting “submission of works in progress that might otherwise have been hidden in private journals,” tended to enact an “anticommercial poetics” whose effects were to make the magazine more “provincial and idiosyncratic,” and to direct its “social trajectory . . . inward rather than outward toward expansion into a cosmopolitan marketplace.” See Dowling, *Business of Literary Circles*, 106, 109–10, 112.

63. Specifically, Emerson is thinking of Thoreau’s poem “Sympathy,” which he calls the “Elegy” (*LRWE*, 2:311).

64. Fuller initially tried to put off the changes, telling Emerson “now we have begun so I should think it undesirable to make changes this year, as the first vol should be uniform” (*LMF*, 2:146), but then simply did not make them. See *LRWE*, 2:311 fn 270 for more. Bernard Rosenthal, however, notes that Fuller would take some of Emerson’s advice, incorporating his suggestion to include clear lines separating individual pieces from each other. See Rosenthal, “*The Dial*” 33.

65. For comparison, see Fuller’s *Dial* 1.1 (July 1840) and Emerson’s *Dial* 4.13 (July 1843).

67. “Miss Dial” is quoted in Capper, *Margaret Fuller*, 2: 10; “beard” is quoted in Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 161.


70. Ibid., 86. Extrapolating to *The Dial*, Zwarg suggests that Fuller’s editorial control of the 1842 issue, in which her translations of *Tasso* and *Gunderode* appeared, “became her ultimate act of translation, a grafting of complexities of [her authors] onto her own relationship with Emerson, all in the service of a useable model of feminist conversation” (86). But if her conversations with Emerson manifested in a theory of translation put into practice in *The Dial*, I suggest that they also shaped her attitude toward her role as editor and the aims of the journal itself.

71. Ibid., 15, 16. In “Storied Facts,” Zwarg describes Fuller’s theory of translation as a sustained interpretive strategy . . . less about a conquest of meaning, a mastery that subdues and potentially annihilates an alien set of values (hence everything that gets lost in translation), than . . . about the proliferation of meaning, or everything that might be found when new values open to view within both languages. In criticism, as in translation, the task is to allow one’s own language to be powerfully affected by the alien one, rather than to hold it constant. Thus Fuller’s interest in translation guides her thinking through many cultural issues because she sees that a hermeneutic maneuver deriving its authority from a struggle for mastery over meaning has violent historical consequences.


72. Wayne, *Woman Thinking*, 24; for Emerson’s involvement in the mixed-company sessions, see Caroline Healy Dall, *Margaret and her Friends; or, Ten Conversations with Margaret Fuller upon the Mythology of the Greeks and its Expression in Art* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1895).

73. Hewitt, *Correspondence and American Literature*, 68.


77. Ibid., 373. Such assertions demonstrate that antebellum Americans understood the periodical’s efficacy in terms very similar to what Richard Brodhead posits as the exclusive province of the nineteenth-century novel; he argues that the novel was uniquely suited to disciplinary functions, because it could “arouse” a sense of “peculiar intimacy” in readers and “transpose its orderings into [their] felt understanding” through seemingly “invisible persuasion.” See Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*, 46.

79. Capper, Margaret Fuller, 2: 7.
81. Okker, Our Sister Editors, 22–23.
82. For discussion of these three documents—Ripley’s “Prospectus,” Emerson’s “Editors to the Reader,” and Fuller’s “Short Essay”—see Fink, Prophet in the Marketplace, 18–22.
83. For “sisterly,” see Okker, Our Sister Editors, 23; for “manliness” and “man to man,” see Cooke, Working Women, 78–79, and Fuller, “Short Essay,” 10.
84. It is not a coincidence that such comments come after she had been hired at the New York Tribune. For more on Fuller’s conversational ethic at the newspaper, particularly in a cosmopolitan, transnational context, see Leslie Eckel, “Margaret Fuller’s Conversational Journalism: New York, London, Rome,” Arizona Quarterly 63.2 (2007): 27–50.

Coda

8. Quoted in McGrath, “Food Groups.”
12. Pinkwater, “Pineapple idiots!”
14. Pinkwater, “Pineapple idiots!”
15. Quoted in Fleisher, “Test Question Flunks.”
18. For “small” see Adams, Richard Henry Dana, 1: 119–20; “A lot of authors,” quoted in Fleisher, “Test Question Flunks.”
19. For this oft-cited aversion, see, for instance, Arthur Versluis, American Transcendentalism and Asian Religions (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 177; Packer, The Transcendentalists, 424; Cooke, Working Women, 78; for enshrinement of child-like vision as one of its legacies, see Buell, “Transcendentalist Literary Legacies,” 613.
22. For German literature in antebellum Boston, see Zboray and Zboray, “Transcendentalism in Print,” 344.