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**Everything is Relative:
Frances Elizabeth Mease Barrow (Aunt Fanny) and
Sarah Leaming Barrow Holly (Aunt Fanny's Daughter)
by Deidre A. Johnson**

"I love God and little children"

-- epigraph on the title pages of Aunt Fanny's Pop-Guns series

Introductory note: A number of women who wrote children's series came from writing families, with parents, siblings, cousins, or other relatives also publishing in some fashion. One subset of this population was mothers and daughters who wrote girls' or children's series. The earliest such pair were Elizabeth Stuart Phelps (1815-1852) and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward (1844-1911), who created her series more than a decade after her mother's death. Frances Barrow and her daughter Sarah, the other major mother-daughter combination, worked more closely together. Their lives and series are discussed below.

For more than forty years Frances Elizabeth Mease Barrow's name – or, rather, that of her pseudonym, "Aunt Fanny" – remained before the public. In the 1850s and 1860s, she published five quirkily-titled series combining humor, moral instruction, and social awareness. By the 1870s and 1880s, her name was associated with children's charities and with club activities and literary salons. When she died in 1894, one obituary characterized her both as an author whose children's books "delighted the grandfathers and grandmothers of the present day" and as "a social star, known to everybody as 'Aunt Fanny.'" ¹ Yet even though her name appeared often in newspapers and periodicals (and still surfaces in accounts of her nephew, Stanford White) and her own family figured in some of her stories, much of Frances Elizabeth Mease Barrow's history remains shadowy or contradictory, a situation compounded by repeated errors in reference sources. The biographical fragments that remain, combined with Fanny's writings, make it possible to piece together a more detailed and accurate picture than has been previously

¹ "Aunt Fanny Dead," [New York] *World*, May 8, 1894: 5, Old Fulton New York Postcards.

assembled. The portrait that emerges is that of a talented woman filled with a love of -- and ready sympathy for -- children (her own and others'), who managed to parlay her writing skills and build social networks to overcome personal losses and economic challenges and to help others in need.

Briefly entwined with Fanny's publishing career was that of her elder daughter, Sarah Leaming Barrow Holly, another biographical cipher. Initially, Fanny helped promote Sarah's creative efforts, providing a venue for Sarah's stories within her own books. So closely were the two originally allied that Sarah even adopted the pseudonym "Aunt Fanny's Daughter" when writing her first children's series. Sarah's career was much briefer than her mother's; ultimately, she withdrew from publishing and from society, turning instead to the Catholic church.

Early years

It is perhaps typical of the confusion surrounding Fanny's life and writings that even her birthdate is listed incorrectly in reference works. Frances Elizabeth Mease was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on February 22, 1817 -- not in 1822, as usually recorded.² According to family genealogies, Fanny was the third of eleven children born to Charles Bruton (or Benton) Mease (1788-1867) and Sarah Matilda Graham (1791-1859). Her eldest brother died in infancy, as did five of her younger siblings born between 1823 and 1833, early introducing her to the concept of childhood mortality.³

Judging by external evidence, Fanny's youth was filled with transitions and separations, including the births and deaths of many siblings. The family appears to have spent some time shuttling back and forth between New York and Charleston: Fanny's brother was born in South Carolina in November 1813 and died there six months later; her older sister Laura (1815-1902) was born at sea in April 1815, during one of the New York-South Carolina journeys. Frances is

² At some point in her life, Fanny may have readjusted her birthdate, for even though Library of Congress cataloguing data and biographical dictionaries show 1822, the 1817 date is supported by family genealogies, census records, and similar documents. Two family genealogies show her birth year as 1817: Helen Graham Carpenter, *The Reverend John Graham of Woodbury, Connecticut and His Descendants* (Chicago: The Monastery Hill Press, 1942): 285, HeritageQuest, and Henry Olcott Sheldon, *The Sheldon Magazine; or, A Genealogical List of the Sheldons in America* No. 2 (Jan. 1857), Reprinted with Corrections and Additions, ed. Leland Looke Sheldon (Genealogical Committee, Sheldon Family Association, 1965): 50, Google Books. The 1850 census, the first to record individuals' ages, shows her as 32. (Frances E. Barrow, [part of John Hanrahan household], 1850 United States Federal Census, New York Ward 17, New York, New York; Roll: M432_556; Page: 254A; Image: 9, Ancestry.com. *New York City Deaths, 1892-1902*, Ancestry.com also confirms the 1817 date.

³ Carpenter 284-89. Information in the next paragraphs about the children's lifespans and family's residences is also primarily from Carpenter, which offers the most detailed account of the Mease family, albeit with some errors. The eldest son's death is also mentioned in Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], "Massa Charles and His Family" in *Nightcaps* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1859): 114-17, Google Books.

the last child in the family recorded as being born in Charleston, suggesting that the family may have been spending more time in New York by 1820. Again, however, available information is somewhat contradictory. One autobiographical story set about 1822 indicates that Fanny's parents "spent all their winters in Charleston, South Carolina, often leaving their children at their kind [maternal] grandfather's house in New York," where one or two of their aunts helped care for them.⁴ Another autobiographical tale instead places the Meases -- parents and children -- in Charleston after the birth of Fanny's two younger brothers (in 1819 and 1821), claiming they left sometime thereafter when her father encountered financial problems. As Fanny related it, he "lost every cent of his fortune and was utterly ruined. It was in a year when there was distress all over the country . . . [After initial despair, he] gathered together the few small remnants of his property, and at his wife's earnest entreaty prepared to leave Charleston . . . He intended to live for the future in New York, as [his wife's] family had removed to that city."⁵

Fanny's autobiographical sketches provide only limited information about her childhood. She describes herself as tiny, with a "little turned-up nose and dark brown hair," physical traits that recur in her depictions of herself as an adult.⁶ Two of her sketches suggest her father entertained his children by telling stories, especially folktales; both display a knowledge of Southern variants of tales (most notably, "Little Runt," a version of Three Little Pigs similar to one that later appeared in Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus stories).⁷ Records from Charleston reveal that Charles Mease was a founding member of the Franklin Library Society of Charleston, perhaps another indication that Fanny was raised in a family that valued books and

4 Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], "Aunt Fanny's First Marriage and Its Tragical Ending," *Our Young Folks* 3 (1867): 27, Google Books. Support for Fanny's assertion that the Meases were in Charleston is found in Carpenter and in various notices in the Charleston *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* that mention Mease's shop or summons for jury duty (see for example, "State of South Carolina," Oct. 4, 1822: 3; and May 4, 1825: 3; for the jury notices; both America's Historical Newspapers). Carpenter establishes that at least one of Fanny's aunts lived in the New York household in the 1820s (279).

5 Barrow, *Nightcaps*, 166-167.

6 Ibid, 118.

7 Ibid, 134-47. In *Nightcaps*, Fanny refers to the folktale as "Little Runt"; in a later book, she refers to the tale as "The Old Porker Who Had Seven Little Pigs." In the latter, she writes of her father "sitting at home, with his daughter Laura on one knee and his little daughter Fanny on the other, telling them for about the hundred and fiftieth time the wonderful tale of 'Jack and the Dragon.' He had told just before the story of the 'old Porker who had seven little pigs,' because that had always to come *first* if he expected any piece of mind" (Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], *Good Little Hearts: Stories Told in the Wood* [New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1864]: 65-66).

The variant appears in Joel Chandler Harris, *Nights with Uncle Remus: Myths and Legends of the Old Plantation* (Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, The Riverside Press, 1883) as "The Story of the Pigs," 38-43, Google Books. D. L. Ashlimann identifies Harris's tale as a variant of "Three Little Pigs" ("Three Little Pigs and other Folktales of Type 124," Nov. 23, 2008, www.pitt.edu/~dash/type0124.html).

reading.⁸

The Meases probably relocated to New York City in the early 1830s: one family record cites 1831, but an advertisement in a Charleston paper suggests the permanent departure may not have occurred until 1833.⁹ Even in New York, the family remained in transit, shifting from residence to residence (changing homes in 1831, 1833, 1841, 1844, and again about 1846). Perhaps because of his economic problems, Fanny's father's business also remained in flux: in Charleston, Charles had dissolved a partnership with an associate in 1825 and managed on his own thereafter; in New York, he ran a dry-goods business with a new partner for about five years, then ended that partnership, changing his place of business in 1840 and again in 1844.¹⁰

Some of Charles's -- and Fanny's -- moves may also have been in response to changing family circumstances. Fanny's "kind grandfather" died in March 1836, and the following month Fanny's older sister Laura married a successful importer, William Mott Fellows (ca1810-1854).¹¹ Two years later, Fanny officially became an aunt with the birth of her niece Laura (1838-1849). Her sister's marriage left Fanny the eldest child at home: in addition to her two younger brothers, Charles Graham (1819-1913) and John Lorimer (1821-70), she had another sister thirteen years her junior, Alexina (Nina) Black (1830-1921).¹² The 1840 census indicates two other females between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine lived in the household, suggesting that Charles's business may have been prosperous enough for the Meases to afford servants.¹³

Marriage and first publications

⁸ [Anniversary Meeting], [Charleston] *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 5, 1821: 2, America's Historical Newspapers.

⁹ Carpenter, 284-85. Newspaper advertisements and notices help to chart Charles Meases's business history: an advertisement announcing the partnership of Mease and Sandiford Holmes appeared in the [Charleston, SC] *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*; Oct. 18, 1816: 3; "Dissolution of Copartnership," in the *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*; Jan. 3, 1824: 3; additional advertisements mentioning Mease selling merchandise include "Irish Linens," *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*; May 25, 1827: 3, and "Changeable Lustrings," *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*; Jan. 31, 1831: 3; finally, "To Rent in King St." advertises "A very desirable HOUSE and STORE formerly occupied by Mr. C. B. Mease," June 17, 1833: 3, all America's Historical Newspapers.

¹⁰ Carpenter, 285.

¹¹ Fellows appears in city directories as an importer; his lifespan is based on information in his obituary. *The New York City Directory for 1842 and 1843* (New York: John Doggett, Jr., 1842): 115; *Doggett's New York City Directory for 1845 and 1846* (New York: John Doggett, Jr., 1845): 126; *Doggett's New York City Directory for 1848 and 1849* (New York: John Doggett, Jr., 1848): 146, all Google Books; "Died," [obituary for William Fellows], *New York Daily Times*, April 3, 1854: 8, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹² Carpenter, 285, 287-88.

¹³ Chs B. Mease household, 1840 United States Federal Census, New York Ward 5, New York, New York; Roll: 300; Page: 327; Image: 668; Family History Library Film: 0017194, Ancestry.com.

The year after the census, Fanny, too, found a husband -- a young lawyer named James Barrow, Jr. (1813-1868), the son and grandson of vestrymen at Trinity Church (and, in the case of the grandfather, the Barrow for whom the New York street is named).¹⁴ James's background suggests an appreciation of literature,¹⁵ and a grandson had the impression that Fanny and James

14 Surprisingly little information has been found about James Barrow's family considering that two generations were apparently respected vestrymen at a prominent church. His grandfather, Thomas Barrow (ca1734-1825), died on September 15, 1825, at age 89 or 90 (Woman and Her Kingdom," [New York] *Sun*, Jan. 13, 1889: 6, *Chronicling America*; "Died," [Thomas Barrow obituary], *New York Evening Post*, msg. cite, Old Fulton New York Postcards; "Obituary Notices," *Christian Journal and Literary Register* 9 [1825]: 320, Google Books). While the obituaries state Thomas died at age ninety, the archives for Trinity Church indicate he was eighty-nine (St. Paul's Chapel Churchyard, Trinity Wall Street - History - Registers and Churchyards, <http://www.trinitywallstreet.org/history/registers>). A court case involving Trinity Church included the following brief summary of his life provided by his son James (Sr.): "Thomas Barrow . . . always resided in the city, and was, in 1794, appointed agent and collector for Trinity Church, and continued such until his decease in 1825, when [James] was appointed to the same office" ("Bogardus v. Trinity Church," *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Chancery of the State of New York Before the Hon. Lewis H. Sandford*, vol. 4 [New York: Banks, Gould & Co., 1850]: 680, Google Books).

After a fire destroyed Trinity Church in the late eighteenth century, "[a] picture of the ruins of the church was painted by Thomas Barrow in water colors," and, in 1841, his son James "presented [it] to the corporation." A church history adds only that "The picture is fairly well done and measures about fourteen by twenty-five inches." (*A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, Part 1 [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, The Knickerbocker Press, 1898]: 395, HathiTrust). No other works attributed to Thomas Barrow have been located, and the remark that the picture is "fairly well done" suggests that Thomas was not a professional artist, but was trying to create an artistic record of a momentous event. Thomas's picture, in turn, apparently served as the basis for a lithograph by J. Evers titled "Ruins of Trinity Church, 1776"; this circumstance has led to some references to Thomas as a popular artist or engraver. (See for example, Manhattan Street Names: Jane & John, Carmine & Cornelia, Nameberry [blog], <http://nameberry.com/blog/manhattan-street-names-jane-john-carmine-cornelia> or Jim Naureckas, New York Songlines: Barrow Street, www.nysonglines.com/barrow.htm.) The misinformation has been -- at least temporarily -- given additional currency by the "Tri-Borough" episode of the television series *CSI: New York* (original airdate Jan. 5, 2005) which also contained a reference to Thomas Barrow, claiming the street was named after him because "His depiction of the Trinity Church in ruins after the Great New York fire was hailed a masterpiece" rather than because he was a vestryman. (CSI Files, http://www.csifiles.com/episodes/newyork/season1/tri_borough.shtml; Database of Movie Dialogs, *CSI: NY* (2004), <http://movie.subtitlr.com/subtitle/show/133085>). The idea the street was named for Thomas because he was a vestryman rather than an artist is supported by the names of other streets in the area, which also memorialize Trinity vestrymen (Julius Chambers, *The Book of New York* [New York: Book of New York Company, 1912]: 206, Internet Archive; "How Well Known New York Streets Got Their Names," *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1911: SM10, ProQuest Historical Newspapers).

Like so much of Fanny's biography, information about her husband's forebears is incomplete and contradictory. It is known that Thomas Barrow's wife was named Sarah, but from there a certain amount of confusion reigns. James W Moore's *Rev. John Moore of Newtown, Long Island* indicates that Sarah was born in Newtown, Long Island, in May 1744 and died in 1805 without issue; she (and Thomas) share William Moore's burial vault in Trinity Church ([Easton, PA: Privately Printed, 1903]: 98, HeritageQuest). The Trinity Archives confirm her death date. Sarah -- or a prior wife of Thomas's -- did, however, clearly have at least one child -- James (ca1774-1862), who "assisted his father as such collector and agent [for Trinity Church] from 1813" (*A History of the Parish of Trinity Church* 681). James, in turn, married Philomela and they had at least two children, James and Sarah, before Philomela's death on Jan. 14, 1854 ([Obituary Philomela Barrow], *New York Daily Times*, Jan. 16, 1854, 5, NewspaperArchive; "Married," [Sarah Barrow and William Borrowe], *New York Spectator*, March 23, 1830, n.p., 19th Century U. S. Newspapers; "Died" [obituary Sarah (Barrow) Borrowe], *New York Times*, Feb. 19, 1866: 6; NewspaperArchive.)

15 James graduated from Columbia College in 1833 with a degree in the arts, and his "graduation oration" was titled "The Superiority of Literary Pursuits in the Acquirement of Lasting Fame." Carpenter 286; "Columbia

were both "very well read."¹⁶ James soon turned to law, and was admitted as an attorney in October 1836.¹⁷ The couple married on December 8, 1841. In contrast to Laura's situation, initially Fanny and James may have faced some financial difficulties: one source states they spent their first year together boarding with James's family and the next six years living with Fanny's family.¹⁸ The Barrows' first child, Sarah Leaming (1842-1906), was born the year after their marriage, on November 25, 1842, the same year Fanny acquired another niece, Fannie (or Fanny) Fellows (1842-63).¹⁹

Fanny's earliest identified publication, *Aunt Fanny's Christmas Stories*, appeared in 1848 (not 1855, as in most biographical sketches), published by D. Appleton and Co.²⁰ The preface, signed "Aunt Fanny," introduced the narrator's persona, explaining that "a little bit of a lady . . . had a great many nephews and nieces" to whom she told stories and had acceded to her niece's request to write them down.²¹ Like several of Fanny's subsequent works, *Story Book* included some autobiographical material and reworked folktales. One story, "The Three Bears," blends both elements: when Aunt Fanny's nieces (Laura and Fanny) visit and ask for a story, she obligingly supplies a variant of Southey's version of the tale. The first story in the book, "The Christmas Party," may also be autobiographical, for it is little more than a slight account of a family Christmas, focusing heavily on a young child named Sarah, possibly Fanny's daughter.

College," *New York Evening Post*, msg date [May-Oct. 1833], Old Fulton New York Post Cards.

¹⁶ Norman Holly, quoted in Carpenter 286. Since James died before Norman's first birthday, his impression of James is presumably based on comments from his mother Sarah or from Fanny.

¹⁷ Although Carpenter states that James "was licensed to practice May 15, 1841," a news item lists James among the attorneys admitted in October 1836 ("Supreme Court: News," *New York Spectator*, Nov. 3, 1836: n.p.).

¹⁸ Carpenter 286; "Married," [New York] *Tribune*, Dec. 9, 1841, msg. pg, Old Fulton New York Post Cards, fultonhistory.com/Fulton.html. *The New York City Directory for 1842 and 1843* would seem to indicate that the Barrows had their own residence for a short time after their marriage, since their address (27 Nassau) does not correspond either to any other Barrow or to Charles B. Mease's residence; *Doggett's New York City Directory for 1845 & 1846*, however, shows the Barrows at "Elev[enth] n[ear] B[roa]dway," the same address given for Charles Mease; similarly, *Doggett's New York City Directory for 1848 & 1849* shows both families at 176 Eleventh.

¹⁹ Carpenter gives Sarah's birthdate date as August 15, 1842 (286); the November date appears in church records and on Sarah's passport application (Trinity Church [Parish] Registers: Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials from 1750, http://www.trinitywallstreet.org/files/history/registers/display_detail.php?id=18096&sacr=baptism; [Sarah Catherine Holly], U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, Emergency Passport Applications (Passports Issued Abroad), 1877-1907; Microfilm Serial: M1834; Roll #54, [1897-1899 > Volume 106: Switzerland > 574], Ancestry.com).

²⁰ A notice of the book's publication appears in the *Alexandria [VA] Gazette*, Dec 18, 1848: 2, America's Historical Newspapers.

²¹ Citations are from the retitled edition, [Frances Barrow], *Aunt Fanny's Story Book for Little Boys and Girls* (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1849), Google Books, which has running heads reading *Aunt Fanny's Christmas Stories* on all text pages except for the preface. The preface does appear in both books. (Laura E. Wasowicz, Curator of Children's Literature, American Antiquarian Society, Email to author, March 04, 2011. The author gratefully acknowledges her assistance in verifying the preface appears in the earlier title as well as the retitled version.)

About 1850, D. Appleton and Co., reissued the book with a less seasonal title, *Aunt Fanny's Story Book for Little Boys and Girls*.

Unless Fanny adopted an unidentified pseudonym, almost a decade elapsed before her next book. She was probably submitting occasional pieces to periodicals either anonymously or pseudonymously; regrettably, since many periodicals remain unindexed and several women used the pseudonym Aunt Fanny during the same period, it becomes difficult to locate items or to attribute authorship of some material with certainty.²² Only one piece has been definitively identified: the autobiographical "Little Alice," which was republished in one of her books, appeared anonymously in *The Independent* in March 1855. Fanny may also have been occupied with family affairs, for the ten years between 1849 and 1859 saw more changes in her own and her relatives' households. Her second daughter, Alice Isabel (1849-1928), was born on May 25, 1849.²³ In 1849 or 1850, Fanny's sister Alexina became engaged to Richard Grant White (1822-85), an art and music critic and associate editor for the New York *Courier and Inquirer*. According to one source, it was Fanny who introduced the couple and "aided Richard's courtship of her sister"; if so, it may have been an indication that she was developing contacts among writers and in the publishing world -- or that she had met Richard through her husband, since both men were working at the custom house.²⁴

22 The greatest confusion concerns Fanny Barrow and Frances Dana Gage (1808-84), both of whom published as Aunt Fanny during this period. Occasionally, their writings would include identifying information or signatures: Gage's pieces sometimes show her surname or make reference to her Ohio home; similarly, Fanny sometimes wrote as Mrs. Fanny Barrow or spoke of her childhood in Charleston. About 1860, Barrow also began copyrighting most of her books in her own name, making it possible to attribute some titles to her with absolute certainty. Nonetheless, authorship of a number of items signed "Aunt Fanny" is unclear, and occasionally the same title is assigned to both women, depending on the library or cataloger.

Problems with misattributed authorship were further complicated after the entry on Gage in *American National Biography* credited Gage with *Fanny's Journey* (1866) (Harriet Sigerman, "Gage, Frances Dana Barker," *American National Biography Online*, 2000). *Fanny's Journey* was a miniature book (only 1 1/2" x 1 1/8"), copyrighted and published by a Buffalo firm, Breed, Butler & Co. as part of Fanny's Library. The reassignment of this title suggests that all of the titles in Fanny's Library -- and, quite probably, in two additional miniature series published by Breed, Butler & Co., during the same period -- were Gage's work. Those titles had previously been attributed to Barrow by Ruth E. Adomeit (Ruth E. Adomeit, "Buffalo, New York, 1862-1866," *The Miniature Book Collector* 1 [June 1960]: 7-8); the firm (along with a list of titles, again with the Barrow attribution) is also in Robert C. Bradbury, *Antique United States Miniature Books, 1690-1900* (No. Clarendon, VT: Bibliophile, 2001): 184-88. The recataloguing of the Breed, Butler titles seems to have caused overzealous catalogers and biographers occasionally to try to assign other Barrow titles to Gage, even when Barrow's name shows as copyright holder. (Ironically, although catalogers have now assigned *Fanny's Journey* to Gage, Barrow still receives credit in studies of miniature books.)

23 Carpenter 285, 287. Alice's birth date may be August 26 rather than May 25; the August date appears on a passport application from 1921 (U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, Ancestry.com).

24 Paul R. Baker, *Stanny: The Gilded Life of Stanford White* (New York: Macmillan, The Free Press, 1989): 6. No source for the allegation that Fanny introduced the couple appears in *Stanny*. In his biography of Richard Grant

Census records for 1850 indicate that the Barrows lived a few doors from Fanny's parents' home, sharing a residence with another couple and their nine children (ranging from nine-month-old twins to a nineteen-year-old -- ample audience, perhaps, for Fanny's stories). No occupation is recorded for Fanny. Most of her family still resided nearby, probably in more comfortable circumstances. Laura had recently moved to a home in fashionable Madison Square.²⁵ Fanny's younger brother John (a "merchant" like his father) was living with their parents and their two Irish servants.²⁶ After their October 1850 marriage, Alexina and Richard White settled at 4 St. George's Place, in a home soon filled with books, engravings, and even portraits of the couple painted by Richard's friend, Daniel Huntington.²⁷ More changes to the family occurred in the next few years with the births of the Whites' two sons, Richard (1851-1925) and Stanford (1853-1906), and, in 1854, the deaths of Fanny's mother-in-law and Laura's young husband.²⁸ At some point after settling her husband's estate, Laura -- who appears to have inherited considerable

White, based on correspondence (and, apparently, acquaintance with the family), Fred Schroeder states that "Where Richard met Nina and when is not clear" -- though he asserts that Richard "wooed [Alexina] through the intermediation of Mrs. James Barrow," citing as support an undated letter from Richard to Fanny, praising Alexina. ("How lovely, how superb she was last night. Have you noticed how much she has changed within the last few months? . . . Charming, lovely . . . but her manner was that of high refinement and girlish simplicity only, but of late . . . she has added to it a self possession, a stately repose of manner . . . which makes her truly superb amid all her winning loveliness..."). Inexplicably, however, Schroeder refers to Fanny as White's cousin rather than Alexina's sister. Fred E. H. Schroeder, "Nothing If Not Critical: A Biography of Richard Grant White," PhD, Thesis, University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, 1968: 44-45.

Schroeder notes White worked in the custom house in 1850 (202); James Barrow's census entry also locates him in the custom house in 1850.

25 *Doggett's New York City Directory, 1848-1849* (New York: John Doggett, Jr., 1848): 146, Google Books.

26 Charles P. Mease household, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, New York Ward 17, New York, New York; Roll: M432_556; Page: 253B; Image: 8, Ancestry.com. Fanny's entry appears on Roll: M432_556; Page: 254A; Image: 9, indicating geographic proximity. Fanny's other brother, Charles Graham, may have been working as a clerk in Texas (lylywhy, Stanford White Family Tree, Ancestry.com, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/23708179/>).

27 Schroeder, 45, 48. The information about how the couple acquired their portraits differs slightly depending on the source. According to Baker, "After Richard and Nina were engaged in 1849, Daniel Huntington painted their companion portraits" (6); Schroeder, however, writes that Richard's portrait was "a New Year's gift at mid-century" to him from the artist, citing a letter from Huntington dated Jan. 11, 1850. There is no reference to an engagement; Schroeder adds only that "Some months later Huntington must have painted Nina, for the portraits still are to be seen in their descendants' home." (48) The portraits are reproduced in Claire Nicholas White, ed. *Stanford White: Letters to His Family* (New York: Rizzoli, 1997): 13.

Schroeder suggests that the family home described in White's *Atlantic Monthly* essay "Daily Beauty" -- with "stacks of books . . . Engravings of paintings by Raphael and Correggio" and more is that of the Whites, but he also states the description is of 173 East 13th Street, which was Alexina's father's home (80). Nonetheless, the idea that White lived surrounded by books, paintings, and etchings is supported not only by "Daily Beauty" but also by the catalogue of the sale after his death, which listed thirty oil paintings, twenty-six lots of "Framed Engravings, etc.," and over one hundred lots of engravings (*Catalogue of the Library, Engravings, Oil Paintings and Musical Instruments Belonging to the Estate of the Late Richard Grant White, Esq., of New York* (Bangs & Co., N.p., 1885), Google Books.

28 [Obituary Philomela Barrow], *Daily Times*; "Died" [obituary for William M. Fellows]; date of death for Richard Mansfield White from dhill117, Silva-Hill Family Tree, Ancestry Family Trees, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/13647588/person/1740380008>.

wealth -- traveled to Paris with her two surviving daughters, Fannie and Anna (1846-80).²⁹

An odd occurrence in 1857, coupled with the death of Laura's husband a few years earlier, may have caused Fanny to start thinking about trying to earn money to help support her family. On November 25, 1857, the *New York Herald Tribune* carried an item titled "Alarming Disappearance," which noted that on the previous Saturday, "Mr. James Barrow, jr. [sic] . . . was seen near the corner of Broadway and Thames street, on his way to take the 6 o'clock boat for Staten Island, and has not been seen or heard of since, though active inquiries have been made by private persons and the police."³⁰ Two days later, the paper announced that James had returned, adding, "He was obliged to leave town on business and sent a letter to his wife saying so, which was not delivered."³¹ For almost a week, however, Fanny had been without a husband, with two daughters dependent upon her.

The couple's financial situation may have been another factor that nudged Fanny back into publishing. James's listings in the New York City directory and assorted notices in the newspapers raise the possibility of fluctuating finances, especially in the mid- to late 1850s. City directories indicate that James worked as an attorney until at least 1845. In 1848 and 1850, however, he is listed as a broker, with an office at the same street address as his elder sister's husband William Borrowe (1810-1860).³² The next available directory -- for 1856-57 -- registers a significant change suggesting business problems: James's occupation is now listed as "shoes," and the Barrows are no longer living with Fanny's family, but reside at an unspecified address on Staten Island -- as does William Borrowe.³³ Other documents suggest James became involved in investments in the Lindsay Mining Corporation of North Carolina which appears to have encountered serious financial difficulties and failed circa 1855.³⁴ Afterward, James and

29 "Legal Notices," [re William Fellows's estate], *New York Daily Times*, Jan. 30, 1855: 7, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Laura's subsequent trip to Paris is implied by the dedication of Fanny's *Life Among the Children* from 1858: "To my dear little niece Anna, now in Paris" (The author of Aunt Fanny's Stories [Frances Barrow], *Life Among the Children* New York: Stanford & Delisser, 1859).

30 "Alarming Disappearance," *New York Herald-Tribune*, Nov. 25, 1857: 4, America's Historical Newspapers.

31 [Mr. James Barrow], *New York Herald-Tribune*, Nov. 27, 1857: 5, America's Historical Newspapers.

32 *The New York City Directory for 1842 and 1843*, 25; *Doggett's New York City Directory for 1845 and 1846*, 30; *Doggett's New York City Directory for 1848 and 1849*, 39, 56; *The New York Mercantile Union Business Directory* (New York: S. French, L. C. & H. L. Pratt, 1850): 83, all Google Books. The family relationship is established via the obituary for Philomela Barrow, which refers to "her son, James Barrow, Jr., and son-in-law, William Borrowe" ([Obituary Philomela Barrow], *Daily Times*, and the marriage announcement for Sarah Barrow and William Borrowe ("Married," *New York Spectator*).

33 *Trow's New York City Directory for the Year ending May 1, 1857* (New York: John F. Trow, 1856): 54, 88, Google Books.

34 Evidence of James's connection with the company and some indication of its financial troubles can be

William may still have been scrambling to salvage their investment, for in 1856, the two are named as directors of the Silver Hill Mining Company of North Carolina.³⁵ These financial machinations may have left the Barrows short of funds to meet household expenses, an incentive for Fanny to market more of her stories.

Fanny's next identifiable publications appeared in 1858. *Life Among the Children*, sometimes erroneously attributed to Frances Dana Gage (another author who wrote as Aunt Fanny), was a collection of stories dedicated to Fanny's niece Anna (Laura's daughter) and issued by the short-lived firm Stanford & Delisser.³⁶ *Children* lacked the welcoming preface common to most of Fanny's subsequent works and, although one story noted that it, "like all the rest of my stories, is a 'real true' story," most of the autobiographical connections remain ambiguous.³⁷ The collection did, however, contain Fanny's daughter Sarah's publishing debut -- albeit an uncredited one -- with one of the few tales displaying recognizable autobiographical elements. "Aunt Mary: A Sketch by a Girl of Fifteen" is a description of Sarah's great-aunt, Mary Sheldon Graham (1783-1867); its most noteworthy element is a scene depicting little "Stanny" -- Stanford White -- at about age three. Fanny was apparently charmed by the piece, for she included it in another collection several years later, this time with a note acknowledging it was by her (unnamed) daughter. Like Fanny's first book, *Children* also incorporated reworked folklore, in this case a retelling of Bulwer-Lytton's "The Wooing of Master Fox," which drew on the many

found in [Notice of shareholders' meeting], *New York Daily Tribune*, September 19, 1854: 8, Old Fulton New York Postcards; [Notice of shareholders' meeting], *New York Herald*, Dec. 10, 1854: 5, *ProQuest Civil War Era*; "Kelley v. Upton," in John Duer, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Superior Court of the City of New York*, vol. 5 (Albany: W. C. Little and Company, 1858): 336-337, 342, Google Books.

One of the only other references to the Lindsay Mining Company and to the Lindsay Mining Company of North Carolina appears in R. M. Smythe's *Obsolete American Securities and Corporations* (New York: R. M. Smythe, 1904) -- the former is listed as "Stock worthless"; the latter, as "Stock, dated before 1883, worthless" (406). One account of the mine states its "demise . . . came in 1855, when the Bank of Cape Fear and thirty-nine other creditors forced a sale of the company," Mary A. Browning, *Remembering Old Jamestown: A Look Back at the Other South* (Arcadia, 2008) [n.p.], Google Books.

³⁵ A report on the company also names William as one of the founders. "Special Notices," *New York Herald*, June 11, 1856: 9, 19th-Century U. S. Newspapers. "Report of Thomas Petherick, Esq., of Pottsville, Pa., upon the Silver Hill Mine, Davidson Co., N.C.," *The Mining Magazine and Journal of Geology, Mineralogy, Metallurgy, Chemistry, and the Arts*, Second Series 1 (1860): 432; Google Books. Section 1 of the Silver Hill charter lists "Franklin Osgood, Henry Schoonmaker, William Borrowe and their associates, successors and assigns" as "a body corporate by the name and style of the Silver Hill Mining Company"; the newspaper notice names those three along with James, and two members from North Carolina -- John A. Gilmer and James A. Long.

³⁶ According to the American Antiquarian Society's records, Stanford & Delisser operated at 508 Broadway, New York, between 1858 and 1859 (Laura E. Wasowicz, Curator of Children's Literature, American Antiquarian Society, Email to author, March 4, 2011).

³⁷ [Barrow], *Life Among the Children*, 48.

tales of Reynard the Fox for its characters.³⁸

Series fiction

Fanny's second title for 1858, *Nightcaps*, was issued by her original publisher, D. Appleton & Co, and served to launch her first series, *Nightcaps* (6 vols., 1858-60). The eponymously titled first volume also initiated a strategy Fanny employed in most of her subsequent series: "Nightcaps," the first tale, introduced the series concept of a mother telling bedtime stories (nightcaps) to her children; it thus served as a frame story for the volume and presented a group of characters who would reappear throughout the series in frame narratives and occasionally in other stories. The use of continuing characters in the introductory narrative combined with the concept of storytelling allowed Fanny to insert a range of disparate materials yet preserve continuity across volumes.

The series' first volume (appropriately dedicated "To my/Rusty, fusty, crusty, gusty,/Kind, good-hearted, generous, trusty,/Bachelor brother,/And no other") is the most overtly autobiographical of Fanny's books: the final, lengthy tale, titled "Massa Charles and His Family," chronicles her parents' life in Charleston from their first year of marriage in 1813 through their departure for New York, while the initial two stories feature her own daughters. The first of these, "Little Alice" (again described as a "'real true' story"), introduced a cause that would concern Fanny for most of her life -- children in need -- and showed her belief in the effectiveness of a personal appeal for aid, a method she would employ in later years.³⁹ "Little Alice" opens with Fanny reading missionary Lewis Pease's newspaper appeal for donations for the children of Five Points and then telling her daughter about their plight. In response, Alice relinquishes her entire outfit, piece by piece, as Fanny continues to detail the children's needs. Finally, Alice "stood, clothed only in the garment of purity and innocence, with which she came into the world," and Fanny sends off the bundle "to Mr. Pease with a note, begging him to give

38 Information about Sarah's great-aunt is from Graham 279. The story appears on pages 109-114 of *Life Among the Children* and again on pages 69-74 of *More Mittens* (which, as Fanny implies in the introduction, reprints most of the material from *Children*) (Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], *More Mittens with The Doll's Wedding and Other Stories* [New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1862], Internet Archive). Fanny also included "Aunt Mary: A Sketch, By a Girl of Fifteen" as part of her novel *The Wife's Stratagem*, adding in a footnote that "it was written by [the author's] daughter at the age mentioned above" ([Frances Barrow], *The Wife's Stratagem* [New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1862]: 169-74, Google Books; quoted material from 169).

The reworked folktale is incorporated into "The Story Told To Willie" and introduced with the remark, "I think I have a very nice story for you. It is about a fox and some other animals. It was written by a very great author. As it is written, it will be almost *too old* for a little fellow like you, but I will make it younger if I can." (105)

39 Barrow, *Nightcaps*, 16.

them entire to one little girl." ⁴⁰ The second tale adopts a very different tone -- and shows another side of Alice. In "The Doctor," Alice borrows her mother's scissors and operates on one of her dolls, cutting off its nose -- much to the amusement of Fanny and Alice's older sister Sarah, who watch silently.⁴¹ (One reviewer remarked of *Nightcaps* that "The fun and pathos are most admirably mingled," also noting, "We have yet a most distinct remembrance of the extravagant delight which the Night-Caps . . . afforded to a little niece, and we believe that she even yet cherishes it as the most valuable book in her juvenile library.")⁴²

Subsequent *Nightcaps* volumes continued the pattern of a frame story and several unrelated tales, sometimes about, alluding to, or even by, Fanny's own children. In those accounts, Alice was often depicted as an innocent child, while Sarah was portrayed as much older, more of a companion or confidante for her mother. Even when Alice and Sarah were not identified as such, the characterization of a childish younger sister and mature older sibling persisted, as in the fourth volume, *Little Nightcap Letters* (1860). Dedicated "to my daughter, 'Little Alice,'" *Letters* features two girls, "little Bella" and "Edith, her elder sister," whose mother must travel to the South for several months to regain her health.⁴³ The narrative intersperses stories about the girls and their father with letters Bella receives from her mother, who is staying in Charleston and Savannah. Throughout the tale, Edith serves as a surrogate parent, even reading their mother's letters aloud to Bella (so that she is essentially speaking in her mother's voice). A notice in *New York Times* for March 14, 1859, suggests that the genesis of the story was probably autobiographical: it lists "Mrs. James Barrow, Jr." among the passengers sailing for Charleston.⁴⁴

The series' next volume, *Big Nightcap Letters*, further strengthened Sarah's association with her mother's role (and, to some extent, voice): she, too, became a storyteller and writer although she did not receive credit on the title page. The frame story for *Big Nightcap Letters* noted that Sarah, "now a young lady," had "written a story on purpose" for one of the *Nightcap* children; the result, "The Little White Angel," was featured as the first tale in the book.⁴⁵ Fanny's

40 Ibid, 24.

41 The story title actually refers to Sarah; in the first half of the tale she acts as doctor for Alice's dolls.

42 "Review of New Books," *Peterson's Magazine* 37 (1860): 171, Google Books. The review was actually for a subsequent title, but included comments about the series's first volume.

43 Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], *The Little Nightcap Letters* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860): 56, Google Books.

44 "Passengers Sailed," *New York Times*, March 14, 1859: 8, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

45 Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], *The Big Nightcap Letters* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860): 13,

introductory comments described Sarah's technique as "endeavor[ing] to imitate the beautiful German style," a rather different tone from the usual Nightcap stories. Fanny may still have been recuperating from her travels or may have wanted to promote Sarah's writing, for *Big Nightcap Letters* also contained a second story by Sarah, "The Rose Crown." Again, Fanny provided an introduction for the tale, stating, "I have asked Sarah . . . to write me another story after the German fashion," adding that it "was suggested by reading about Christmas in Germany, in Bayard Taylor's 'Views Afoot.'" ⁴⁶ The series' final volume, *Fairy Nightcaps*, returned the focus to characters from the frame story, with Fanny as sole author. Fanny's own family history, filled with loss (including the death of her mother in 1859), may have shaped the outcome of the series, for the final story concluded with the death of the child to whom most of the nightcaps had been told. ⁴⁷

By the time Fanny's next series began, the country was at war, and her younger brother John, age forty, had enlisted with the Union forces. Accordingly, the frame narrative for her Mittens series (6 vols., 1862-63) included a group of children whose brother George had joined the army; the children resolve to knit mittens for the soldiers and, in the fourth volume, put on an entertainment (in the form of a play, included in the book) to earn still more mittens. The series' final volume, the descriptively titled *The Orphan's Home Mittens and George's Account of the Battle of Roanoke Island*, reintroduced Fanny's concern for needy children while maintaining the series' regular focus on the war. The first half of the book highlighted the Orphan's Home in New York, on whose Board of Managers Fanny now served. ⁴⁸ The last half took the form of a

Google Books. Quoted material in the next sentence is also from this page.

⁴⁶ Barrow, *Big Nightcap Letters*, 141, 140.

⁴⁷ Possibly because this volume had the word "fairy" in the title -- or because of the association of stories with Aunt Fanny, an earlier work titled *Aunt Fanny's Fairy Stories* is sometimes misattributed to Barrow, even though publication information indicates the book was "translated from the German by Charles A. Dana" and is a collection of European tales. The earliest editions of *Aunt Fanny's Fairy Stories* in WorldCat listings appear to be those issued by the Philadelphia publisher Duffield Ashmead in 1865 editions. Whether "Aunt Fanny" was a generic name or tied to an actual German storyteller is uncertain, though the former seems more likely; an earlier collection translated by Clara Volkmann also appears in WorldCat as *Good Aunt Fanny's Budget of Stories and Legends for Children* (1852), issued by Henderson, another Philadelphia publisher. Yet another set of stories perhaps stemming from the same source and again occasionally misattributed to Fanny are those featuring Nutcracker and Sugardolly. They seem to have appeared in the United States concurrently with *Good Aunt Fanny's Budget of Stories*, but in *Nutcracker and Sugardolly: A Fairy Tale* (1852), again a work translated by Charles A. Dana. *Nutcracker* was also published by Henderson in Philadelphia -- but in New York by D. Appleton, a firm that handled some of Fanny's early works (including *Fairy Nightcaps*), which may account for some of the confusion.

⁴⁸ Fanny identifies herself as "one of the managers" in the introductory story (Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], *The Orphan's Home Mittens; and George's Account of the Battle of Roanoke Island* [New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1862]: 11, Google Books).

letter from the children's brother George describing the title battle. Although George survived, once again Fanny worked a death into the frame story, killing off one of the children's friends who had also enlisted. The concluding pages also incorporated an autobiographical item, part of a letter from Fanny's own "dear brother John," who had sent Alice a package containing "Miss Secesh" -- "the head and legs of a porcelain doll" he had found "when out scouting with the regiment, on the right bank of the James river."⁴⁹

Fanny was not the only Barrow producing works for children in 1862. The publisher Leavitt & Allen launched a new series, *Socks* (6 vols., 1862), whose author was listed as Aunt Fanny's Daughter -- none other than Sarah. Fanny helped initiate the series by writing the introduction to the first volume, reminding readers that they had met Sarah in the story "The Doctor" in *Nightcaps*, and the title pages heralded Sarah as "The author of 'The Little White Angel'." ("Angel" had gained additional circulation when it was published -- anonymously -- in both *The Independent* and *Youth's Companion* in 1861.)⁵⁰ Like Fanny, Sarah was interested in current events -- specifically, the war -- and the series' first two volumes, *Red, White, and Blue Socks, Part First* and *Red, White, and Blue Socks, Part Second*, were actually one long story about a group of boys, the Dashahed Zouaves, playing war games. In the third volume, *German Socks*, Sarah returned to a favorite form with a collection of short stories in a style similar to that of "Little White Angel"; the remaining three volumes were also story collections, with the last set in New York City and containing some autobiographical elements. Although the name of Sarah's series was clearly designed as a companion to Fanny's *Mittens*, structurally the volumes lacked a frame story and thus the internal continuity found in Fanny's books; only the inclusion of the word *Socks* in the books' titles bound the volumes together.

Sarah's book dedications give a few glimpses of her life and personality. She, too, depicts Alice as "little": the series' third volume was dedicated "to my little sister's friend" -- even though the adjective was unnecessary since Sarah had only one sister.⁵¹ If the fourth volume's dedication is to Alice, it further infantilizes her as "darling little Allie Baby."⁵² Another volume briefly

⁴⁹ Barrow, *Orphan's Home Mittens*, 135.

⁵⁰ The story appeared in *Youth's Companion* 35 (May 9, 1861): 73, and *The Independent* 13 (Oct. 3, 1861): 6. Several months later *The Independent* carried a note stating "The beautiful story called the Little White Angel, published some time ago in our columns, was written by Miss Sarah Barrow of this city" (*The Independent* 14 [Feb. 16, 1862]: 4, American Periodicals Series).

⁵¹ Aunt Fanny's Daughter [Sarah L. Barrow], *German Socks* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1862), Google Books.

⁵² Aunt Fanny's Daughter [Sarah L. Barrow], *Funny Little Socks* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1862), Google

alluded to Sarah's past: it was dedicated to (the unidentified) "little Cooley and George" with the added note, "I am afraid your pretty curly heads will hardly retain a recollection of a little personage who once lived close to your beautiful home on Staten Island."⁵³ And just as Fanny had dedicated the last volume in her first series to her father (with perhaps some justification, for her stories often imply she learned the art of storytelling -- and gained exposure to a wealth of folktales -- from him), so, too, did Sarah dedicate the last volume of her series to James Barrow; she acknowledged his "kindly and charming ways with the 'little folk'," noting that they were reflected in "the character of 'Neighbor Oldbird'" in the book.⁵⁴ (Oldbird, who occasionally serves as narrator, befriends the local children, buying them candy and toys.) None of the volumes are dedicated to Fanny -- or even acknowledge her role in the publication process.

While Sarah was writing children's series, Fanny was trying new markets, and the years 1862-64 were her most productive period. Again, the Barrows' economic situation may have propelled her into publishing more frequently. City directory and supplementary items hint at James's continued financial struggles. Although he and his brother William were apparently still shareholders in the Silver Hill Mining Company, James has no listing in the New York City directory for 1859 or 1860; in 1861, he resurfaces as a "broker" with the same business address as William -- but a home address indicating he and Fanny were again living with her father. William, a merchant sharing an office with two other members of the Silver Hill Mining Company in 1859, also disappears from the directory in 1860, and then joins the Mease household -- presumably for the last months of his life, for he died in April 1860.⁵⁵ If he and

Books.

⁵³ Aunt Fanny's Daughter [Sarah L. Barrow], *Red White, and Blue Socks, Part First* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1862), Google Books.

⁵⁴ Aunt Fanny's Daughter [Sarah L. Barrow], *Neighbor Nelly Socks* (New York: Leavitt & Allen, 1862), Internet Archive.

⁵⁵ *Trow's New York City Directory for the Year Ending May 1, 1859* (New York: John F. Trow, n.d.); *Trow's New York City Directory for the Year Ending May 1, 1860* (New York: John F. Trow, n.d.); *Trow's New York City Directory for the Year Ending May 1, 1861* (New York: John F. Trow, n.d.), all Google Books; "Died," [obituary William Borrowe], *New York Times*, April 21, 1860: 8, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

A continual challenge in working with the Barrow family is duplicated names: more than one James Barrow lived in New York City for much of the period involved. Fortunately, Fanny's husband is usually identified as James, jr., helping to distinguish him in the city directories. Specifically, the Barrow and related listings in the directories are as follows: for the year ending 1857, three James Barrows exist: James Barrow, agent, 187 Fulton, house 7 E. 27th (possibly James's father); James C, lawyer, 362 Broadway, house 845 Broadway (an unknown figure); James jr, shoes, 34 Dey, house S. I. (Fanny's husband). A David W. Ives was also involved with "shoes" at 34 Dey.

No directory has been seen for the year ending May 1, 1858. For the year ending May 1, 1859, there are two James Barrows, the James Barrow at 219 5th Avenue, no occupation, is probably Fanny's father-in-law; the James Barrow, carman, in a boarding house at 240 Cherry is unidentified; there is no listing for James, Jr. (It's

James had been sharing office expenses, James was now left on his own -- and perhaps responsible for his widowed sister, Sarah Borrowe (ca1811-1866). A report on the Silver Hill Mine from about this time suggests it was not currently active, possibly adding to James Barrow's financial problems.⁵⁶ The copyright information in Fanny's books also suggests that she and James may have been trying to ensure that she would have some financial independence (or insulation against James's speculations): beginning with Fanny's second *Nightcaps* volume in 1859, the notices in her books showed her name as copyright owner (permissible under New York's Married Women's Property Act of 1848, but also perhaps one that helped separate Fanny's income from James's investments).

Under those circumstances, Fanny may have decided to write more and to try for a wider audience. Her publications from 1862-64 include at least three works for adults -- two of which show a wife helping or rescuing her husband. Fanny's only novel, *The Wife's Stratagem*, was published anonymously in 1862. Like her children's books, *Wife's Stratagem* was predominantly a collection of stories loosely linked by a frame narrative; the premise involved a wife designing

possible that James is the "carman" in 1859, though Fanny's correspondence from January 1859 indicates she was either living at her father's home or using it as a mailing address. (Barrow letter to Mr. Seaver, Jan. 8, 1859, Cairns Collection, University of Wisconsin-Madison, The author gratefully acknowledges Susan Barribeau and the Special Collections Department for their assistance.) For the year ending May 1859, William Borrowe is a merchant, at 5 William; two members of the Silver Hill Mining Company -- Henry Schoonmaker and Franklin Osgood -- are also at 5 William, both as "broker[s]"; William Borrowe's house is still at Staten Island. A William Borrowe, Jr., presumably his son, is also a broker, at 49 Exchange Pl, with a house in Staten Island. For the year ending May 1, 1860, the James at 219 5th Avenue is the only James Barrow listed; there are no William Borrowes, either.

For the year ending May 1, 1861, there are two Barrows: James, no occupation, is still at 219 Fifth Ave; James, jr, broker, is at 42 Pine, house 173 E. 13th St (the Meases' address) ; the locations in William Borrowe's information match those in James's listing.

Assessing the Barrows' economic situation is complicated by the absence of a clear entry for the family in the 1860 census. No James Barrow household corresponding to their demographics exists. Fanny's father's household, however, has a James and Frances Brown, with two children, Sarah and Harris, which could be the Barrows (especially considering James's address in the city directories). The entries for Fanny and Sarah and Harris (a mishearing of Alice?) correspond to the correct ages for Fanny and the children, but Harris is marked as "male" and James' age is off by about twenty years. (He is listed as sixty-six years old.) *If* that entry is for the Barrows, then Fanny declared personal property valued at \$5000, and James had no real estate or personal property, an indication Fanny may have been receiving earnings from books (and possibly an inheritance from her late mother). Charles P. [B.] Mease household, New York Ward 17, New York, New York; Roll: M432_556; Page: 253B; Image: 8, Ancestry.com.

It is difficult to gauge relationships between Fanny and her siblings purely by addresses, but is perhaps worth noting that according to the residences in "Richard Grant White's Home Addresses," Fanny's sister Alexina and her husband appear to have moved into her father's home about the time Fanny and James moved out in 1855-- and left again about the time the Barrows returned in 1859. (Schroeder 340).

⁵⁶ Petherick, 428-429, 431. See also L. Michael Kaas, "The Silver Hill Mine: First Silver Mine in the United States and Supplier of Lead to the Confederacy," *Mining History Journal* 16 (2009): 29 – 44, <http://www.mininghistoryassociation.org/Journal/MHJ-v16-2009-Kaas.pdf>. As the article's title indicates, soon after 1860 the mine was controlled by the Confederacy.

literary entertainments to keep her husband home evenings, away from the temptations of alcohol and dangerous companions. During the next two years, Fanny published at least two other stories for adults in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, a periodical to which her brother-in-law, Richard Grant White, was also contributing. Fanny's second piece, "The Letter G" (1864), was a tale about a young woman who is able to pull her family out of debt after receiving a charitable gift of a sewing machine (shaped in the form of a G). Whether Fanny also highlighted the distinctive features of one particular sewing machine (by Willcox & Gibbs, a company that even attempted to trade-mark the G-shaped form of the machine) for verisimilitude or as a marketing ploy is unknown, but Willcox & Gibbs later redistributed the story in England (and possibly the United States) as part of an advertising booklet.⁵⁷ Although the story's title refers to the shape of the machine, it also suggests writing (and a letter by the wife plays a role in the resolution); thus, like *Stratagem*, it loosely associates the rescue with writing or literary activities.

Fanny also tried a new approach for her next children's series, Little Pet Books (3 vols., 1863), published the year *Mittens* concluded. Volumes in this series lacked the traditional framing narrative; along with a simpler structure, the texts were designed for young children to read independently. Or, as Fanny explained in the preface to the first volume, "many a time mothers have come to the author with the piteous plaint: . . . 'we have read [your books] to our little children . . . until we know them by heart; do, *do* write some books in words of one syllable, which they can read for themselves.'" ⁵⁸ Fanny noted the challenge of creating an "interesting, sensible, and grammatical" story within those limits (finding it as confining as a strait-jacket, to use her comparison).⁵⁹ *The First Little Pet Book, with Ten Short Tales in Words of Three and Four Letters* was a collection of stories. Their titles perhaps give the best indication of the results: "The Bad Old Ape," "Mop, The Pet Cat: A Poem," "Ben and Sue, and the See-Saw," "Poor Will, Who Was Shot in the War," and "Joe, Who Did Not Mind." The two

⁵⁷ Fanny Barrow, "The Letter G," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 29 (1864): 85-92; William Henry Browne, *A Treatise on the Law of Trade-Marks and Analogous Subjects*, 2nd ed (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1901): 106-07, Google Books. Two British advertisements for the Willcox & Gibbs machine offer a "free and postpaid" booklet with an "illustrated description" of the machine, "plain instruction" about its use, and an assortment of other items including Fanny's story and another by Grace Greenwood (unpaginated advertisement behind cover of December issue, *The Month* 9 [Dec. 1868]; also unpaginated advertisement behind cover of *Warne's Home Annual* 1868, both Google Books).

Fanny's other story from 1862-63 was Fanny Barrow, "Artist - Philosopher - Lover," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 27 (Aug. 1863): 403-07.

⁵⁸ Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], *The First Little Pet Book* (New York: W. H. Kelley & Brother, 1863): v, Google Books.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, vi.

subsequent volumes -- *The Tale of Puss and John* and *The Tale of Mop and Frisk* (told "in words of five letters and less") -- each contained one long story. The series marked a change in publishers; it was originally issued by a small firm, W. H. Kelley & Brother, then reissued by Appleton about 1867, and reprinted by Allison in a reillustrated, redesigned edition in 1884 as *Pet Chatterbox*.⁶⁰

Fanny may have had a falling out with Appleton, for she again found new publishers for her final two series, both from 1864. Strangely enough, a letter dated December 10, 1863, printed in the children's periodical *Merry's Museum* suggests that she was planning another book with Appleton, *Letters from Children*, a collection of pictures of children with accompanying letters. Claiming she had "been urged by a great many mothers to fill a big album with the sweet little faces of . . . children," Fanny asked that her young readers "send me their cartes de visite" and to "write or dictate a letter . . . telling me all about their dolls, hoops, etc.; and if they live in the country, all about the chickens, cows, dogs, and cats," directing that responses should be sent to her "care of Mr. Appleton."⁶¹ Whether this was an unsuccessful ploy to convince Appleton there was sufficient interest in the project or whether other factors prevented publication remains unknown, but the book never materialized.

Instead, Fanny created the Pop-Guns series (6 vols., 1864), published by Sheldon & Co. Again, Fanny cited readers' requests as justification for the volume: while other children's books were inching away from overt didacticism, Pop-Guns was intended (as the preface announced) to "compl[y] with a request repeatedly expressed to me, to write stories avowedly for the purpose of 'pointing a moral!'"⁶² The series' title reflected its motto, "Shoot folly as it flies," and each volume included as at least one of its chapter headings a rather disturbing illustration of a woman -- presumably Aunt Fanny -- holding a rifle and firing at a group of children.⁶³ (The same illustration was used in all volumes: the smoke from the rifle contained a moral, which was changed to suit the accompanying story.) Charities and current events were not forgotten: the fifth volume, *Grasshopper Pop-Guns*, told of the Grasshopper Club, a group of girls who elect to help a needy child by sewing undergarments and giving her an outfit, and the entire series was

60 Appleton advertisement, *Uniform Trade List Circular* 1 (May 1867): 27; "Descriptive Summary of the Fall Announcements," *The Publishers' Weekly* 24 (Sept. 22, 1883): 296, both Google Books.

61 [Fanny Barrow], letter in "Merry's Monthly Chat," *Merry's Museum* 47 (1864): 27-28, Internet Archive.

62 Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], *Pop-Guns: One Serious and One Funny* (New York: Sheldon & Company, 1864): 9, Internet Archive.

63 In fairness to Fanny, it should be noted that the title page of each volume in the Pop-Guns series actually contained two epigraphs; the second was a quote by Richter: "I love God and little children."

dedicated to "Thomas Lincoln, the son of that loyal, fearless, honest man, the President of the United States." ⁶⁴

Fanny's other series from 1864, *Good Little Hearts* (4 vols, 1864), was issued by yet another publisher, Hurd and Houghton, and marked yet another approach to her series fiction. The first three volumes each contained one long tale rather than a collection of stories -- though once again, Fanny used a frame story with recurring characters (including herself) to provide continuity across volumes. The frame story also indicated Fanny was away from the city, visiting relatives in Pittsfield and New Haven for her health. Even so, her concern for the soldiers and her desire to inculcate charitable impulses in the young remained evident: the first volume, *Metropolitan Fair, Junior*, described two benefits, both sponsored by children (including her own), to raise funds for the soldiers. (The "Junior" in the title alluded to the larger Metropolitan Fair held in New York City in March 1864; her brother-in-law Richard Grant White was secretary of the Gentlemen's Association, one of the two committees overseeing the fair.)⁶⁵ *Good Little Hearts* contained several intertextual elements: the frame story reintroduced the Pop-Guns children; in *Metropolitan Fair, Junior*, "Miss Secesh" from the Mittens series was on display as part of an Old Curiosity Shop at the children's fair (duplicating an attraction at the real fair), and the Grasshopper Club (from *PopGuns*), having attended one charitable event, were now

⁶⁴ Fanny provides some commentary on charities in the book. She first criticizes the idea of a charity bazaar as too costly; the girls also decide against making underclothes for the children at a Mission School because, Fanny notes, "it was too much hard work" ([Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], *Grasshopper Pop-Guns* [New York: Sheldon & Co., 1864]: 33, Google Books). She adds,

what they really wanted was to give the money themselves to some poor person, and have thanks and blessings poured out upon them like the good little girls in the story-books. To tell the truth, that's the way a great many bigger people wish to be charitable. They are much too idle to do plain, hard work for those who need it and which would be of real use; no, they expect something high-flown and romantic such as they have read about in some silly novel. A kind of Lady Bountiful is the character for them; but I can tell you those are the very people who are of no use at all. (33-34)

Ironically, despite Fanny's critical tone about Lady Bountiful, that is essentially what the girls do: one of their mothers suggests they work together to sew one set of underclothes and each "give" (from her own closet) a piece of clothing, then "pay a visit . . . to the poor widow . . . and give her these things" (47). (In true storybook fashion, this gesture proves to be more than sufficient to provide for the widow and her child for life: the kindly grocer who supplies some food at a discount to help their charitable endeavor also becomes curious about the widow and discovers she is his long-lost sister.)

The dedication to Lincoln's son appeared in all volumes.

⁶⁵ *Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission* (New York: Charles O. Jones, 1864): 7, Google Books. Information about Ellen Strong's role is also from this source (6). Schroeder also discusses White's involvement with the fair, remarking "White was caught between [the men's and women's committees]," a troublesome situation, especially when "he was charged with the task of writing a letter rejecting some proposals of the women's committee" (131-32). *Metropolitan Fair, Junior* makes no reference to White.

planning their own fund-raiser.⁶⁶ (Fanny, who had criticized charity bazaars in another book, now found herself endorsing the practice.) At story's end, Fanny again acknowledged the actual Metropolitan Fair, when the Grasshoppers sent their funds to Ellen Strong (wife of diarist George Templeton Strong), who was treasurer of the Ladies' Association of the real New York Fair.

Although it's difficult to tell how much of the narrative voice accurately reflects Fanny's situation, a few passages in the series' final volume, *Stories Told in the Wood*, suggest Fanny may have been having problems with her publishers. At one point the narrator remarks, "Writing books for my darlings brings plenty of happiness, but precious little money. I wish some *publisher* of books would take me into partnership. *They* certainly *do* have the best of it, through some mysterious hocus-pocus; and yet if *we* didn't write, where would *they* be, I should like to know?"⁶⁷ The book concludes by suggesting that readers who "like the good little hearts about whom I have written" should "go or write to Mr. Hurd in New York, or Mr. Houghton in Boston, and say so, -- and then who knows but there will be another set of them next year."⁶⁸ The suggestion apparently went unheeded for almost two decades elapsed before Fanny returned to writing children's series.⁶⁹

Family matters and periodical publications

Sarah, too, ceased publishing for a time, turning her attention to family matters. On June 6, 1865, she married architect and author Henry Hudson Holly (1834-92). The service was performed by Rev. Walter Mitchell, an Episcopalian priest then based in Stamford.⁷⁰ Like Sarah and Fanny, Hudson has received relatively little notice, and biographical information is again occasionally contradictory.⁷¹ Born in New York as the son of a "prosperous merchant," Hudson

⁶⁶ Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], *Good Little Hearts: Metropolitan Fair; Junior* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1864), Google Books. Neither the Pop-Guns nor the Mittens series, it should be noted, was published by Hurd and Houghton.

⁶⁷ Barrow, *Stories Told in the Wood*, 73-74.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁶⁹ Fanny may have had a story collection published in 1872: Aunt Fanny, *Take Heed and Other Stories* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1872). The volume is copyrighted by Dutton, not by Fanny, making it more difficult to establish authorship. F. Leypoldt's *The American Catalog*, includes it among Fanny publications (credited to Mrs. Fanny Barrow). One story does have a child reading Fanny's PopGuns -- and such intertextual references were typical of her work (71); another has a character recite a poem from a book by her sister Alexina (129). Thus, even though many of the stories do not seem typical of Fanny's works, they may still be from her pen. If so, a note on the title page implies that Barrow probably has a number of unlocated periodical publications, for it indicates *Take Heed* was comprised of material from *The Children's Magazine*. That periodical is not indexed and many issues are not digitized; to date, none of the stories from *Take Heed* have been located in the magazine.

⁷⁰ "Married," *New York Daily Tribune*, June 7, 1865: 5, America's Historical Newspapers. The newspaper notice gives no indication whether the ceremony took place in New York or Connecticut.

⁷¹ Indeed, it is perhaps an indication of how little background on either figure is known that biographies of

had studied architecture at home and in England, opening an office in New York in 1857;⁷² the following year he was "unanimously elected" to the American Institute of Architects.⁷³ His first book, *Holly's Country Seats*, was published in 1863; the introduction noted the work had been "fully prepared for the press some two years since" but was postponed by the outbreak of the war.⁷⁴ After her marriage, Sarah may have spent more time away from the city (and thus from Fanny): city directories indicate that while Holly maintained an office in New York at 111 Broadway, he also had a home in Connecticut. The couple's first son, Norman, was born in New York on April 7, 1868.⁷⁵

As for Fanny, in the last half of the 1860s she may have been occupied with charitable work for the Orphan's Home or other organizations, and she was also becoming more involved with authors' groups and literary societies. She was one of eighty-three American authors who signed a petition to the Ways and Means Committee in January 1866 asking that revenue laws "relate[d] to the manufacture and importation of books, may be so revised and modified that American publications may be relieved from the heavy burdens now resting upon them and from the disadvantages under which they suffer in competition with imported books" ⁷⁶ -- one of

Stanford White generally fail to mention that there was another architect in his family. Complicating the biographical situation for Holly are the errors in at least one copy of the family's genealogy. Ancestry.com shows a partial, holograph edition of Charles Moses Holly's *Record of the Holly Family in America* (Unknown: unknown, 1900), which *may* be an updated copy of the 1861 edition (listed in Google Books, but not seen). One of the final pages contains information about Sarah's family, most of which is incorrect: assuming a generation has not been lost from the copy, her grandfather is listed as Isaac Mees of Baltimore; her mother, as Fanny Mees Barrows; Sarah, as Sarah McComb Barrows; Fanny's sister Laura is Mrs. James Fellows; Stanford's birthdate appears to be Sept. 11, 1803 (making him several years older than his mother). Only the information about Sarah and Hudson's offspring appears to be correct (and even there, the only information about Alice is "a nun, died young" and the middle son's first and middle name may be inverted) (pages stamped 114ff; images 79-80).

72 George B. Tatum, "Introduction to the Dover Edition," *Holly's Picturesque Country Seats: A Complete Reprint of the 1863 Classic* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1993): x-xi, and Michael Tomlan, "Introduction," *Country Seats and Modern Dwellings: Two Victorian Domestic Architectural Stylebooks by Henry Hudson Holly* (Watkins Glen, NY: Library of Victorian Culture, 1976): n.p. Though some genealogies suggest Hudson's birthplace was in Connecticut, Tatum notes Holly's *Modern Dwellings* states he was a native of New York (Tatum, iii, xiv n2). Holly describes himself as "born and bred in New York" (H. Hudson Holly, *Modern Dwellings in Town and Country* [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1878]: 152, Google Books).

73 Tomlan, n.p. , Tomlan also notes that Hudson "was probably its youngest member at that time."

74 Henry Hudson Holly, *Holly's Country Seats* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1863): v, Google Books.

75 [Norman Holly passport application, September 25, 1895], Passport Applications, 1795-1905, Roll 454 - 01 Sep 1895-30 Sep 1895; [Norman Holly passport application, 1909], National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington D.C.; Passport Applications, Jan. 2, 1906 - March 31, 1925; Microfilm Serial: M1490; Roll #90, Certificates: 9958-10921, 25 Jun 1909-07 Jul 1909 > 506; both U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, Ancestry.com.

76 Catalog entry for "Petition signed by 83 American authors to the Committee on Ways and Means, January 17th, 1866," Brown University Library Catalogue, Hay Manuscripts. Information about the others who signed is also from this source.

several ways American authors lobbied for international copyright.⁷⁷ Among the others who signed were such luminaries as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Harriet Beecher Stowe, along with series book author Jacob Abbot, Fanny's brother-in-law Richard, and her son-in-law, Hudson. Additionally, an account of the history of Sorosis, "a new club of literary women" who met monthly "to discuss questions of art, science, literature, and government"⁷⁸ places Fanny among the twelve members present at one of the founding meetings in 1868.⁷⁹

Most of Fanny's publications for the next few years -- assuming she was publishing with any frequency -- remain elusive. The few that are clearly identifiable contain autobiographical or intertextual elements: "Mr. and Mrs. Musca Domestica" (i.e., the housefly), which appeared in *Harper's Bazaar's* first "Children's Corner" in November 1867, not only refers to an incident in Fanny's *Fairy Nightcaps* but also mentions her February 22 birthdate; "Aunt Fanny's First Marriage and Its Tragical Ending" from the January 1867 *Our Young Folks* relates an incident from Fanny's childhood; "Monkeys for Massa Charles" from the April 1868 *Harper's Bazaar* offers an anecdote about her father. During the same period several other stories signed Aunt Fanny appeared in *Our Young Folks*, *Riverside Magazine for Young People*, and *The Children's Hour*; some or all may be from her pen.

Family and financial matters also occupied Fanny's attention during these years. Her father died intestate in June 1867, and in December Fanny appears to have been named administrator of his estate (perhaps because of her marriage to an attorney).⁸⁰ The next year, Fanny visited the United Kingdom with James and Alice. One of Fanny's relatives, Katherine Lewis Hinsdale (1871-1968), recalled that when she "was a small child," Fanny visited and "told us of going to England and to Scotland and trying to look up a mythical fortune left by one Ebenezer Graham [her great-uncle] . . . in the Bank of England with no success,"⁸¹ which may

⁷⁷ Schroeder 102-03.

⁷⁸ *History of Woman Suffrage*, eds. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, vol. 3 (Rochester, NY: Susan B. Anthony, 1886): 402, Google Books.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 403. Although Fanny is mentioned in two secondhand accounts of the organization's history as being one of the original twelve members ("Sorosis," *Arthur's Home Magazine* 48 [1880]: 320, Google Books), her name appears only infrequently in newspaper accounts of Sorosis meetings. In 1876, she attended a picnic with other members, but in 1877 and 1890, she is identified as one of the guests rather than as a member ("Sorosis Annual Picnic," *New York Times*, June 28, 1876: 8; "The Ladies' Club, Sorosis," *New York Times*, March 20, 1877: 8; "Sorosis Honors Mr. and Mrs. Kendal," *New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1890: 8, all ProQuest Historical Newspapers).

⁸⁰ Record for Chas B Mease, New York County, Letters of Administration Index, 1743-1875 (Barber Collection), Ancestry.com. [From Barber, Gertrude A., comp., Index of the Letters of Administration Filed in New York County From 1743-1875. Vol. 1-6. n.p.: n.p., 1950-1951.] She is listed as "Fanny Barron" in the transcription.

⁸¹ Carpenter 286.

have been a motive for the trip. An article by Fanny published in November 1870 mentions that she was in London on a "pleasant summer's day of the year 1868-'69," but sometime thereafter, "The failing health of a relative rendered necessary a speedy flight from London and Paris to Pau." ⁸² The relative in failing health was James, suffering from consumption, but the change of air was not enough to effect a cure: he died in Pau on November 18, 1868 (not 1869, as in Fanny's biography in *National Cyclopaedia*, or 1871, as in family genealogies).⁸³ More losses followed, with the death of Fanny's brother John in New York in mid-January 1870. By mid-1870, Fanny had apparently returned to New York, for an entry for a Fanny Barrow with an 18-year-old daughter Alice shows up in the 1870 census for New York City; the two appear to be living in a boarding house at 3 E. 34th St.⁸⁴

Despite her reputation as a children's author, Fanny's work in 1870 and 1871 was primarily for adults.⁸⁵ She had several items published in *Putnam's* and more in *The Galaxy*, a magazine to which her brother-in-law, Richard Grant White, often contributed (so much so that he "was frequently referred to as *The Galaxy's* editor," says Mott in his history of the periodical).⁸⁶ Some articles drew on her recent trip: "Pernickitty People" mentioned being in Edinburgh with Alice, and "Monsignore Capel" included scenes from London and Pau. (Perhaps presciently, much of the latter centers on Capel's "almost irresistible personal magnetism" which he used to "[convert] a number of English and American women of rank, wealth, and fashion" to Catholicism.⁸⁷ During the next decade, Fanny would see Sarah's marriage fracture on just such an issue.) In the early 1870s, Fanny may also have been doing some uncredited work for *The Galaxy*: a notice in *Christian Union* claimed that "Fifteen Years a Shakeress" and "Saved from the Mormons," two serialized stories in *Galaxy*, "were constructed upon a basis of rough and

82 Fanny Barrow, "Monsignore Capel," *The Galaxy* 10 (1870): 677, American Periodicals Series.

83 "Died," [obituary James Barrow], *New York Times*, Dec. 4, 1868: 5, ProQuest *Historical Newspapers*. "Barrow, Frances Elizabeth," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol 4 (New York: James T. White, 1902): 556; Carpenter 286. James may be buried in "the Protestant Cemetery, Pau, "though the source of that information also erroneously dates the trip to Europe as 1869 and James' death to 1871 (Carpenter 286).

84 1870 United States Federal Census, New York Ward 21 District 20 (2nd Enum), New York, New York; Roll: M593_1050; Page: 644A; Image: 614; Family History Library Film: 552549, Ancestry.com.

85 Fanny did publish two children's stories in *Our Young Folks* in 1869: "Kitty, A Fairy Tale of Nowadays" in January and "The Dolls' Regatta" in November. Both appeared under the Aunt Fanny pseudonym but internal evidence indicates they are her work. (An author-title index for *Our Young Folks* for 1865-72 identifies six titles published as by Aunt Fanny between 1867-71 [Pat Pflieger, "Author Index to *Our Young Folks*," *Nineteenth-Century American Children and What They Read*, <http://www.merrycoz.org/folks/index/AUTHOR.HTM>. At least three of these -- from 1867 and 1869 -- appear to be Barrow's work.)

86 Frank Luther Mott, "'The Galaxy': An Important American Magazine," *The Sewanee Review* 36 (1928): 91, JStor.

87 Barrow, "Monsignore Capel," 678.

illiterate notes, furnished by the real actors in the scenes depicted" and "admirably executed . . . from the hand of Mrs. Fanny Barrow."⁸⁸ While Fanny was writing for adults, her sister Alexina pseudonymously published a series of poems for children: "Little-Folk Songs" appeared in *Riverside Magazine for Young People* from February through November 1870. In 1871, Fanny's former publisher, Hurd and Houghton, issued the collection in book form, this time under Alexina's name.⁸⁹

For the last half of the 1860s, Sarah may have been occupied with her growing family. Only one or two additional publications of hers have been identified from those years: "Forgotten" by "Aunt Fanny's Daughter" in *Demorest's Monthly Magazine* in 1868 may be her work; "The Flowers on the Grave," another story in the German style, appeared in *Demorest's Young America* in 1869. On October 23, 1870, Sarah gave birth to her second son, John Arthur (sometimes shown as Arthur John), and on September 21, 1872, to a daughter, her own little Alice.⁹⁰ About this time, Sarah abandoned the pseudonym Aunt Fanny's Daughter, publishing instead as Mrs. H. Hudson Holly or as Mrs. S. B. Holly. In 1873, two of her children's stories ran in *Christian Union* (which was also publishing her mother's work) under the name Mrs. H. Hudson Holly; both featured little girls as protagonists. Two more stories, this time about mischief-making children -- one tale purportedly autobiographical -- appeared in *Christian Union* and *St. Nicholas* in 1875, and one of her last identified publications, the poem "You and I," ran in *Christian Union* on May 10, 1876.⁹¹

The birth of her grandchildren -- or Alexina's publishing success with *Little-Folk Songs*

⁸⁸ "Occasional Notes," *Christian Union* 6 (Dec. 25, 1872): 540, American Periodicals Series.

⁸⁹ The poems appeared in volume 4 of *Riverside Magazine for Young People*. The author of the poems is listed as Alba in the volume index, but appears as Alta on some of the monthly installments.

The book was issued as Alexina B. White, *Little-Folk Songs* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1871). Like Fanny, Alexina drew on her own family for inspiration; the dedication poem, "To R. M. W. and S. W.," spoke of boys having grown into men and of the author looking back "tenderly to trace remembrances"; poems such as "My Boy Stannie" reinforced the autobiographical connections.

⁹⁰ Carpenter 287. The name of Sarah's younger son appears as Arthur John in Carpenter, but it may actually be John Arthur. Unless he changed it prior to entering college, it appears as John Arthur in his fraternity records (*Seventy-Five Years of IKA, 1829-1904* [New York: N.p., 1905]: 34, Google Books); in Columbia College's *Register of Officers and Students 1892-93* ([New York: 1893]: 92, Google Books), and again (as John Arthur Holley) on a ship's passenger list from 1927 (New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957, Year: 1927; Microfilm Serial: T715; Microfilm Roll: T715_4036; Line: 7; Page Number: 158.[1927 > April > 12 > Essequibo > 17], Ancestry.com.)

⁹¹ The publications were Mrs. H. Hudson Holly, "The End of the Rainbow," *Christian Union* 7 (Jan. 22, 1873): 76ff; Mrs. H. Hudson Holly, "Polly," *Christian Union* 7 (April 30, 1873): 356ff; Mrs. S. B. Holly, "A Dreadful Darling," *Christian Union* 11 (March 10, 1875): 213; Mrs. H. Hudson Holly, "Tom's Deluge," *St. Nicholas* 2 (July 1875): 556ff; Mrs. S. B. Holly, "You and I," *Christian Union* 13 (May 10, 1876): 381, all American Periodicals Series.

-- may have encouraged Fanny to resume writing for children and to try more poetry. She probably began submitting occasional children's stories and poems to *Christian Union* in 1871 and 1872, for several items were published as by Aunt Fanny. One story from October 1871, "Willie's Dream," is clearly her work, for it acknowledges her authorship of the Nightcaps series, and it seems likely that most (if not all) of the others are hers as well. (Typical of these was an 1872 poem titled "Baby Arthur," describing a grandmother holding a baby -- which appeared less than two years after the birth of Fanny's grandson Arthur.)⁹² By 1873, her *Christian Union* contributions were signed Fanny Barrow, as was her first story in the fledgling *St. Nicholas*. For the next few years, Fanny published with some regularity: she had at least four poems and a short story issued in 1874 (in *Christian Union*, *The Aldine*, and *The Galaxy*); three articles and an equal number of poems in 1875 (in *St. Nicholas*, *Christian Union*, *Appletons'*, and *The Galaxy*); six more identifiable items followed in 1876, before another apparent drop in publications.⁹³ Most of her publications for adults appeared as by Fanny Barrow, though several children's stories, most notably in *St. Nicholas*, still retained her Aunt Fanny pseudonym. (And, again, the authorship of other Aunt Fanny items remains uncertain.)

In 1876, Fanny also wrote to the *Christian Union* to inquire about the possibility of being placed in charge of its children's pages.⁹⁴ It seems likely that her offer was refused, for the September 20, 1876, *Christian Union* carried a notice that

Mrs. Fanny Barrow, well known in literature as 'Aunt Fanny,' has opened a school for little children, girls from three to nine, and boys from three to eight years of

⁹² Aunt Fanny [Frances Barrow], "Baby Arthur," *Christian Union* 6 (June 26, 1872): 17, American Periodicals Series.

⁹³ Those stories published as by Fanny Barrow were "Mabel: A True Story," *Christian Union* 10 (Aug. 19, 1874): 123ff; "A Naughty Darling," *The Aldine*, 7 (Oct. 1, 1874): 205; "Two Babies," *The Galaxy* 18 (1874): 669; "The Voice of God," *Christian Union* 10 (Nov. 11, 1874): 365; "Home by Sea," *Christian Union* 10 (Nov. 25, 1874): 404; "Indecision," *The Galaxy* 20 (1875): 496; "A Brave Boy (A True Story)," *Christian Union* 12 (Oct. 6, 1875): 288ff; "A Wedding-March--On Trial," *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 14 (Dec. 25, 1875): 818; "Little Edith's First Lesson in Charity," *Christian Union* 13 (March 1, 1876): 176; "The Fearful Little Maid," *The Galaxy* 21 (1876) 21: 647; "The Universal Bell-Punch," *Appletons' Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 15 (May 13, 1876): 640 [in American Periodicals Series as "Poem 1 -- No Title"]; "Sunset Versus Sunrise," *The Galaxy* 22 (1876): 42, all American Periodicals Series; "Lieutenant Boyle's Duel," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 53 (1876): 589-591; "A Fox Hunt at Pau," *Scribner's Monthly* 12 (Sept. 1876): 661-663, both Making of America -- Cornell. Two articles were published as by Mrs. Fanny Barrow: "Our Excursion and the Little Editor," *Christian Union* 12 (July 7, 1875): 17; "Do as You Would Wish To Be Done By," *Christian Union* 12 (Aug. 18, 1875): 140, both American Periodicals Series. One title by Aunt Fanny is definitely Barrow: "The Fair at Pau," *St. Nicholas* 2 (April 1875): 347ff, American Periodicals Series.

⁹⁴ Frances Barrow letters, 1864-1876, entry in PennState, TheCAT (online catalog), with abstract of September 11, 1876, letter from Barrow to "Mr. King," in Allison-Shelley manuscript collection, Rare Books and Manuscripts, University Libraries, Pennsylvania State University, University Park.

age, at her residence, No. 30 East 35th street, New York. Her determination is to give up her whole self during school hours to the moral and physical guardianship of the children intrusted to her care -- a work for which she is admirably qualified by nature and experience.⁹⁵

The New York papers also published several advertisements for the school. It's possible Fanny was facing legal or financial burdens related to James's estate, for a complaint was filed in November 1876 against the two trustees "under the last will and testament of James Barrow" and against "Fanny Borrowe," Fanny's two daughters, and several other persons.⁹⁶

Later years – charitable and social activities

Even in her difficulties, Fanny had not neglected children's charities. She was still (or again) on the Board of Managers for the New York Infant Asylum, and her name appears in that capacity in conjunction with Grand Balls held as fund raisers in 1873 and 1874.⁹⁷ In 1874, she began the first of her many newspaper appeals for Christmas donations for the poor -- thus adopting the same strategy that had affected Alice and her so strongly almost twenty years earlier and elicited her story "Little Alice." Tellingly, it was yet another personal appeal that appears to have galvanized Fanny's newspaper campaign. On December 15, 1874, the *New York Times* printed a letter from "Christmas" observing that a number of Sunday Schools "have accepted the plan of allowing the children . . . to bring presents of old books, old or new toys, dolls, &c . . . to be given to those who are poorer than they are themselves." "[W]ho would like to receive the

⁹⁵ "Educational," *Christian Union* 14 (Sept. 20, 1876): 234, American Periodicals Series.

⁹⁶ "Legal Notices" [Samuel B. Janes vs William Borrowe and Joshua B. Wright], *New York Times*, Feb. 14, 1877: 7, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The others listed may have been relatives or investors in the Silver Hill Mining Company. No specifics appear in the notice, nor do additional details follow. As with much of Fanny's life, duplicated names complicate the situation. "Fanny Borrowe," not "Fanny Barrow," is named in the suit; it's also possible the James Barrow estate involved is that of Fanny's father-in-law rather than her husband. It was clearly a relative, because the suit also names her two daughters, as "Sarah Holly" and "Alice Barrow." Unfortunately, a William Borrowe -- possibly Fanny's brother-in-law -- had a daughter named Fanny, and it's possible she is the Fanny cited in the suit. ("Died" [obituary for Fanny Borrowe], *New York Times*, Jan. 26, 1878: 5, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.) The others named are Joshua B. Wright (who, along with William Borrowe, was a trustee under the will), Isabella and Franklin Osgood (presumably the Franklin involved with the Silver Hill Mining Company), Caroline L. Green, and two unidentified Barrows -- Thomas and Mary K.

It should perhaps also be added that there was also another Mrs. James Barrow in New York in the late nineteenth century -- and another Frances Barrow -- adding to the challenges in tracking Fanny. In this essay's discussion of her later years, most of the references included are either supported by an additional identification as "Aunt Fanny" or a recognizable home address -- or, as above, references to relatives; some, however, are assumptions based on her previous activities and associations.

⁹⁷ "Amusements" [Infant Asylum Grand Ball], *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1873: 8; "For Charity's Sake," *New York Times* (April 27, 1874): 8, both ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

offerings of a Sunday-school which proposes to try the plan this year [?]," he inquired.⁹⁸ The following day, the *Times* carried Fanny's reply, headlined "Toys for Poor Children -- A Touching Appeal." In a brief letter to the editor, Fanny asked that *Times* "please tell the good man to give the toys to the New York Infant Asylum." She continued, "Our poor little ones have at present one rag doll, black from constant use, and when a child has the precious thing to play with, it has to go out in the corridor to keep the others from howling."⁹⁹ The succinctly sketched scene elicited an immediate response: the next day, another letter from Fanny reported that "My letter appeared this morning, Dec. 16. Before 12 o'clock (this present writing), one kind lady . . . writes that she will send a quantity of toys . . . Three generous little children . . . inclose five dollars each to me, for the purchase of toys, and six dressed dolls walk arm in arm, anonymously."¹⁰⁰ On Christmas day, Fanny sent another note to the *Times*, acknowledging more donations and thanking both the donors and the *Times* ("without whose kindness in printing our little petitions nothing would have come of this 'bread cast upon the waters'") for their generosity.¹⁰¹ The following year, the *Times* again ran "An Appeal to the Children of New York," which was repeated in subsequent years.¹⁰² While Fanny's 1874 correspondence had been signed Mrs. James Barrow, in 1875 the *Times* identified her as Aunt Fanny, and it was as Aunt Fanny that she continued her appeals.

During the last half of the 1870s, Fanny's name appeared in newspapers at least once or twice each year in connection with charities or literary gatherings. Newspaper mentions of the former from 1878-79 perhaps illustrate the range of her benevolent activities. In January 1878, she was part of the Floral Committee for a party at Delmonico's "for the benefit of the North-eastern Homeopathic Dispensary";¹⁰³ in February, she and her friend Jane ("Jenny June") Cunningham Croly, journalist and founder of Sorosis, along with several others assisted with a "floral pagoda" at a Martha Washington reception "for the benefit of the Poor of New-York and

⁹⁸ "The Sunday-Schools and Christmas" [letter from "Christmas"], *New York Times*, Dec. 15, 1874: 4, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁹⁹ "Toys for Poor Children -- A Touching Appeal" [letter from Mrs. James Barrow], *New York Times*, Dec. 16, 1874: 4, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁰⁰ "Letters to the Editor" [letter from Mrs. Barrow], *New York Times*, Dec. 17, 1874: 4, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁰¹ "The Infant Asylum" [letter from Mrs. Barrow], *New York Times*, Dec. 27, 1874: 6, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

¹⁰² "An Appeal to the Children of New York," *New York Times*, Nov. 29, 1875: 8; see also "City and Suburban News," *New York Times* (Dec. 10, 1876): 2, both ProQuest Historical Newspapers

¹⁰³ "The Flower Party," *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1878: 5; "The Flower Party at Delmonico's," *New York Times*, Jan. 22, 1878: 8, both ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

the Floating Hospital." ¹⁰⁴ The following year, the *New York Times* announced, "that friend of children, young and old, Mrs. Fanny Barrow, better known as 'Aunt Fanny,' will 'tell stories to boys and girls' . . . at Municipal Hall, in aid of the Female Christian Home." ¹⁰⁵ Her performance at that event enchanted not only its young auditors but also the reporter sent to cover the affair, with the resulting account (subtitled "How 'Aunt Fanny' Barrow Delighted an Audience of Children") as the lead item in the *Times'* "Miscellaneous City News Column." Described as "a pleasant-faced lady, past middle age" (she was then sixty-two) "with a cheery smile," Fanny entertained the children with almost an hour's worth of stories, at least several of which were again reworked folktales. ¹⁰⁶ (The admiring reporter recounted three of them in some detail, filling almost half a newspaper column.)

For Fanny, perhaps the greatest change occurred near the end of the decade, when Alice married Theodore Connoly (1846-1913), another transplanted Southerner, now employed as an attorney for the city of New York. ¹⁰⁷ Held at Trinity Chapel on January 29, 1878, the elaborate wedding -- with three bridesmaids and three best men -- merited a paragraph in the *Times*, which consistently misspelled the groom's name. The notice also mentioned that "[A]fter the ceremony, the bridal party partook of luncheon at the residence of the bride's mother, No. 30 East Thirty-fifth-street, where an 'at home' will be given for Mr. and Mrs. Connolly [sic] on Feb. 12, 19, and 21." ¹⁰⁸ One of the few indications Fanny's family remained in contact with that of her siblings was the presence of her nephew Richard Mansfield White at the event. (He is not named in the newspaper account, but the marriage record lists him as a witness.) ¹⁰⁹ Alice's marriage, however,

104 "Washington's Birthday," *New York Evening Telegram*, Feb. 21, 1878: 4, Old Fulton New York Postcards; "Amusements," [Advertisement: Martha Washington reception], *New York Times*, Feb. 3, 1878: 11, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

105 "Record of Amusements" *New York Times*, May 4, 1879: 7, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

106 "Miscellaneous City News," *New York Times*, May 11, 1879: 2, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

107 Biographical sketches appear in John H. Judge, "Memorial of Theodore Connoly," *The Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Year Book [for] 1914* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, [1914?]): 193-96; "The Late Theodore Connoly," *Bench and Bar*; New Series 5.1 (May 1913): 41-42; and in "Theodore Connoly," *The Brown Book: A Biographical Record of Public Officials of the City of New York for 1898-9* (New York: Martin B. Brown Company, 1899): 106-08, all Google Books. The latter also contains a photograph of Connoly (107).

108 "A Wedding at Trinity Chapel," *New York Times*, Jan. 30, 1878: 8, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The spelling of Theodore's surname seems to have created confusion for many years -- the number of ns and ls varies, and the second o is sometimes an e. Theodore's passport application and Alice's obituary both show Connoly, which is also the spelling given in Carpenter (287) (Record for Theodore Connoly, U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington D.C.; Passport Applications, 1795-1905; Microfilm Serial: M1372; Roll #250, [Roll 250 - 01 Jun 1882-30 Jun 1882 > 1162] Ancestry.com; "Deaths," [obituary, Alice I. Connoly], *New York Times*, May 30, 1928: 19, ProQuest Historical Newspapers).

109 Trinity Church [Parish] Registers: Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials from 1750, http://www.trinitywallstreet.org/files/history/registers/display_detail.php?id=12471&sacr=marriage.

did not mean her separation from Fanny: the 1880 census records the entire family -- Alice and her husband, Sarah and her husband (but not their children) -- all sharing Fanny's home at 30 East 35th Street, along with six boarders and three servants.¹¹⁰ Fanny may have abandoned her school, for the census identifies her as "authoress" for the first time. While her brother Charles Graham Mease is not listed as a resident in the census, his voter's registration for 1880 indicates he may also have been living with her.¹¹¹

Fanny's relationship with her siblings by the 1870s and 1880s remains unclear. She and her sisters appear to have moved in different social circles, and the extent of their intercourse as a family is unknown. Fanny's older sister Laura Fellows was settled in Newburgh, sharing a residence with Anna (Fellows) Dudley, her only surviving daughter, and Anna's family. Laura was a remarkably wealthy woman: the 1870 census, the last to record income, valued her real estate at \$160,000 and her personal estate at \$32,000; if the census record is accurate, the household included more servants than family members.¹¹² In contrast, Alexina White and her family were still in New York City, apparently often in debt, with Richard's sister Augusta (Gussie) a permanent part of the household and Charles Graham Mease a frequent resident.¹¹³

110 The inclusion of Hudson Holly in Fanny's household may be an error or the family's attempt to preserve the appearance that Sarah and Hudson were still together. It seems unlikely that he provided the information, since the information about his and his parents' birthplace is completely inaccurate (all are listed as having been born in Massachusetts); moreover, Hudson also appears in another census entry, as a boarder at a hotel in East Orange, New Jersey. The information there about birthplace is correct, though there is no listing for occupation -- and his marital status is shown as single (1880 United States Federal Census, Orange, Essex, New Jersey; Roll: 780; Family History Film: 1254780; Page: 90C; Enumeration District: 106; Image: 0636, Ancestry.com).

111 Charles G. Mease, List of registered voters in the city of New York, for the year 1880, Ancestry.com. [Original data: List of registered voters in the city of New York, for the year 1880. New York: M.B. Brown, 1881].

112 In 1870, the household had three domestic servants, two nurses, and a coachman, plus four family members: Laura, her daughter Anna, Anna's husband Henry Dudley, and their three-year-old daughter Helen. (Laura A. Fellows household, 1870 United States Federal Census, Newburgh, Orange, New York; Roll: M593_1069; Page: 217B; Image: 47; Family History Library Film: 552568, Ancestry.com). Anna died in March 1880, but her husband and five children remained with Laura (along with a governess, a nurse, and four domestic servants; they may also have had a married coachman with a separate residence) ("Died," [Anna Mott (Fellows) Dudley obituary], *New York Times*, March 5, 1880: 5, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; Henry Dudley household, 1880 United States Federal Census, Newburgh, Orange, New York; Roll: 911; Family History Film: 1254911; Page: 498B; Enumeration District: 27; Image: 0099, Ancestry.com).

113 The 1870 census shows Augusta White (erroneously listed as Augustus) and Charles Graham (called Graham) as part of the White household (Richard G. White household, 1870 United States Federal Census, New York Ward 17 District 10, New York, New York; Roll: M593_998; Page: 423B; Image: 233; Family History Library Film: 552497, Ancestry.com). Schroeder writes that Richard and Alexina married on October 16, 1850, "and shortly after" Augusta came "to live with the young couple" (45). Augusta died in 1878 (Schroeder 208; also Theodore Cuyler Rose, comp., *The Tousey Family in America* [Elmira, NY: The Osborne Press, 1916]: 111, Google Books). Graham apparently lived with the Whites in the 1870s -- there are some references to him in Stanford's letters from the period. (See, for example, his 1873 letter to Alexina, in Claire Nicholas White, ed. *Stanford White: Letters to His Family* [New York: Rizzoli, 1997]: 25.) Baker mentions that after Richard Grant White's death in 1885, Alexina stayed with Stanford, and adds that Charles Graham Mease "came for long periods to live with Stanford and [his

Little mention is made of Alexina's social activities, though Richard enjoyed a reputation as a writer, cultural critic, and Shakespearean scholar: as one biographer noted, his "edition of Shakespeare's plays had become a standard American work; *Words and Their Uses* was going through edition after edition; *Every-day English* was selling well; [and] *England Without and Within* had received critical praise." ¹¹⁴ No mention of Fanny (or her daughters) appears in biographers' discussions of the Whites' later history or correspondence. Whether this indicates a separation, a lack of documentation, or merely a lack of material to interest biographers remains undetermined. ¹¹⁵

By the early 1880s, perhaps cushioned by her sons-in-law's income, Fanny was clearly

wife] Bessie" (120), which perhaps suggests Graham was accustomed to staying at Alexina's.

¹¹⁴ Baker 118. Despite Richard's publishing successes, most biographers believe he faced financial difficulties through much of his life, and twice he sold part of his impressive library for additional funds (Schroeder 79 [1861 sale]; *Catalogue of a Collection of Books in the Library of Mr. Richard Grant White to be Sold at Auction by Bangs, Merwin & Company, October 24, 1870, and following Evenings* [New York: N.p., 1870], Google Books).

Indeed, so great is the disjunction between Richard's straitened household finances and his supposed income from writing that at least two biographers mention the speculation that he maintained a mistress or even a second household. One also notes that a "kinswoman . . . used to advise Nina to leave Richard." (Schroeder 215). Baker also mentions the rumor, though his source is Schroeder (15). Schroeder, who admires White greatly, discounts the "rumor which still has some currency in the White family that Richard . . . sustained two households." He does not identify the "kinswoman" who suggested the separation; whether it was Fanny (who might have been more aware of Richard's activities outside his household because of her publishing contacts) is unknown. Schroeder attributes White's "constant poverty" to his purchases of "thousands of dollars worth of rare books, prints and musical instruments" -- rather than a second household (215). Baker, however, speaks of White's "philandering" (15) as established and a possible influence on Stanford White, noting an "extramarital liaison -- which Stan no doubt knew of" (120). Unlike Schroeder, Baker seems confident that "White had a mistress in New York," citing Julian Hawthorne's comment about "a woman whom [White] had found and loved in New York . . . she was English" (Julian Hawthorne, *Shapes That Pass*, 92, quoted in Baker, 15).

Drawing on Richard and Stanford White's correspondence, biographers have documented that the Whites remained in touch with Laura Fellows: during his childhood and adolescence, Stanford enjoyed staying at Laura's estate in summers and on weekends, and Alexina relayed at least one letter from Laura during Stanford's European trip in 1878. See for example, Stanford White's February 22, 1873, letter to Alexina in White, *Stanford White: Letters to His Family* where he mentions being disappointed that he wasn't able to get to Aunt Laura's (25); an 1878 letter to his mother acknowledges receipt of her letter "enclosing a letter from Aunt Laura" (46).

¹¹⁵ There are numerous collections of letters relating to the White family; these have not been examined and thus may contain material not mentioned in the biographies consulted for this essay. Schroeder includes a bibliography of Richard Grant White's correspondence, identifying the recipients of his letters. With the exception of the early letter to Fanny about Alexina, none of the letters are to Fanny or members of her immediate family. Finding aids for collections also do not list Fanny or her husband or daughters among the correspondents, although the Stanford White Letterpress Books, Index to Outgoing Correspondence, June 25, 1887 - January 2, 1907, in the Stanford White correspondence and architectural drawings, Dept. of Drawings & Archives, Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University, indicates one page with letters to Alice's husband, Theodore Connolly, from March 3, 1890-March 17, 1891 (though, given his position as a city attorney, these could also be business letters); another entry indicates a page with correspondence with J. Arthur Holly, probably Sarah's son, between October 25, 1904-March 28, 1905. In contrast, there are more than fifty pages of correspondence with Laura Fellows's son-in-law (thus, his late cousin's husband) Henry Dudley and other members of the Dudley family catalogued between 1887 and 1903.

ensconced in society.¹¹⁶ In 1881, the *New York Times* remarked that "Saturday afternoon receptions" -- the New York equivalent of French literary salons -- "are becoming more and more popular." Among the hostesses highlighted was Aunt Fanny, whose "attractive reunions of literary and society notabilities" included "ex-Mayor Ely, Mr. Robert Roosevelt, . . . [author] Louise C. Moulton . . . 'Jenny June' [Croly] . . . Constant Mayer, the artist; Mr. George H. Story, the artist, and wife . . . Mr. [William Henry] Bishop, the author of 'Detmold,' and many others well known in literature and art."¹¹⁷ Although not mentioned in the list, other members of Fanny's social circle included Mary L. Booth, editor of *Harper's Bazaar*; and the painter Edward Moran and his wife.¹¹⁸ In Fanny's case, at least, "afternoon" reception was perhaps a misnomer, for the article noted, "Carriages were ordered at 11 P.M."¹¹⁹ Near the end of the decade, another journalist recalled "Mrs. Barrow's Saturday afternoon receptions in her large drawing room, decorated in dull blues, and with its profusion of valuable and ancient bric-a-brac . . . largely attended by the literary and social element in the city."¹²⁰ When Fanny planned a trip to Europe for the summer of 1881, the *Times* reported that a "few young men who style themselves 'Aunt Fanny's' nephews and have been regular attendants at her receptions during the fashionable season, gave [her] a farewell dinner at Pinard's."¹²¹ (One such "nephew" was her son-in-law Theodore.) The European trip, too, offers an example of Fanny's status: the announcement merited its own article ("Aunt Fanny' To Go to Europe"), and her traveling companions included Jenny June Croly, the actress Genevieve Ward, and author Anne Charlotte Botta (wife of Vincenzo Botta, also famed for her literary salons). Fanny's itinerary encompassed London and "an easy Summer saunter in Italy and Switzerland with a flying visit to Paris"¹²² (where, the *New York Evening Telegram's* "The Talk of Society" column later reported, "the laureate of the little folks

116 It's also possible that Fanny was earning substantial royalties. An 1891 item, sometimes titled "Women Writers Who Earn More Than Men," that was picked up in several papers stated, "George Bancroft once told 'Aunt Fanny' Barrows [sic] that he was certain the income from her children's stories was greater than that from his histories, the compilation of which represented ten times the labor involved in her graceful little books. In comparing bank books Mrs. Barrows admitted the accuracy of his statement" (*Idaho Register*, Oct. 30, 1891: 2; the item also appeared in "The World in General," in the [Biloxi] *Herald Weekly*, Oct. 24, 1891: 2; both America's Historical Newspapers).

117 "Saturday Receptions," *New York Times*, Jan. 16, 1881: 7, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

118 Fanny's correspondence includes an undated letter (written prior to 1880, judging by the address) to Booth that also mentions the Morans (Cairns Collection, University of Wisconsin-Madison).

119 "Saturday Receptions."

120 "Woman and Her Kingdom," *The [New York] Sun*, Jan. 13, 1889: 6, Chronicling America.

121 "'Aunt Fanny' To Go to Europe," *New York Times*, May 29, 1881: 7, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. The information in the next two sentences is also from this source and "Social Gossip," *Brooklyn Eagle*, July 17, 1881: 4, Brooklyn Daily Eagle Online.

122 "'Aunt Fanny' To Go to Europe."

. . . lost a trunk . . . worth some thousands of dollars" but "recovered it before leaving").¹²³

Final series and final years

In the midst of all this social activity, Fanny also managed to write her last series, co-authored with Sarah. The Twelve Sisters or Twelve Little Sisters series was issued in 1881 by D. & J. Sadlier, a publisher who specialized in Catholic literature.¹²⁴ The series title reflected the number of volumes in the set, each of which bore a girl's name -- *Agnes Book*, *Teresa's Book*, *Mary's Book*, etc. One of the few reviews of the series appeared in the *New York Times* (which by then regularly recognized Fanny's activities); although the tone is apparently intended to be favorable, it's doubtful the remarks encouraged many sales. After praising the books' old-fashioned look with "rough but good woodcuts," the reviewer made one vague comment about their content -- "big type, poetical extracts, and play-room stories" -- and concluded with the rather odd observation, "Each of the 12 small volumes is dedicated to some little girl with a not unusual name, so that each can be given as a present to a different child."¹²⁵ Although the series was published in the United States and England, no copies appear to have been preserved in American libraries and only one set in England, suggesting very limited circulation.

While not a commercial success, the Twelve Little Sisters series is significant in signaling changes in Sarah's life and showing Fanny's support for her daughter. Although Fanny enjoyed increased media attention after the mid-1870s, Sarah appears to have avoided it or been overlooked, and one of the only sources of information about her life is a family history that is not completely reliable. That account states Sarah converted to Catholicism in 1878 and (presumably some time thereafter) "[o]wing to her husband's lack of sympathy, the family was broken up."¹²⁶ Norman and Alice stayed with Sarah; Arthur, with Hudson. The Twelve Sisters series, Sarah's last known publication, verifies her commitment to Catholicism by 1880, though it remains difficult to pinpoint the date at which the couple separated. The 1880 census lists Hudson twice -- once with the rest of Fanny's family in New York and again as a solitary boarder

123 "The Talk of Society," *New York Evening Telegram*, Oct. 22, 1881: 2, Old Fulton New York Postcards.

124 John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, vol. 1 (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972): 526.

125 "New Books," *New York Times*, July 17, 1881: 10, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

126 Carpenter 286. Although Carpenter's *The Reverend John Graham of Woodbury, Connecticut and His Descendants* is invaluable in providing details about the family, it also contains a number of errors. (For example, as noted earlier dates for several events -- such as Sarah Barrow's birth or James Barrow's death -- conflict with those in official documents.) Sarah's son Norman appears to be the source of some information about the family, but is not specifically identified in relation to anything pertaining to Hudson or the marriage.

(marital status single) in Orange, New Jersey. Arthur is with Hudson's relatives in Stamford, Connecticut, and the other two children have not been located.¹²⁷ By 1882, New York City directories indicate Hudson had given up his Connecticut home in favor of one in New Jersey, but it is not until 1888 that Sarah acquires her own listing in the directory, a clear indication that the couple had separated by that point. It is possible the division had occurred earlier: family histories indicate that Norman converted to Catholicism in 1886, and other sources note that Alice (who would later enter a convent) had "cherished the intention of a monastic life since her childhood."¹²⁸

Like Sarah, Fanny stopped writing books after the Twelve Sisters series -- though she was still producing occasional stories and poems. Two items in *St. Nicholas* from 1881 and 1882 stemmed from her travels: "Mr. Weathercock" was a variant of the Spanish folktale "The Half-Chick," which, Fanny explained, she heard in Pau from a storyteller; "Tessa, the Little Orange Girl" told of a poverty-stricken Italian orphan adopted by an American woman. 1882 saw two short pieces for *St. Nicholas*: the eight-line poem "What One Year Makes of a Little Kitten" in May, and a brief story, "How Santa Claus Came to Harry in Summer-time," in July. In 1885, Fanny edited a collection of poems for children published by Lothrop; her short poem "Baby Is King" led the compilation and provided its title. She may have been inspired to the work by the addition of a new member in the household -- Alice and Theodore's daughter Gladys (1883-1981).¹²⁹ Her last offering for *St. Nicholas* appears to be another poem, "The Frog in the Shoe," from August 1886. The final three items definitely attributable to Fanny appeared in 1887, 1889, and 1890. The first, a poem titled "Katie's Answer to 'What Is Heaven Like?'," ran in *Christian Union* and returned to a favorite theme, charity. (Through the Fresh-Air Fund, Katie is able to spend two weeks in the country, and, on her return, answers the title question with "*heaven is like the country!*")¹³⁰ The second, "A Talk with Aunt Fanny," was published in *The Home-Maker*; and purports to be interviews with two women from New York City, "belonging to some of its best literary and fashionable society who are unquestioned belles. . . . courted, caressed,

127 [Arthur Holly in Chas. A. Hawley household], 1880 United States Federal Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Stamford, Fairfield, Connecticut; Roll: 96; Family History Film: 1254096; Page: 299B; Enumeration District: 152; Image: 0599, Ancestry.com.

128 Carpenter 287; "Personal," *Harper's Bazaar* 24 (1891): 587, American Periodicals Series.

129 Carpenter 287.

130 Fanny Barrows [sic], "Katie's Answer to 'What Is Heaven Like?'," *Christian Union* 36 (Aug. 25, 1887): 180, American Periodicals Series.

and admired by old and young . . . [and] both of them, [are] over seventy years of age!"¹³¹ The article discussed the women's strategies for social success: the first found "a divine happiness in works of charity," avoided speaking of life's ills, and "*kept her heart young*"; the second thought that some of her appeal was "partly because I can't hate anybody, and because I love little children."¹³² Neither woman is named and it's tempting to suspect they are a composite of Fanny. The final item was an atypical story for adults titled "A Case of Identification" in the February 20, 1890, *Independent*.

As Fanny aged, she continued to enjoy favorable notice in the papers. Articles noted her presence at charitable events, literary gatherings, and vacation spots -- activities that sometimes overlapped. During the early 1880s, Fanny attended the New York Pot-Luck Club's whimsical annual dinners, frequented by a number of other writers including Mary Kyle Dallas, Jenny June Croly, Joaquim Miller, and the club president Robert B. Roosevelt.¹³³ She received an affectionate notice in the papers for another charity appearance, this time at a December 1885 Japanese Tea Party given in support of "a training school for nurses."¹³⁴ For that event, Fanny joined the other women in dressing in costume -- many apparently inspired by *The Mikado* -- but, the *New York Star* reported, "Dear old Aunt Fanny Barrow, however, couldn't succeed in making herself look a bit unattractive as Katisha, and the little ones flocked about her to hear their fortunes told with the same confidence and delight as they have for years sat at her feet and listened to her."

Fanny turned seventy in 1887 but remained active and continued to support the New York Infant Asylum and other charities. That summer, the *New York Evening Telegram's* "Social Miscellany" column informed its readers that Kate Sanborn had "invited a party from this city to spend a fortnight at [a friend's] spacious mansion . . . on an island."¹³⁵ The group included Fanny ("who can tell a good story and write one as well"), as well as Mary Terhune (Marion Harland), fellow series book author Lizzie W. Champney, and Lizzie's artist husband J. Wells Champney. (Harland and the Champneys appear to have become part of the social circle that

131 Fanny Barrow, "A Talk with 'Aunt Fanny,'" *The Home-Maker* 2 (1889): 159, Google Books.

132 Ibid, 160.

133 See, for example, "Aesthetic Pot-Luck," *New York Times*, March 24 1882: 8; "The Pot-Luck Picnic," *New York Times*, April 8, 1883: 9, both ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

134 *New York Star* quoted in "Club House and Ballroom," *Syracuse Standard*, Dec. 27, 1885: 7, Old Fulton New York Postcards. The quote in the next sentence is also from this source.

135 "Social Miscellany," *New York Evening Telegram*, June 13, 1887: 2, Old Fulton New York Postcards. The next quote is also from this source.

included Fanny, for they were together at several gatherings.) In 1888, Fanny was among those who attended a meeting of suffragettes in March;¹³⁶ later that year, she was an instrumental member of the Ladies Jacksonville Relief Society, a group formed as part of nationwide efforts to help when the region was overwhelmed by an epidemic of yellow fever.¹³⁷

In the 1890s, Fanny's name appeared less often in the news, and there were indications she was experiencing some problems with her health. The papers continued to laud her as a children's author, though almost three decades had passed since she created her last successful series. In May 1891, *The Writer* quoted a notice from the April 15 *New York Home Journal* that Fanny "so well and lovingly known in the literary world of young readers and old readers . . . has been very ill for the past six weeks, and is, we regret to learn, not yet convalescent"¹³⁸ (though, oddly enough, *The Critic* for April 4 stated she had been present earlier that week at an organizational meeting of the North American Society of Authors).¹³⁹ In December, the *New York Evening Post's* "Art News" announced the painter Leslie G. Cauldwell was exhibiting "a portrait of Mrs. Fanny Barrow, the author of many well-known books for children" in his studio.¹⁴⁰ Fewer notices about Fanny's activities surface in 1892 and 1893, and another indication of health problems appeared in the March 4, 1894, *New York Times*. A report on the "fashionable audience gathered in Mrs. James Barrow's drawing room" for a guest lecture in a series on "The Old Masters" noted that "Mrs. Theodore M. Connelly [sic] and Mrs. Holly received in the place of their mother . . . who was ill."¹⁴¹ Whether Fanny rallied from that illness is unknown, but two months later, the *New York Evening World* carried the notice "Aunt

136 "Women Who Want to Vote," [New York] *Sun*, March 22, 1888: 2; "A Reception for Women Delegates," *New York Tribune*, March 22, 1888: 5, both Chronicling America.

137 Sara Agnes Pryor, who headed the women's effort in New York, later recalled that when she first began planning fundraising programs, "My support was all out of town except Mrs. Botta and Mrs. Fanny Barrow. We were a committee of three for several weeks." (Mrs. Roger A. Pryor, *My Day: Reminiscences of a Long Life* [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1909]: 429, Google Books.) The relief project ultimately spanned several months, from an initial benefit performance in late September through a mid-November matinee to raise funds for an asylum for children orphaned by the epidemic ("Actors Adding to the Relief Fund," *New York Tribune*, September 28, 1888: 1, Chronicling America; "Amusements," *New York Times*, Oct. 14, 1888: 7, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Amusements," [Nov. 12 matinee], *New York Tribune*, Nov. 11, 1888: 11, Chronicling America). In January 1889, Fanny and three others sent off "the balance of the fund after paying the debts of the society"; the *Times* noted the Ladies Jacksonville Relief Society had raised \$6,000 for the cause -- the equivalent of \$140,000 in 2009 funds ("What These Ladies Have Done," *New York Times*, Jan. 13, 1889: 10, ProQuest Historical Newspapers).

138 "News and Notes," *The Writer* 5 (1891): 107, Google Books.

139 "Notes," *The Critic* 15 (April 4, 1891): 189, American Periodicals Series.

140 "Art News," *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 19, 1891: 8.

141 "The Social World," *New York Times*, March 4, 1894: 13, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Fanny' Dead: The Well-Known Juvenile Writer Expires from Old Age." ¹⁴² On May 7, 1894, Frances Barrow had died at the home she shared with the Connolys. The funeral took place at the Church of the Holy Trinity on May 9.

Fanny's obituary noted in passing that one of her daughters, Mrs. S. L. Holly, was "living in England." ¹⁴³ That brief statement masked much of Sarah and her children's history in the intervening years. When Fanny died, Sarah was apparently not only living in England but also in a convent, a fervent devotion to Catholicism mirrored by two of her children. The rift in the family caused by her religion appears to have been complete -- and acrimonious. In summer 1891, *Harper's Bazaar* and the New York papers reported that Sarah's youngest daughter Alice had "entered upon her novitiate as a nun in the Order of St. Dominic, in the monastery of Corpus Christi, at Hunts Point." ¹⁴⁴ Alice's father Hudson is never mentioned in the articles. In September 1892, when Hudson died from injuries incurred in a fall three years earlier, his obituary in the *New York Times* stated that "[h]e leaves one son" -- thus erasing Sarah and the two siblings who had remained with her. ¹⁴⁵

Both of the children who stayed with Sarah took holy orders, though Sarah apparently did not. A family history asserts that "she entered the novitiate at St. Dominic's Priory . . . at Stone, Staffordshire, England, but left it six weeks later on hearing of her mother's death . . . and returned" to New York. ¹⁴⁶ (If that is accurate, Sarah had sailed for England very soon after hostessing the March 4 event at Fanny's.) According to her son Norman, Sarah "was never a professed nun," only "a devout tertiary of St. Dominic"; he explained that from about the time Alice entered Corpus Christi, Sarah "recited the Dominican Breviary office in Latin every day." ¹⁴⁷ At some point, Sarah also appears to have added Catherine to her name, for she filed a passport application as Sarah Catherine Holly. ¹⁴⁸ In July 1896, she left New York for Fribourg, Switzerland, where Norman was "study[ing] for the priesthood," and, he told a relative,

142 "'Aunt Fanny' Dead: The Well-Known Juvenile Writer Expires from Old Age." [New York] *Evening World*, May 8, 1894: 5, *Chronicling America*.

143 *Ibid.*

144 Quoted material from "Personal," *Harper's Bazaar*. See also "Miss Holly Becomes a Nun," *New York Times*, July 3, 1891: 3, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

145 "Henry Hudson Holly" [obituary], *New York Times*, September 7, 1892: 5, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

146 Carpenter 286.

147 *Ibid.*

148 [Sarah Catherine Holly], U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925. The passport is dated 1896, but she may have adopted the name much earlier, for the 1888 city directory lists her as "Sarah C."

"thenceforth we lived together or near one another."¹⁴⁹ During the next few years, Sarah and Norman spent time in Italy, France and England, but Sarah "gradually lost her health and developed a sort of paralysis." She probably returned to the United States about 1904, for family histories indicate that Norman "obtained a curacy in New York" in May 1904, for "about a year," and an account of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York, notes that he was Director of Liturgical Music there for the academic year 1905-06.¹⁵⁰ During that year, Norman published his only book, *Elementary Grammar of Gregorian Chant* (1905). Sarah lived long enough to see it in print, and "died in a private hospital in Summit, N. J." on July 8, 1906.¹⁵¹ No obituaries have been located in the New York or New Jersey papers.

Sarah's start in publishing was atypical for girls' series authors: although some of her nineteenth-century counterparts had relatives who were also established authors, Sarah appears to be the only one whose initial publications and series books were so closely tied to her mother's work. The relative obscurity in which Sarah spent her later years, however, was all too typical of others like her, who wrote briefly for children and then disappeared. In contrast, Fanny's growing recognition in the later decades of her life -- even after she was producing significantly less material -- differs from the experience of the majority of women who wrote nineteenth-century girls' series. The nature of the recognition, however, suggests it had to do more with Fanny's charitable and social activities than her actual publications, even though articles invariably referred to her as an author. (Indeed, so completely was she disassociated with her actual publications in later years that in 1885 *The Critic* credited her with another author's creation.)¹⁵² Thus, although Fanny was identified as an author, in later years the label seemed

¹⁴⁹ Carpenter 286. Norman's ordination was in 1898, in Rome. Material in the next sentence is also from this source.

¹⁵⁰ Carpenter 286; Arthur J. Scanlan, *St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York 1896-1921* (New York: The United States Catholic Historical Society, 1922): 111, Google Books. Carpenter also states that "Shortly before [Sarah's] death [in July 1906], they traveled in Italy for her health," (286) but it is difficult to determine what period is meant by "shortly."

¹⁵¹ Carpenter 286.

¹⁵² The editor of the "The Free Parliament" column in *The Critic* told a curious reader who queried a reference to Nutcracker and Sugardolly that they "are characters in a fairy book by Aunt Fanny (Mrs. Frances Barrow), which we read in our childhood with great delight"; three issues later, another reader pointed out that the source was actually *The Black Aunt: Stories and Legends for Children*, translated by Charles A. Dana in 1848 (response to J. H. W., in "The Free Parliament: Questions" *The Critic* 3 [May 9, 1885]: 216; S. M. G. "The Free Parliament: Answers" *The Critic* 3 [May 30, 1885]: 252, both Google Books). Another respondent also provided the citation for Dana's translation of *Nutcracker and Dolly* (G. M. A., *Ibid.*). This exchange, however, did not remove the association from readers' minds, for in 1901, a reader asked the *New York Times* about *Aunt Fanny's Story Book*, recalling "The Story of Nutcracker and Sugardolly"; again, a second response reinforced the connection with Barrow, mentioning her Nightcaps and Pop-Guns series, and a third provided the correct title of a book

to originate from those unfamiliar with her writings (even though several of her series were in print at least into the 1880s); the recognition was not necessarily bestowed by those who memorialized literary figures. Fanny's initial success in publishing may be attributed both to her storytelling (and writing) ability as well as her personality and outlook, which shaped her stories and, presumably, her dealings with editors and critics as well as with charitable institutions; her later triumphs, to her personality and family connections. The epigraph on her PopGuns series -- "I love God and little children" -- also serves as an apt epitaph for her life and work.

containing the stories, *Good Aunt Fanny's Legends* (without ever noting it was not the same Aunt Fanny) (Alice V. Josephs, "Queries," *New York Times*, Sept. 21, 1901: BR11; A. T. Richardson, "Queries," *New York Times*, Oct. 19, 1901: BR13; Mrs. Charles Stewart Maurice, "Queries," *New York Times*, Nov. 9, 1901: BR5, all ProQuest Historical Newspapers).