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## Documentary Editing: Journal of the Association for Documentary Editing, Volume 32: 2011

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# DOCUMENTARY EDITING

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Volume 32: 2011

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*DOCUMENTARY EDITING*

**Journal of the Association for Documentary Editing**

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*Documentary Editing* (ISSN 0196-7134) has been the annual publication of the Association for Documentary Editing (ADE) and has been provided free to all members. The new electronic journal, *Scholarly Editing: The Annual of the Association for Documentary Editing*, will similarly be provided free to all members. **Membership categories** are Regular, \$35; Sustaining, \$70; Sponsor, \$100; Patron, \$250; Benefactor, \$500; Student/Retired, \$15; Canadian/Overseas \$50. Institutional subscription rate is Annual, \$50.

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Member of the Conference of Historical Journals

Printed by First Edge Solutions, Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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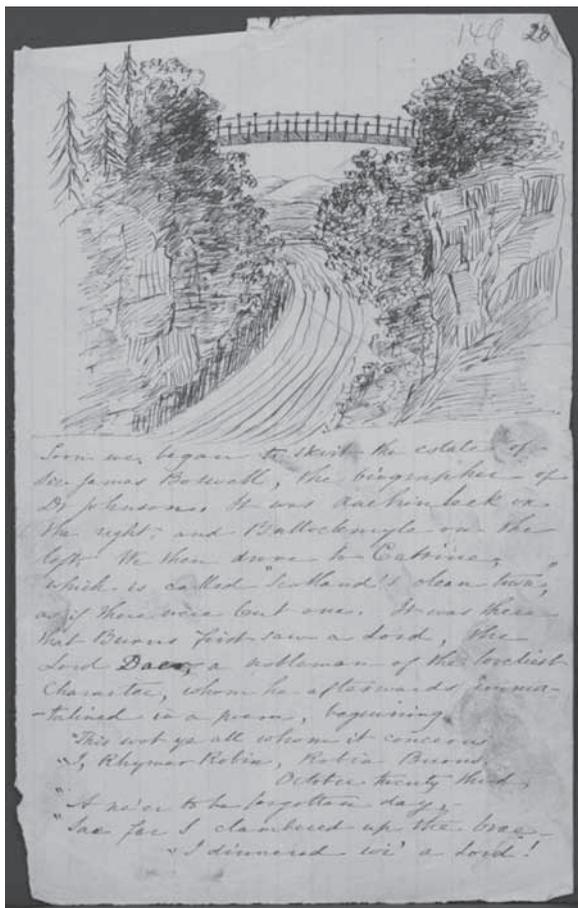
# Editing Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's Travel Writing and the Conundrum of Copies

Patricia Dunlavy Valenti

For Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, living and writing were virtually synonymous. An inveterate letter-writer and journal-keeper, she was among the first American women to document her travels abroad. In December of 1833, Sophia Peabody departed for Cuba; she spent the next eighteen months on a coffee plantation, where her older sister Mary was a governess. In 1853, Sophia Hawthorne left the United States again, this time with her husband, Nathaniel Hawthorne, who assumed the post of United States Consul at Liverpool. During the subsequent seven years, Sophia traveled throughout England and Scotland. She and her daughters, Una and Rose, also journeyed to Portugal, where they resided in the home of long-time friend John Louis O'Sullivan, United States Consul at Lisbon. She then returned to England for a year before traveling through France in advance of an extended stay in Italy. Sophia's record of her travels survives in approximately two-thousand manuscript pages.

This significant contribution to nineteenth-century travel literature has begun to receive the scholarly attention it so richly deserves. Sophia's transcendentalism infuses her observations of foreign, sometimes exotic, landscapes, and her accounts of travel regularly weave drawings with sentences to create visual/verbal representations of nature, architecture, art, and people.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Recent scholarship includes Anna Maria Formichella Elsdon, "Watery Angels: Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's Artistic Argument in *Notes in England and Italy*" (pp. 129–45); Rodrigo Lazo, "Against the Cuba Guide: The 'Cuba Journal,' *Juanita*, and Travel Writing" (pp. 163–79); and Pamela Lee, "Queen of All I Surveyed: Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's 'Cuba Journal' and the Imperial Gaze" (pp. 180–98), all in *Reinventing the Peabody Sisters*, ed. Monika M. Elbert, Julie E. Hall, and Katherine Rodier (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006). See also Diane Scholl, "Fallen Angels: Sophia Peabody Hawthorne's *Cuba Journal* as *Pièce de Résistance*," *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review*, 35 (2009): 23–45, and Julie E. Hall, "Coming to Authorship: Sophia Hawthorne and Her *Notes in England and Italy*," *Legacy: A Journal of American Women Writers*, 19 (2002): 137–51. Historical and personal background to the *Cuba Journal* may be found in Chapter 6, "Queen of All I Survey," in Patricia Dunlavy Valenti's *Sophia Peabody Hawthorne: A Life, Volume I, 1809–1847* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2004). Italian scholar Daniela Ciani-Forza's work-in-progress considers the *Cuba Journal* as an example of "soglie" or "thresholds" between North American and literature of other countries in the Western Hemisphere.



Sophia Hawthorne Collection of Autograph Letters to Her Daughter Una, p. 347. Courtesy of The Morgan Library, 1220.9

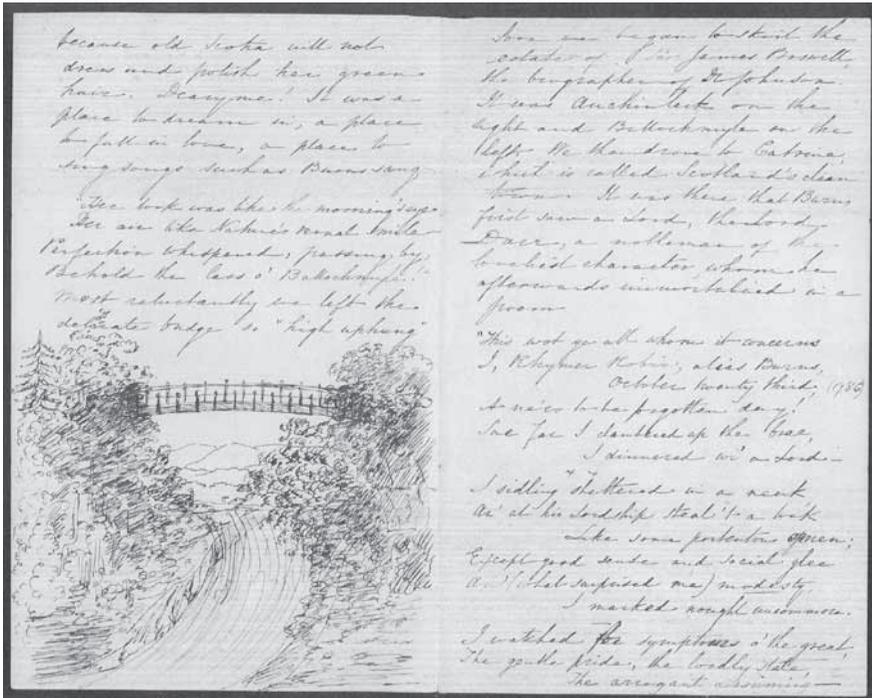
Her writing demands publication in definitive, twenty-first century editions,<sup>2</sup> but her manuscripts pose challenges to any editor who must locate, classify, and verify the authenticity of authorship for a small but important fraction of Sophia's writing. These manuscripts are housed in far-flung collections—among them the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library and the Pierpont Morgan Library on the east coast; the Bancroft Library at the University of California at Berkeley and the Green Library of Stanford University on the west coast. Letters may be catalogued as journals or journals catalogued as letters, for many of Sophia's *journals* do not fit the commonly accepted definition of that term—a record kept for *oneself*. Sophia frequently recorded daily activities in a series of letters to a specific recipient. “Journal-letters” was her accurate term for this hybrid genre which forces the questions: How authentic is Sophia's “voice”? In what ways did she invent a persona and manipulate content to suit a recipient? And many of Sophia's most interesting and provocative extant manuscripts are transcriptions (sometimes in hands that are identifiable, sometimes not).

Even more curious, lacunae exist among holographs from which some copies were presumably transcribed. How might an editor assure that Sophia authored what survives only in transcription? And how might one determine if a copy faithfully replicates the original?

### *Cuba*

The *Cuba Journal*, housed at the Berg Collection, survives with writing in the hands of at least four persons. A few pages, constituting the Appendix to Volume I, as well as some postscripts to Sophia's letters, are in Mary Peabody's hand.

<sup>2</sup> Jana L. Argersinger and Cheryl Fish propose a Web-based, hypertextual version of Sophia's *Cuba Journal*; see “Editing Sophia Peabody's *Cuba Journal*: Travel, Recovery, and Interpretation,” *Documentary Editing*, 31 (2010): 68–78.



Journal of Private Letters of Travel in England and Scotland, used as Printer's Copy, p. 149/28. Courtesy of The Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of English and American Literature, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

Occasional notes in the manuscript, including some pagination, are in the hand of Sophia's daughter, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop. Also in Rose's hand is a copy of Volume I—lightly, but tellingly edited—which was discovered in the 1990s and is now housed at the Green Library. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of the *Cuba Journal's* pages, that is, forty-seven of the sixty-four letters, are in Sophia's hand. But the other seventeen letters now exist only in the hand of the letters' recipient, her mother, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. How accurate and complete these copies are, one cannot know, for the holographs are lost. Claire Badaracco, whose typescript transcription remains the only print version of the *Cuba Journal*, addresses Mrs. Peabody's fidelity, accuracy, and motive in copying Sophia's holographs: "the existence of nearly one-third of the letters in the first volume in Mrs. Peabody's hand complicates the history of the holograph."<sup>3</sup> Indeed it does.

<sup>3</sup> Claire Badaracco, "Introduction," "The Cuba Journal of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne" (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1978), p. ix. Badaracco's transcription is prefaced by useful information about provenance, a description of contents, a list of names recorded in the journal, and notes.

Circumstances generate two speculations about these copies: the physical condition of the holographs and the need to conserve; the content of the holographs and the impulse to censor. The *Cuba Journal* letters became immediately popular; as soon as a letter arrived at the Peabody home in Salem, it was circulated among family, friends, and acquaintances before bundles of letters were bound into separate volumes. This circulation of individual letters certainly contributed to their deterioration, earlier letters deteriorating sooner than later letters. That most copies are among the earliest letters of Volume I may indicate Mrs. Peabody's effort to conserve letters which had deteriorated due to handling.<sup>4</sup>

If Mrs. Peabody's copies signify first efforts to conserve the *Cuba Journal*, what accounts for the disappearance of holographs that were the basis for these copies? Perhaps this lacuna is explained by the maternal excision of the record of behavior deemed inappropriate, specifically Sophia's shipboard relationship with fellow-traveler and Boston resident James Burroughs, the brother-in-law of Elizabeth Peabody's landlord and an agent for sugar planters. Evidence of this affair—if that word does not exaggerate the situation—is found in correspondence among Mrs. Peabody, her daughters Elizabeth and Mary, and Dorcas Cleveland (wife of the American Vice-Consul in Cuba, whom the Peabodys had known in Massachusetts). Each woman conveys disapproval of Sophia's familiarity with Burroughs: Sophia had allowed the young man to rest his foot in her lap while she mended his trousers!<sup>5</sup> The embarrassment caused by Sophia's behavior may be gauged by Burroughs' erasure from the *Cuba Journal* and, possibly, the disappearance of those letters that referred to him, for only innocuous mention of Burroughs remains among letters in Mrs. Peabody's hand.

Mrs. Peabody's copies may also have served an additional purpose: Perhaps they were the only version of Sophia's *Cuba Journal* that was circulated, for many of Sophia's extant holographs contain much that Mrs. Peabody would have regarded as indecorous if not downright scandalous. For example, Sophia describes in great detail her infatuation and escapades with Fernando de Zayas, who as a Catholic of Spanish descent lacked even the respectability of being a known Protestant New Englander like Burroughs. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop's transcription of Volume I strips almost all references to Fernando, a silence that

<sup>4</sup>The extremely fragile present condition of the *Cuba Journal* renders it unsuited to the increased handling by scholars who wish to examine it at the Berg Collection, NYPL. The *Journal* has, therefore, been prepared for digitalization and eventual online access, a process which has been delayed as a consequence of the current economic recession and other factors.

<sup>5</sup> See Bruce Ronda, *Letters of Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: American Renaissance Woman* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1984), p. 132n1, and Megan Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters: Three Women Who Ignited American Romanticism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 2005), pp. 272, 282–84.

speaks loudly about this relationship, one that Sophia's daughter, years later, would have refrained from presenting to the public, and Rose's intention to publish the *Cuba Journal* is implied by the very existence of this transcription. Successes with her 1897 book, *Memories of Hawthorne*, composed largely of her parents' correspondence,<sup>6</sup> may have prompted Rose to aim for more good reviews and additional royalties by publishing the *Cuba Journal*. Sophia had been similarly motivated by the money earned from her publication of Nathaniel's journals in the late 1860s, when she, too, had considered publishing the *Cuba Journal*. But her decision against it is recorded thus: "I read my Cuba letters to see if they would do to print but I think not—there is so much about people in them."<sup>7</sup>

This was not the first time Sophia rejected the idea of publishing the *Cuba Journal*. As early as 1834, her eldest sister—the other Elizabeth Palmer Peabody—was preparing the Cuba letters for publication in the *American Monthly*. Sophia claimed to resent her sister's showing the *Cuba Journal* to "congregations," for at least fourteen individuals or groups of friends and acquaintances read these letters in 1834 alone.<sup>8</sup> Sophia deemed that the "great many little bursts & enthusiasms & opinions & notions" rendered it unsuitable for publication, and she lamented its circulation "as if it were a published book. . . . [F]or it seems exactly as if I were in print—as if every body had got the key to my private cabinet."<sup>9</sup> These demurrals did not, however, prompt her to remove the *Cuba Journal* from circulation at any point in her life.

Thus did the mores of the nineteenth century affect three generations of women—Sophia's mother, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody; Sophia herself; and Sophia's daughter, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop—when each considered circulating or publishing the *Cuba Journal*. What they would suppress or delete is exactly what fascinates the twenty-first century reader who thrives upon the journal's penetrating, whimsical, sometimes irreverent focus upon people. Opening her "private cabinet," Sophia positioned herself among those nineteenth-century travel writers whose purpose was, according to Mary Suzanne Schriber, "self-

<sup>6</sup> Rose Hawthorne Lathrop published *Memories of Hawthorne* after she left her husband and began work providing palliative care for terminal cancer patients. *Memories* became a source of revenue for that charitable endeavor. See Patricia Dunlavy Valenti, *To Myself A Stranger: A Biography of Rose Hawthorne Lathrop* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), pp. 136, 171.

<sup>7</sup> Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, Dresden Journal, June 26, 1869, n.p. MS in one volume, Sophia Peabody Hawthorne Papers, Berg Collection, NYPL.

<sup>8</sup> For a list of these readers, see Claire Badaracco, "The Night-blooming Cereus: A Letter from the 'Cuba Journal' 1833–35 of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, with a Check List of Her Autograph Materials in American Institutions," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 81 (1987): 57–59.

<sup>9</sup> *Cuba Journal*, MS, 3: 90, Berg Collection, NYPL.

revelation.”<sup>10</sup> And clearly, Sophia’s revealed “self” was constructed in conjunction with the recipient of that revelation; hence, flouting of propriety for her mother’s benefit suggests an edginess to her persona as a writer, another dimension to the *Cuba Journal* that hooks a contemporary reader. The circumstances and condition of the *Cuba Journal* manuscript—the holograph letters, the copies, and the lacuna—constitute evidence of dual and conflicting impulses: on the one hand, to conserve writing and make it public; on the other, to suppress writing and keep it private. Information that the copyist would have preferred to expunge may therefore supply evidence of authenticity.

### Portugal

Questions generated by the presence of copies and the absence of holographs are multiplied when we examine Sophia’s chronicle of her stay in Portugal. E. Haviland Miller’s chronology lists a scant record of this journey in only eight of Sophia’s letters. That the “Queen of Journalizers,” as her husband so rightly called her, kept no daily record of her experiences in Lisbon and Madeira seems curious.<sup>11</sup> Her sister Elizabeth’s repeated inquiries about a “Lisbon Journal” provoked Sophia’s emphatic denials, a tone undoubtedly prompted by fear that Elizabeth would circulate these letters as she had those from Cuba. Indeed, Sophia did “protest too much,” for housed at Stanford University among Rose Hawthorne Lathrop’s papers are two chapters totaling 112 pages, catalogued as Rose’s editing of “Sophia A Hawthorne’s *Madeira Journal*.”

Like the *Cuba Journal*, this transcript copies a series of journal-letters, some with running dates within a letter; the recipient is Nathaniel Hawthorne, making this a particularly valuable discovery since relatively few of Sophia’s letters to her husband survive, he having consigned her “maiden letters” to flames immediately before they sailed for England.<sup>12</sup> These chapters are numbered

<sup>10</sup> Mary Suzanne Schriber in *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997), p. 65, identifies a “tripartite division” of purpose in travel journals: “writing as self-construction, writing as self-destruction, and writing as self-revelation.”

<sup>11</sup> Sophia reported Nathaniel’s appellation in a letter to her sister Elizabeth on July 25, [1838], MS, Berg Collection, NYPL. E. Haviland Miller’s “A Calendar of the Letters of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne,” *Studies in the American Renaissance 1986*, ed. Joel Myerson (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1986), p. 247, lists only the following letters from Portugal: four to her sisters (two apiece to Elizabeth Peabody and Mary Mann); three to her son, Julian; one to her husband, Nathaniel.

<sup>12</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne *The American Notebooks*. Volume 8 of *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, ed. Claude M. Simpson (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1973), p. 552.

XV and XVI and constitute pages 659 through 721 and 722 through 771. Chapter XV begins with Rose's own words: "In Portugal. The following letters were written from Portugal, to which my mother, sister & I went for a visit to the O'Sullivans, while my father remained at the Consulate in Liverpool. I concluded not to let the foreign scene break in upon the English one; waiting till that had passed."<sup>13</sup> Rose evidently considered using this material in *Memories of Hawthorne*: cross-outs on her copy attest to her effort to make the journal less personal and more publishable, just as her headnote testifies to Sophia's authorship of what she copied. No holographs survive from which the journal was copied, and nothing from it was published in *Memories*. One paragraph on pages 323–24 of that book makes brief reference to life in Portugal, but its source is not found in Rose's transcription.

Nor is it found in a nine-page, typewritten transcription which begins mid-sentence and is labeled "Extract: Description of Madeira visit Feb 1856 Written Later." Housed at Washington State University (WSU) and catalogued among "The Letters of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne," this transcription was produced by WSU faculty member Aretta Stevens who collaborated with Louise Bennett Deming, the wife of Olcott Deming, Sophia's great-grandson, on an edition of Hawthorne materials then in the possession of the Demings. This project ended before its completion upon Louise Deming's death in 1976, when most of the holographs were deposited in the Berg Collection. Aretta Stevens soon thereafter moved to Alaska, taking the transcriptions with her. Upon her death, the transcriptions were returned to WSU. There is, however, no holograph of "Description of Madeira" at the Berg Collection catalogued with Sophia's materials, and this transcription was probably not based upon Sophia's but upon Una's account, for the Berg catalogue lists with Una's manuscripts "incomplete holograph account of her stay in Funchal, Madeira n.d.," a document that is only one leaf. It was a gift of the Demings.

The "Extract" housed at WSU describes the writer's adventure after distracting a young boy assigned to attend her horse, whereupon she "dashed off at such a lightening speed that even [the boy's] swift feet could not overtake me. On that occasion, I had a very hard-mouthed animal . . . who . . . rushed like the wind. . . [T]hough I had a lingering fear that I should presently find myself on the ground, I really enjoyed it very much, as my horse evidently did." The sentiment of daring and exhilaration recalls Una's remark in a letter to her Aunt Mary about her pleasure riding "on horses that take a good deal of management."

<sup>13</sup> "Sophia A. Hawthorne's Madeira Journal," Courtesy of Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries.

Una particularly liked two Andalusians that were “vicious” and “wicked.”<sup>14</sup> Accounts of exhilarating horseback rides might well have been Sophia’s—had they appeared in the *Cuba Journal*, which is replete with marvelous descriptions of daily rides through the piñon; but when in Portugal, Sophia remarked that she had not ridden since her days in Cuba, and neither her health, nor her age, nor her station in life would have permitted her to hijack a horse and cavort through the countryside.

While both the “Madeira Journal” and “Extract: Description of Madeira” contain some of the hallmarks of Sophia’s best travel writing—vivid word-paintings; detailed descriptions of architecture, landscape, and people; candor that implies the assumption of private discourse but begs for a wide and public audience today—only the “Madeira Journal” should be considered a copy of letters that were authored by Sophia.

### *England and Italy*

Sophia’s only published travel-journal, *Notes in England and Italy*, inverts the challenges posed by the Cuba or Madeira manuscripts. Holographs exist in abundance to supply evidence of authorship and authenticity. The English portion of *Notes* was composed as a series of letters to Sophia’s then thirteen year-old daughter, Una, while Sophia visited various tourist destinations in England and Scotland. The Pierpont Morgan Library houses the original holographs, fifteen letters dated between May 22 and July 7, 1857.<sup>15</sup> The Berg Collection, located only a few blocks away, contains the holograph journals that Sophia used for the Italian portion of *Notes* as well as her holograph transcriptions of the English letters dated between April 10 and July 7, 1857. She used these transcriptions as her printer’s copy. Although there is considerable overlap between these holograph originals and their transcriptions, the Berg contains transcriptions not found in the originals at the Morgan. This redundancy of manuscripts requires careful scrutiny for alterations, additions, or deletions if portions are to be edited for publication. Furthermore, the circumstances under which Sophia composed and published *Notes* will also affect efforts toward a new edition.

The journal-letters in England and Scotland replicate some of the purposes and concerns of the *Cuba Journal*. Just as Sophia had earlier hoped that

<sup>14</sup> “Extract: Description of Madeira visit Feb 1856 Written Later,” p. 1792, Louise Deming and Aretta Stevens Project Papers: the letters of Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, Manuscripts, Archives, and Special Collections, Washington State University Libraries; Una Hawthorne to Mary Peabody Mann, October 31, 1855, MS, Berg Collection, NYPL.

<sup>15</sup> The Morgan purchased these letters from Sophia’s grandson (Julian’s son) H. A. Hawthorne in 1947; they are now bound and catalogued as MA 12201. 1–15.

her letters would obliterate her mother's sense of separation from her, so now did Sophia hope that letters would allow her daughter "to have a complete idea of what I am seeing and doing, or I shall not be contented without you." Sophia also knew that she would need to control circulation of her letters, so she urged Una to read them "quietly & alone."<sup>16</sup> This two-part directive suggests both maternal concern for a daughter whose temperament could be mercurial and awareness of Elizabeth's request that Una pass these letters to her.<sup>17</sup> Uncertainty about her audience coupled with the fact that the *daughter* writing from Cuba to the *mother* had now become the *mother* writing in England and Scotland to the *daughter* account for a reticence and formality that gives verbal descriptions textbook dryness. Too infrequent are the touches of whimsy—Sophia's analysis of the relative merits of the English nose; her playful insertion of Scottish dialect—which occasionally remain in the published version.<sup>18</sup> In general, Sophia employs a maternal voice that is part teacher, part moral guardian, resulting in Schriber's impression that Sophia attempts "to conceal, ignore, and destroy the trace of another voice, another self-possibility."<sup>19</sup>

If, however, Sophia's sentences are often pedestrian, her sketches in these letters are not. Sophia's letters to Una rely much more upon visual representation than did her letters to her mother from Cuba. Upon visiting the Lady-Chapel and Chapter House of the Glasgow Cathedral, Sophia writes Una, "My darling, how can I make you see with me these majestic sepulchres for the dead?", in effect answering her own question with several sketches, which regrettably do not find their way into the Putnam edition.<sup>20</sup> Throughout her letters, some drawings, such as those of gargoyles, flowers, or bits of lace, are surrounded by sentences, indicating that her composition of these visual representations preceded verbal descriptions. Other sketches—those of undulating hillsides, for example—sometimes appear like faint watermarks behind sentences. Large, intricate drawings of an arched bridge over a stream or architectural facades may occupy the entirety of one or two leaves. These might easily stand alone as framed sketches. Remarkably, when Sophia transcribed these letters to make her printer's copy, she apparently copied all sentences and sketches, then used a red

<sup>16</sup> Sophia Peabody Hawthorne to Una, May 24, 1857, MS MA 1120, Morgan Library, deleted from *Notes*.

<sup>17</sup> Notwithstanding decades of ostensible resistance to her sister Elizabeth's efforts to circulate her travel journals, Sophia dedicated *Notes* to her.

<sup>18</sup> Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, *Notes in England and Italy* (New York: Putnam & Son, 1969), pp. 141, 146. *Notes* is available online at <http://www.ibiblio.org/eldritch/nh/mrshnei.html>

<sup>19</sup> Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920*, p. 110.

<sup>20</sup> Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, *Notes*, p. 81.

pencil to cross out anything not to be published. Why she would re-copy only to cross out is unknown. Although her decision to eliminate personal information in sentences is understandable, her decision to eliminate sketches is unfortunate. And any effort to verify that she did indeed copy everything exactly for the printer's copy, that no verbal gem was omitted in publication, would require painstaking analysis of numerous pages that are housed in separate collections. The Italian portion of *Notes* was drawn from Sophia's several journals—not journal-letters—kept in Rome and Florence between February 14 and October 20, 1858. Although this journal almost entirely lacks Sophia's characteristic and distinguishing feature—her wonderful sketches—the assumed private nature of her entries permits a more independent voice, that of an intensely observant, thoughtful, sentient, and original person who comfortably ignores conventional boundaries and thereby produces a more compelling, complex text.<sup>21</sup> Sophia's astute, philosophical commentary on the visual arts marks her real achievement in this Italian portion of *Notes*. Enthralled *by* art, she is not in thrall *to* anyone else's appraisal of it. Nowhere is Sophia's commentary more textured and independent than in her response to sacred art. Regarding Ghirlandaio's frescoes, she writes, "Must we not go back to this adornment again, since it arose from the demand of the soul, and the soul demands it still? What were colors made for, if not to use in the worship of God, and the culture of the spirit? Are we more devout for bare walls? Are we less spiritually-minded. . . ?"<sup>22</sup> Sophia's appreciation for Ghirlandaio encapsulates her transcendental theory of art—that the material and the sensual abet communion with the spiritual, a philosophy that countered contemporary Protestant suspicions that sacred art was the equivalent of idolatry for Roman Catholics.

Although Sophia composed the English and Italian portions of *Notes* under very different circumstances which produced notably different results, editing both portions occurred during the last two years of her life, when extreme poverty forced her to move to Dresden, where she spent her days copying her "travel journals" to earn money from their publication. Working under great duress, Sophia's editing lacks a guiding principle that might have made her published letters or journals more engaging, coherent, and comprehensible to the general reader. For example, while a reader may infer who Papa or J—— (her son, Julian) is, Sophia does nothing to introduce Ada Shepherd (their governess who

<sup>21</sup> Schriber, *Writing Home: American Women Abroad, 1830–1920*, p. 123, also observes something else, "a different version of self . . . the energetic and responsive artist." "[W]riting about art and gallery visits," Schriber says, "Sophia . . . breaks out of the straitjacket"; *ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>22</sup> Sophia Peabody Hawthorne, *Notes*, p. 416.

arrived from Antioch College) or Mr. Powers (Hiram Powers, the American expatriot artist) and his circle. Occasionally, she provides a definition; “smalto,” for example, is “a kind of hard enamel, artificially composed.”<sup>23</sup> But this awareness of an audience by defining or introducing information becomes conspicuous through its inconsistency or complete absence. At times Sophia fails even to exercise any authority over her text by adjusting the sequence of events; the June 27 entry confusingly precedes the one for June 19. And the published edition concludes with a postscript: “My journal was suddenly interrupted by illness—even in the midst of a sentence, and was never resumed; which will account for the abruptness of the close.”<sup>24</sup> This personal disclosure clarifies nothing and presumes the reader’s forbearance. Regrettably, *Notes*, Sophia’s one publication, lacks polish, and more regrettable still, the English portion entirely omits the distinguishing wealth of drawings which make for fascinating verbal/visual representation of travel.

### *Conclusions*

Sophia’s travel writing merits the scholarly attention that will result in print or electronic publication. As one of the first American women to document travel to Cuba, England, Scotland, Portugal, and Italy, she recorded her observations with a fine eye for detail and an incisive appreciation for people, places, art, and architecture. Precisely those “great many little bursts & enthusiasms & opinions & notions” that deterred her from publishing the *Cuba Journal* impel contemporary readers to circulate her writing as widely as possible. Not only the content but the method of her travel writing attracts the reader. Sophia had the capacity to paint pictures with words and to wed verbal descriptions with sketches, in many ways creating a medium of verbal/visual communication consummately suited to transcendental observations of the correspondences between natural and spiritual realities. Any contemporary publication of her work must reproduce Sophia’s sketches as well as her words, ideally positioning them as she did in or behind her sentences, thus presenting to the reader the true richness and texture of her record of travel.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 386.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 549.

# On Editing Late-Nineteenth-Century Author Interviews

Gary Scharnhorst

The wish of his soul was that he might be interviewed; that made him hover at the editorial elbow.

–Henry James, *The Bostonians* (1886)<sup>1</sup>

Contrary to the assertions of the marketing department of the *Paris Review*, the celebrity interview was not invented in 1953.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the first interviews with prominent authors began to appear in American newspapers in the early 1870s. No interviews with Edgar Allan Poe, Henry David Thoreau, or Nathaniel Hawthorne, each of whom died before or during the Civil War, are known to exist. Charles Dickens sat for no interviews during any of his U.S. speaking tours, including the final one in 1867–1868. The first known interview with Mark Twain appeared in 1871, and the second was not published until November 1874, the same month Twain satirized his experiences with reporters in “An Encounter with an Interviewer”: “You know it is the custom now,” he wrote, “to interview any man who has become notorious.”<sup>3</sup> During his “Twins of Genius” tour with George Washington Cable in 1884–1885, Twain was approached by reporters for comments some four or five times a month, but he was interviewed at virtually every stop on his round-the-world speaking tour a decade later. As Oscar Wilde insisted in January 1882, during the first days of his visit to the U.S., “interviewers are a product of American civilization, whose acquaintance I am making with tolerable speed.”<sup>4</sup> Wilde later added that the genre was unique to the American press: “We have no interviewing in England.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James, *The Bostonians* (1886; rpt. New York: Modern Library, 1956), p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> [www.parisreview.com/literature.php](http://www.parisreview.com/literature.php)

<sup>3</sup> *Mark Twain: Collected Tales, Sketches, Speeches, and Essays 1852–1890*, ed. Louis J. Budd (New York: Library of America, 1992), p. 584.

<sup>4</sup> “The Aesthetic Apostle,” *Boston Globe*, January 29, 1882; rpt. *Oscar Wilde in America: The Interviews*, ed. Matthew Hofer and Gary Scharnhorst (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2010), p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Oscar Wilde in America: The Interviews*, p. 87.



Mark Twain and reporters in Vancouver, B.C., August 18, 1895. Courtesy of Kevin MacDonnell.

The author interview was in fact the product of advances in post-Civil War printing technology and the growth of celebrity culture. As major American daily newspapers expanded from four to eight and even twelve pages, editors had to fill more space. Under the circumstances, fame became a commodity and privacy its price. Henry James, for one, rarely sat for interviews—a total of only three during his career—and he even burlesqued the journalists who sought them in the characters of Henrietta Stackpole in *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881), Matthias Pardon in *The Bostonians* (1886), and George Flack<sup>6</sup> in *The Reverberator* (1888). Henrietta, for example, works for a gossip rag called the *New York Interviewer*, and as one of James’s characters she remarks, once “you read the *Interviewer* you . . . lost all faith in culture.”<sup>7</sup> James personally dreaded “the assault of the interviewer”<sup>8</sup> and the invasion of privacy it portended. (When

<sup>6</sup> No etymological dictionary I have consulted credits James with coining the term “flack” for a publicity agent.

<sup>7</sup> James, *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881; rpt. New York: Norton, 1975), p. 53.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in *Henry James on Culture*, ed. Pierre Walker (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), pp. 138–39.

Wilde was asked by a reporter in Washington, D.C., for some details of his private life, he replied that he wished he had one.<sup>9</sup>) As James explained to the poet Witter Bynner in his characteristically prolix style,

I have a constituted and systematic indisposition to have anything to do myself personally with anything in the nature of an interview, report, reverberation, that is, to adopting, endorsing, or in any other wise taking to myself anything that anyone may have presumed to contrive to gouge, as it were, out of me.<sup>10</sup>

Journalists lacked “delicacy,” “discretion,” and “reserve,” James insisted in his notebooks.<sup>11</sup> His friend and editor W. D. Howells, too, characterized the journalist Bartley Hubbard in both *A Modern Instance* (1881) and *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885), which opens as Hubbard is interviewing the title character, as a mendacious scoundrel.

Let me offer here my working definition of an interview. It is the record, usually a transcription, of a spontaneous conversation between one or more journalists and a celebrity that is published soon thereafter. That is, an interview is not a reconstructed conversation long after the fact nor is it a set of written responses to questions. The “cumulative effect” of a series of interviews, as Thomas P. Riggio remarks, “is of a kind of oral memoir”<sup>12</sup> or, in Twain’s phrase, another form of “autobiographical dictation.” The only significant exception to this definition (in my view) is a court transcript with lawyers rather than reporters asking the questions, such as the transcripts of Henry Ward Beecher’s trial for alienation of affection in 1875 and Wilde’s three trials at the Old Bailey in London in 1895, ending with his conviction on a charge of gross indecency.

Why are interviews significant? Not all are, to be sure, though Louis J. Budd correctly claims that “even a slipshod interview may hold a fact or judgment that fits while enriching other sources.”<sup>13</sup> Simply put, an interview recovered from a late-nineteenth-century newspaper may contain information not available elsewhere. Who would not value the discovery of an interview with Melville in the 1870s or 1880s, when his reputation was in eclipse? In the

<sup>9</sup> *Oscar Wilde in America: The Interviews*, p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> Bynner, “A Word or Two with Henry James,” *Critic and Literary World*, 46 (1905): 148.

<sup>11</sup> James, *The Complete Notebooks*, ed. Leon Edel and Lyall H. Powers (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 64.

<sup>12</sup> Riggio, “Preface” to *Theodore Dreiser: Interviews*, ed. Frederic E. Rusch and Donald Pizer (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), p. xiii.

<sup>13</sup> Budd, “Interviews,” *Mark Twain Encyclopedia*, ed. J. R. LeMaster et al. (New York: Garland, 1993), pp. 402–03.

absence of audio recordings, interviews in a very elementary way may recreate patterns of speech, such as cadence or a drawl. An interview, like a letter, may be an important source about the composition history of a text, as when Howells was asked in June 1885 about his novel in serialization in the *Century*.<sup>14</sup> An interview may also offer a new basis for evaluating contemporary response to a writer or recovering his or her lost writings. In his only known interview, with a reporter for the *Boston Advertiser* in 1896, Horatio Alger, Jr., mentioned that he had contributed a series of travel articles to the New York *Sun* during his trip to Europe in 1860–1861, a clue that enabled Alger’s biographers to locate a series of thirteen pieces hitherto unknown to scholarship that he sent to the paper from England, Ireland, France, and Italy. More to the point, these articles were signed with the pseudonym “Carl Cantab,” an abbreviation of Cantabrigian, the term for Cambridge students, including students at Harvard, Alger’s alma mater. This discovery, in turn, enabled them to identify nearly a hundred poems and stories by Alger signed with the same pseudonym in weekly Boston literary papers such as *Yankee Blade* and *American Union* in the 1850s.<sup>15</sup>

Interviews may also help scholars and critics establish authorial intent. When asked in his only known interview why he “always had a boy and girl in love” in his novels, John W. De Forest, author of *Miss Ravenel’s Conversion* (1867), replied that “it was the only kind of plot a writer could get the public interested in.”<sup>16</sup> When Charlotte Perkins Gilman, the leading American feminist intellectual at the turn of the twentieth century, was interviewed while on lecture tour in Topeka, Kansas, in June 1896, she readily allowed that she had a didactic purpose in her first book, *In This Our World* (1893), a collection of verse: “I don’t call it a book of poems. I call it a tool box. It was written to drive nails with.”<sup>17</sup> This comment has been cited in every scholarly article to date devoted to Gilman’s poetry.

An interview recovered from the morgue of a newspaper or magazine occupies a peculiar middle ground between a private letter or a message in a

<sup>14</sup> Edwards Roberts, “Two Famous Authors, Aldrich and Howells at Home / Lions of Literary Boston,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 28, 1885; reprinted in “William Dean Howells,” Chicago Inter-Ocean, July 22, 1885, 11:4. Edward Roberts, “Two Famous Authors,” *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 28, 1885; rpt. Cindy Murillo, “‘I Do Not Pretend to Illustrate Any Great Truths’: Two Newly Recovered Interviews with W. D. Howells,” *American Literary Realism*, 39 (2006): 76–77.

<sup>15</sup> “A Famous Writer / Horatio Alger, Jr., is Taking a Much-Needed Rest,” *Boston Advertiser*, April 10, 1896.

<sup>16</sup> “Edwin Oviatt, ‘J. W. De Forest in New Haven,’” *New York Times Saturday Review*, December 17, 1898.

<sup>17</sup> “Mrs. Gilman as a Woman,” *Topeka State Journal*, June 15, 1896 (vol. 7, Charlotte Perkins Gilman Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College).

bottle and a publication subject to individual control, revision, and approval. The interviewer is a collaborator in its production, for good or for ill. The interviewee, as in the case of Wilde, may consider the event a type of performance. Certainly, there were conventions governing the interview; for instance, the reporter and subject were guest and host respectively. In *Sister Carrie* (1900), Theodore Dreiser commented derisively on the conventions “of those tinsel interviews which shine with clever observations, show up the wit of critics, display the folly of celebrities, and divert the public.”<sup>18</sup> There is also a critical difference between celebrity interviews published in the late-nineteenth century and those published since roughly 1920: without exception, the earlier ones were published from a reporter’s scribbled notes or shorthand. No authoritative or unfailingly accurate version of such texts could then or can now be established, so editing them presents a monumental challenge.

So far as I know, however, no one has tried to establish a set of editorial principles applicable to this material. Here, then, I offer a baker’s dozen suggestions based on my own research over the past few years into the lives of the oft-interviewed Mark Twain, Oscar Wilde, Kate Field, and Julian Hawthorne.

1. The editor of nineteenth- and early-twentieth century periodical interviews should be aggressive in correcting obvious mistakes. Because they are records of oral conversations, not manuscripts, editors should prepare clear texts, silently regularizing punctuation and emending typographical errors and misspellings, particularly of names. For example, Twain referred in a conversation with a reporter for the *Bombay Gazette* in January 1896 to J. C. Calhoun and Thomas H. Benton, a pair of antebellum U.S. Senators who championed states’ rights. In the published interview, however, the reporter misconstrued their names as J. C. Cabbon and Thomas H. Bentham.<sup>19</sup> A responsible editor certainly takes no liberties in silently correcting such egregious errors.

2. The editor must always allow for the possibility that published texts of interviews may be inaccurate. When Twain returned to the U.S. after several years abroad in mid-October 1900, and later when he returned to New York after his receipt of an honorary doctorate from Oxford University in late July 1907, he was met at the gangplank by a gaggle of reporters. On each occasion, his arrival turned into an impromptu press conference. On neither occasion, however, did any two reporters file exactly the same version of events—*prima facie* evidence that there is no single “correct” or definitive version of an interview. What to do? In my edition of *Mark Twain: The Complete Interviews*, I publish the most complete

<sup>18</sup> Dreiser, *Sister Carrie* (1900; rpt. New York: Doubleday, 1997), p. 527.

<sup>19</sup> *Mark Twain: The Complete Interviews*, ed. Gary Scharnhorst (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), pp. 279–80.

version of each interview—in 1900 in the *New York Herald* and in 1907 in the *New York American*—and then annotate all significant variants or alternative phrasings.<sup>20</sup> Every word attributed to Twain in any printing of either interview is thus recorded, but only one version of each interview is reprinted in full.

Elsewhere, Twain denied that a published interview, even if it accurately recorded every spoken word, was a satisfactory account of a conversation because it could not capture the nuances, inflection, facial expression, and the like of the interviewee. “I have never yet met a man who attempted to interview me whose report of the process did not try very hard to make me out an idiot, and did not amply succeed, in my mind, in making him a thorough one,” Twain remarked in May 1882.<sup>21</sup> Or as he once wrote Edward Bok, the editor of the *Ladies’ Home Journal*,

The moment “talk” is put into print you recognize that it is not what it was when you heard it; you perceive that an immense something has disappeared from it. That is its soul. You have nothing but a dead carcass left on your hands. Color, play of feature, the varying modulations of the voice, the laugh, the smile, the informing inflections, everything that gave the body warmth, grace, friendliness and charm and commended it to your affections—or, at least, to your tolerance—is gone and nothing is left but a pallid, stiff and repulsive cadaver.<sup>22</sup>

Fair enough. But neither do most private letters capture these nuances. Twain certainly did not refrain from granting interviews—some two hundred of them—during the final fifteen years of his life, when doing so was in his self-interest; moreover, many of them contain invaluable information about his life and career. These texts should be available to critics and scholars and subject to their analysis no less than other biographical sources.

3. On the other hand, an editor should omit from the record any interview or part of one that has been repudiated on the grounds of inaccuracy. Put another way, on what basis can an editor overrule the judgment of an interviewee who claims that he or she has been misquoted? In 1908 Twain repudiated an interview with him conducted by the novelist Elinor Glyn because she did not “reproduce the words I used.”<sup>23</sup> Thus Glyn’s account of the conversation has no credibility and should be ignored.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 352–64, 637–45.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>22</sup> Bok, *The Americanization of Edward Bok* (New York: Scribner’s, 1920), pp. 205–06.

<sup>23</sup> *Mark Twain: The Complete Interviews*, p. 674.

4. On yet another hand, an interview repudiated not on the ground of inaccuracy but because the subject did not know the conversation was on the record should be regarded as authentic. The interviewer may have crossed an ethical line in publishing the details of a private conversation, but there is no reason to doubt its credibility. The most infamous case in point is Julian Hawthorne's interview with James Russell Lowell in late October 1886, which Lowell soon repudiated because, as he insisted, he had not known that Hawthorne was planning to print a transcript of their conversation in the New York *World*. To his chagrin, the poet and former U.S. Minister to the Court of St. James's was quoted describing the Prince of Wales as "immensely fat," allowing that Prince Leopold "was the greatest cad I ever knew in my life," and admitting that he preferred to live in England rather than in the U.S.<sup>24</sup> Of course, Lowell responded immediately upon publication of the interview that "nobody could have been more surprised and grieved than I by Mr. Hawthorne's breach of confidence."<sup>25</sup> Hawthorne defended himself in the *World*: "I had no doubt, until this moment, that Mr. Lowell knew I was interviewing him for the *World*. I cannot comprehend how there could have been any misunderstanding on the subject."<sup>26</sup> During the controversy, the editors of the *World* and most other papers backed Hawthorne, their fellow journalist, whose honesty had been impugned. Lowell tried a second time to set the record straight: he complained that he had "suffered an irreparable wrong" and reaffirmed "unequivocally that I not only did not know but that I never even suspected Mr. Julian Hawthorne's purpose in visiting me."<sup>27</sup> In the ensuing free-for-all, as George Knox remarks, the

editorial consensus was that Lowell had better let the matter drop; that it was ridiculous to assume that Julian Hawthorne would have risked his reputation for a fraudulent newspaper interview; that Lowell had made a fool of himself; that he was capricious and motivated by pique; and that his memory was slipping.<sup>28</sup>

Obviously, an interviewee at the time enjoyed no legal protection or guarantee that whatever was said was off the record. Privately, Lowell fumed that Hawthorne's "infidelity" was "like a dead rat in the wall,—an awful stink and

<sup>24</sup> Hawthorne, "Lowell in a Chatty Mood," New York *World*, October 24, 1886.

<sup>25</sup> "A Prompt Denial from Mr. Lowell," *Boston Advertiser*, October 25, 1886; rpt. *Critic*, November 6, 1886.

<sup>26</sup> "Julian Hawthorne's Reply," *Boston Herald*, October 27, 1886; rpt. *Critic*, November 6, 1886.

<sup>27</sup> New York *World*, November 1, 1886; rpt. *Critic*, November 6, 1886.

<sup>28</sup> Knox, "The Hawthorne-Lowell Affair," *New England Quarterly*, 29 (1956), 500.

no cure.”<sup>29</sup> Three weeks later, Henry James, the paladin of privacy, wrote Lowell from England to condemn “Julian Hawthorne’s damnable doing.” He could “imagine no more infamous trick & no more shameless piece of caddishness” than to stir up a controversy for personal benefit at Lowell’s expense: “It shows how dangerous & noxious a man may become when he is so discredited (as J. H. has been, I take it, for a long time,) that he has no further credit to lose.” Hawthorne “ought to be shot & that is the end of it.”<sup>30</sup>

5. Many interviews survive only in translation (for example, Twain’s interviews with German-language papers while he was living in Europe from 1896 to 1900). I believe they belong in a separate category of documents, if not ignored entirely, for the simple reason that there is no way to verify the accuracy of the translations. If an interview is often a flawed transcription of a conversation, how much more is lost in translation?

6. So-called “self-interviews,” such as Twain’s “Mark Twain, Able Yachtsman,”<sup>31</sup> are not interviews at all but sketches or stories, often comic pieces, composed in the interview format.

7. Given the topical and local issues usually discussed in interviews, editors should annotate them as fully as they would private letters.

8. Editors must trace all interviews to their original source. Often the texts of interviews were corrupted when reprinted in other papers. Sometimes “ghost” interviews appeared, based upon an author’s speeches or earlier writings rewritten by journalists in the interview format. In August 1895, for example, Twain repudiated a spurious interview entitled “Twain’s Obituary Poems” that had originally appeared in the *Hartford Post* and was subsequently reprinted in the *Minneapolis Pioneer Post* and the *San Francisco Examiner*. It was nothing more than a revision of his essay “Post-Mortem Poetry” (1870).

9. All photographs and other images that accompany an interview should be reproduced, if possible. That is, the context in which an interview appears ought to be recreated to the extent that expense permits.

10. Editors always have to weigh the motives of the interviewees. Like a talk show appearance on television by a writer today, a late-nineteenth-century author normally agreed to sit for an interview in order to promote a project, usually a book, or to grind an ax. For example, Theodore Dreiser perpetuated the legend of his own invention about how *Sister Carrie* (1900) was suppressed by its publisher, Doubleday, Page and Co., in interviews, such as one with the *St. Louis*

<sup>29</sup> Carl J. Weber, “Lowell’s ‘Dead Rat in the Wall,’” *New England Quarterly*, 9 (1936), 469.

<sup>30</sup> Quoted in George Knox, “Reverberations and *The Reverberator*,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 95 (1959): 353.

<sup>31</sup> *New York Herald*, August 30, 1903.

*Post-Dispatch* in January 1902.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, in his interview in the Washington, D.C., *Capital* in 1876, one of only six interviews with him known to exist, Bret Harte tried to defend himself in the midst of personal scandal.<sup>33</sup> Mark Twain typically shunned interviewers, reticent to give his words away in “literary charity” when, as he said, he could sell them for thirty cents apiece—except when he needed the publicity.

A corollary to this suggestion: The editor of an interview known only because it survives in the archives of the subject should weigh the author’s motive in preserving it. Many of the interviews with Twain in Australia, Asia, and South Africa during his round-the-world lecture tour in 1895–1896 are known only because clippings of them are filed among the Mark Twain Papers in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley. Such interviews may enjoy greater authority because Twain apparently approved of them.

11. Editors should weigh the role of reporters in the production of interviews; that is, editors should consider the motives and interests of interviewers such as Julian Hawthorne and Kate Field. They were, after all, a screen or filter between the celebrity and the reader. Reporters for the yellow press, specifically for the Hearst newspapers, were more interested in creating a sensation than in identifying and printing a genuine scoop. For instance, Hawthorne wanted to demean the ostensible artlessness of literary naturalism in his interview with Jack London for Hearst’s *Los Angeles Examiner* in 1905. And although the interests of the interviewer and the subject were usually compatible, they were rarely identical. Thus, for instance, when Field interviewed the Irish playwright Dion Boucicault for the *New York Herald* in 1876,<sup>34</sup> she was earning a paycheck in her area of expertise while he was puffing a play.

12. Editors should weigh issues of access to celebrities related to gender. Most journalists were men who might visit other men in their homes or hotel rooms without violating the proprieties. But certain proprieties had to be preserved, at least on paper. No proper Victorian lady met privately with a man not her husband in a hotel room. As a result, women writers while traveling were rarely interviewed by men, and women journalists interviewed male writers, if at all, in public venues such as train platforms or hotel dining rooms. When Lilian

<sup>32</sup> *Theodore Dreiser: Interviews*, pp. 1–3.

<sup>33</sup> “Bret Harte Interviewed,” *Washington Capital*, October 1, 1876. Harte’s play “Two Men of Sandy Bar” had just opened to a chorus of hostile reviews and allegations that he had bilked the actor to whom he sold the script. On his part, Harte alleged that the drama critics had asked him for bribes to review the play favorably.

<sup>34</sup> Hawthorne, “Jack London in Literature,” *Los Angeles Examiner*, January 12, 1905. Field, “London Gossip / Interesting Chat with Dion Boucicault,” *New York Herald*, August 11, 1876.

Whiting interviewed Wilde in Boston in January 1882, they met in the dining room of the Hotel Vendome, where Wilde was staying. To bridge the divide they perceived between the conventions of propriety and their responsibilities as professionals, women journalists, among them Gilman, organized the Pacific Coast Women's Press Association in the early 1890s in part to lobby for greater access to authors and other celebrities visiting San Francisco.

13. Editors should weigh issues of access to celebrities related to race. Most of the journalists who worked for the mainstream press in the late nineteenth century were white, and while they enjoyed access to white celebrities, they were able largely to ignore minority writers on the grounds that their life stories did not interest most of their readers. In many parts of the country, moreover, minority writers were denied public accommodations—so when traveling they could not be found in hotels, unlike their white counterparts. When Paul Laurence Dunbar lived in Denver and Colorado Springs between September 1899 and the spring of 1900, he was mostly ignored by the local press; living in homes rented from local black merchants, he virtually disappeared from public view.

I offer these thirteen suggestions for editing author interviews, which have emerged from my own scholarship in recent years, if for no other reason than they can be disputed—not as hard and fast rules. Given the increasing access to antiquarian newspapers in digitized, fully searchable format, our opportunities to recover author interviews and other primary sources will doubtlessly multiply in the future. For instance, four interviews with Twain have surfaced since the publication of *Mark Twain: The Complete Interviews* in 2006. The online research tools available today, far from easing the task of bibliographers and textual editors, require them to be more fussy and fastidious than ever.

# “A Broad, Generous Stream of Love and Bounty”:

The Concord Sewing Circle and the Holley School for Freedmen

Mary Lamb Shelden

Following her trip in October 1875 to the Women’s Congress in Syracuse, Louisa May Alcott spent November and December at Dr. Miller’s Bath Hotel in New York City. There, she spent time with Sallie Holley (1818–1893), who was a frequent visitor at the Hotel. The two spent six weeks “go[ing] about together”: on Thanksgiving Day, they took a carriage ride together in Central Park; another day, they went to tea at the home of a cousin of Holley’s.<sup>1</sup> Holley was among the “notables” Alcott remarked on in her Journal, along with Henry Ward Beecher, Bret Harte, Ann Booth, and Moncure Conway. Alcott said of her time with Holley, “She tells me much about her time with the freedmen, and Mother is soon deep in barrels of clothes, food, books, etc., for Miss A. to take back with her [to New York for shipment to Virginia].”<sup>2</sup> For many years after their New York City visit, Louisa and her mother, Abba Alcott, and a circle of their friends continued to send material donations to the Holley School; school founders Holley and her partner, Caroline Putnam (1826–1917), wrote letters of thanks in reply, carefully detailing the use of donated items. Holley’s and Putnam’s letters of thanks to Concord draw a vivid picture of life in one of the earliest and longest-lived black schools in Virginia.

In *The Souls of Black Folk*, W.E.B. Dubois argues that the earliest period of Reconstruction had done “three things worth doing”: relieved a great deal of suffering, moved former fugitives back toward the farmlands, and, “best of all,” inaugurated the exodus southward of “Yankee Schoolma’ams”:

The annals of this Ninth Crusade have yet to be written—the tale of a mission that seemed to our age far more quixotic than the quest of St. Louis seemed to his. Behind the mists of ruin

<sup>1</sup> Louisa May Alcott, *The Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and Madeline B. Stern (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. lii, 200–202, 205–08. See also Sallie Holley to Louisa May Alcott, January 14, 1882, Alcott Family Additional Papers, 1707–1904, bMS Am 1130.15 (165), Houghton Library, Harvard University.

<sup>2</sup> Louisa May Alcott, *The Journals of Louisa May Alcott*, ed. Joel Myerson, Daniel Shealy, and Madeline B. Stern (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1997), pp. 196–99.

and rapine waved the calico dresses of women who dared, and after the hoarse mouthings of the field guns rang the rhythm of the alphabet.<sup>3</sup>

In searching out sources for this history, much of which still is “yet to be written,” one can hardly find a likelier candidate than the story of the Holley School for Freedmen. Established in Lottsburg on Virginia’s Northern Neck, the school had a long life as an independent, co-educational, and sometimes integrated private school from its founding until Putnam’s death in 1917; after the death of its founders, the Holley Graded School, as it became known, was one of the very few public schools for blacks in the region.<sup>4</sup>



Sallie Holley (left) and Caroline Putnam, founders of the Holley School for Freedmen in Lottsburg, Virginia. Reproduced by The Salisbury Association, Inc.

I first came to this history while reading through the Alcott Family Papers at the Houghton Library of Harvard University, where a file in the collection contains seventeen letters written by Holley and Putnam to their Concord benefactors. Holley and Putnam were Oberlin alumnae and abolitionists who, following emancipation, continued their partnership in reform by taking up the new cause of educating the former slaves of Virginia’s Northern Neck. The intended audience for their letters was Louisa May and Abba Alcott and, by extension, the sewing circle in Concord of which they were members. Cogent and writerly, the letters offer a uniquely authoritative and fascinating view of daily life at the Holley School; additionally, two letters contain the narrative of Winnie Beale, a former slave and one of the school’s neighbors, spoken to Sallie Holley by Beale and transcribed by her.

According to their biographer Katherine Lydigsen Herbig, Holley and Putnam met in the 1840s at Oberlin College, where they were among the college’s first generation of women students.<sup>5</sup> After Holley’s graduation, the pair took up the cause of abolition in the public forum, joining the speakers’ circuit in the 1850s and publishing correspondence from the field in abolitionist presses

<sup>3</sup> W.E.B. Dubois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903; rpt., New York: Bantam, 1989), n.p.

<sup>4</sup> Katherine Lydigsen Herbig, *Friends for Freedom: The Lives and Careers of Sallie Holley and Caroline Putnam* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1977), pp. 364–83.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40–58.

such as *The Liberator* and *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. Holley was a public speaker against slavery; Putnam traveled with her, made their arrangements, and went door-to-door distributing anti-slavery tracts in the towns where Holley spoke.<sup>6</sup> During the Civil War, they tried life together at the farmstead of Putnam's family in Farmersville, New York, but ultimately they found the small challenges faced by that community less compelling than battling slavery.<sup>7</sup> While casting about for what to do after the war, Putnam established the school in 1868; Holley joined Putnam in 1869, and she purchased land for the school.<sup>8</sup> The pair spent the remaining years of their lives together engaged in the education of the former slaves of Lottsburg and the surrounding region. All told, Holley and Putnam spent forty-five years together as lifelong partners in the causes of freedom and social progress.

Holley and Putnam were acquainted with Samuel J. May, Louisa May Alcott's maternal uncle, through their shared work in the abolitionist cause; Holley also came to know Bronson Alcott and, no doubt, the entire Alcott family in this way as well.<sup>9</sup> Although they likely had met earlier, Holley and Alcott apparently became friends in November 1875 during their time in New York City. Soon afterwards, Alcott's mother took up the cause of the Holley School in earnest, inspiring women in their social circle to do likewise in an organized and ongoing fashion. The work of these women on behalf of the Holley School was, as it was for Holley and Putnam, an extension of the work they had done before the war to help bring about the end of slavery and during the war to support the Union.

#### *Description of the Projects*

Extant at the Houghton Library but as yet unpublished are the seventeen manuscript letters from Sallie Holley and Caroline Putnam to Abba and Louisa May Alcott written over the eight years between 1875 and 1883, during which time Abba and, after her death in 1877, Louisa recruited from their neighbors in Concord, Massachusetts (especially from the sewing circle that included Ellen Emerson, daughter of Ralph Waldo Emerson), support for and donations of material goods to the Holley School. Other than a meager stipend earned by Putnam as Lottsburg's postmistress, Holley and Putnam's only means of

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 164–76.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., pp. 173–74.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 218–42.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 96; John White Chadwick, *A Life for Liberty: Anti-Slavery and Other Letters of Sallie Holley* (New York: Putnam, 1899), p. 203.

7/10/1883 Winnie Beale's Story L  
 I was gone ten years and have been every which way just like a pig. ADDITIONAL  
 George Richardson got me sold. His child died, and he said I was  
 wanted at his house - I was hired out to Sam June, and the first I knew I was  
 starting to the Spring with my bucket on my arm to fetch water to cook some  
 hominy my Isaac had brought a present for me - Mrs June said, "Winnie  
 there's somebody at the gate." I went to see who it was - He was  
 Wm George Shirley, the Sheriff - He said, come along, Winnie, I've come  
 for you - without telling me a word what for? I had to go, walking beside  
 him, he on horse-back - He took me straight to the jail in Ketterville  
 opened the door and told me to walk in, still not a word why I was put  
 there - a white man, a kind of father man was in there too - I staid  
 five days, when trader Lewis Dix came and carried me in his wagon to  
 Merry Point in Lancaster County, or Rappahannock river - 45 miles -  
 nothing was told me yet what for? I staid at his house two days -  
 they had great big byllers - big as inside my hand - but I could n't  
 eat - "There's your house!" "Your house it is, 'em!" he said when the  
 steamboat come along - "my heart lumps it up, I felt I was almost  
 choked - Lewis Dix went along with Mary (William Middletons sister)  
 and some others - a little girl so high too - we walked a mile to the cart in  
 Fredericksburg - there was the trader John James from Salisbury Tenn.  
 he met us and took us to the cart and said "go in" and hit down -  
 cushioned seats but they was miserable seats to me, I could n't cry  
 - my heart was so big (holding up her doubled fist together) - I've seen  
 birds fly but the cart can out em! The travel looked like Madam's, I could  
 n't count em, nor see 'em well! I was took with the rest to Richmond jail,  
 where I staid three months lacking three days - Ed. Stokes was the jailer,  
 I helped scour and wash and iron in the yard as the others did, and  
 got paid my share - I had a trunk paid a dollar and a half and had  
 seven dollars when John James took me with him to Salisbury Tenn.  
 - sometimes by river and sometimes by land - I staid there the making  
 of two crops of corn - I eat of them both - there's where I first got  
 killed up with the hot sun - I never see a pine tree while I was gone.  
 The first Saturday I takes me up and John James asks where I was  
 going? I said, to get light wood (light wood) there was n't any there -  
 there were great heavy black stones in the cedar woods - I had to lift and carry  
 them to make some with - they pulled my g-t out - nobody here ever  
 could believe what I did - John James' Mist wanted my trunk  
 and he said it was his, he tough't it and was going to take it away from me  
 and give it to her - And because I said, it was mine, I brought it with my money  
 and Ed. Stokes knew I did - he stripped my back and said "there's at a  
 pin scratch on it" "nobody has ever whipped you, I've put my mark on it"  
 he cut me up with a bull whip - O it was awful! John James was  
 going to devote his money on me - He paid \$350 for me - He took me  
 to Savannah Georgia where a man wanted me to raise poultry, he  
 said he would give \$300 - No John James said, should n't

First leaf, narrative of Winnie Beale, a former slave and neighbor of the Holley School, transcribed by Sallie Holley September 16, 1883. MS Am 1130.15 (165). Houghton Library, Harvard University.

subsistence was the food they raised in their garden and the barter of donated goods such as those they received from Concord.

Written by an outstanding pair of ambassadors for their school project, the letters are a treasure-trove of information not otherwise available in the historical record. They tell us something important about life in Concord, and especially about the existence of a community of women in the post-Civil War Abolitionist/Transcendentalist circle doing progressive work there on behalf of emancipated slaves and, by extension, in Concord in support of expanded rights for women. Referenced variously in the letters as the “sewing circle,” the “Freedmen’s Aid Society,” the “Ladies Benevolent Society,” and the “Union Bible Society,” this circle of women put women’s traditional work (e.g., charity and needlework), as well as non-traditional work (e.g., Alcott’s published writings) into the service of this progressive cause. The sewing sessions were, in obvious ways, beneficiaries of the kinds of “Conversations” made accessible for women by Margaret Fuller and Elizabeth Palmer Peabody.<sup>10</sup> The letters also tell us about life at the Holley School: about its charter and mission, its unconventional pedagogical methods (greatly influenced by Bronson Alcott’s theories of education),<sup>11</sup> and its treatment at the hands of its white neighbors; more

<sup>10</sup> For example, Ralph Waldo Emerson’s wife, Lidian, was a participant in Fuller’s Conversations and in activities of the Concord sewing circle. Fuller adopted the term “Conversations” from Bronson Alcott’s events of the same name, and from his moniker for his dialogic practices at the Temple School in Boston. Bronson was an early supporter of Fuller’s events, which also evolved in part from Elizabeth Palmer Peabody’s discussions for women on historical topics, and which Peabody helped arrange. Peabody and Fuller had both been assistants at the Temple School and had observed and recorded Bronson’s conversations with children there; these observations later saw publication as Alcott’s controversial *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* (2 vols., Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1836–1837; New York: Arno Press, 1972). Fuller was a frequent visitor in the Alcott home, and versions of her life story sometimes made an appearance in Louisa’s later fiction. For an account of Fuller’s conversations, see Megan Marshall, *The Peabody Sisters: Three Women Who Ignited American Romanticism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), pp. 386–87; for her friendship with the Alcotts, see Madeline Stern, *Louisa May Alcott: A Biography* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1996), pp. 24, 137, 157.

<sup>11</sup> Bronson Alcott was persuaded to the educational precepts of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746–1827) who, believing in the innate intelligence of human beings and the importance of direct experience, developed a method known as the “object lesson,” wherein an object placed in the classroom formed the basis of a dialogue with students who used their sensory experience of it to test their ability to discern its history and importance. Pestalozzi also rejected corporal punishment, arguing that the classroom should be like a nurturing family, wherein affectionate feeling fostered better learning. Both the object lesson and the rejection of corporal punishment are mentioned in the letters. For more on Pestalozzi’s influence on Bronson, see John Matteson, *Eden’s Outcasts: The Story of Louisa May Alcott and Her Father* (New York: Norton, 2007), pp. 26–27, 35; see also Wesley T. Mott, “Education,” *The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 157–59.

generally, they also provide first-hand portrayals of rural life in Virginia during Reconstruction. And even as they tell us something about Holley and Putnam's life together in this long last chapter of their companionship and work for racial and social justice, the letters introduce us to the lives of the school's scholars and former slaves: the young daytime students who attended the graded school, the adult students who undertook their remedial education at night and in Sunday School, and the former slaves among the school's neighbors who attended community events held there and sometimes told the stories of their experiences under slavery.

When I interviewed for my current position at Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU), I made note of the fact that Lottsburg was only an hour-and-a-half away from Richmond. I first made my way to the Holley School site and the Northumberland County Public Library in the Fall of 2007, just after moving to Richmond. At the site where the Holley Graded School building stands, on the grounds of the old Holley School for Freedmen, an historical marker indicated that a black Board of Trustees still retained the deed for the site. But I would not have the opportunity to return to Lottsburg until after my first year of teaching at VCU. The following August, I went to the Northumberland County Public Library in Heathsville and asked the very helpful librarians there about how to find the executive board members alluded to on the historical marker. A small miracle occurred when the library's director, Jayne McQuade, gave me a few names and helped me look up phone numbers. At the end of my first visit, I made contact with Porter Kier, who, as I later learned, had gotten the school on the National Registry of Historic Places; he gave me a few more names of people to whom I should talk and numbers to call. I had made a start—toward what, I was not yet sure, but my instinct told me it was important that the people of Lottsburg still understood the importance of the school and knew where to send me.

Although at first my attention was primarily focused on the letters, and I thought my journey to Lottsburg would merely help gain me a working context for the letters project, I soon came to see that the history of this later school—Holley Graded School—possesses a history worth telling in its own right. Thus, I enlarged my research into two scholarly projects: an edition of the letters, complete with a historical introduction and annotations, and a complementary digital project that will disseminate oral histories I am now soliciting from members of the Holley Graded School's Board of Trustees, alumni, friends, and neighbors.

### *Textuality and Orality*

From the beginning, I was focused on the responsible transmission of the Holley-Putnam epistolary archive: the textual project presented itself first;

it seemed to me inevitable and sufficient; and presently it remains my primary concern. When I first located the letters, I was an Editorial Assistant and then Assistant Editor at *The Writings of Henry D. Thoreau* project, where I was steeped in the text-focused culture of manuscript transcription and documentary editing. One of the original NEH grant-funded projects, the Thoreau Edition bears the seal of the MLA Committee on Scholarly Editions. As a team, we were engaged in providing editorial support for various volumes being prepared from manuscript: journal volumes in different phases of editorial production (*Journal 6–Journal 8*), and Robert N. Hudspeth’s early work on the projected three volumes of Thoreau’s *Correspondence*. I was a committed participant in the multiple close readings we did of transcriptions against manuscript photocopy, manuscript on microfilm, and sometimes of previous editions; we frequently worked as a group, in concert. I had also participated in transcription “perfection” against the original manuscripts. To say the least, I was trained in the care of textual transmission.

I was working at the Edition when I received a small grant from my home institution, Northern Illinois University, which funded research expenses related to my dissertation on cross-dressing in nineteenth-century American novels. With the grant in hand, on the recommendation of Elizabeth Hall Witherell, Editor-in-Chief at the Edition, I traveled to the Houghton Library to spend time with the Alcott Family Papers on the chance they might shed light on Louisa May Alcott’s treatment of cross-dressing in her fiction. I had, through the auspices of the Edition, traveled with colleagues to the Morgan Library to proofread transcriptions of Thoreau’s *Journal* against manuscripts housed there, so I had experience with this kind of work. Although I was not at all sure how useful a trip it would be—indeed, I found little at the Houghton to help me in my dissertation research—when I stumbled onto this cache of letters, I sat up and took notice. After skimming the contents, I was sure I had an object of study that would be of interest to scholars in the fields of Education, History, American Literature, African-American Studies, Women’s and Gender Studies, LGBT Studies, and American Studies. In grease pencil in the corners of some of the manuscript pages a distant, unknown reader from the past had written, “KEEP WITH CARE.” I very much agreed with that person’s sentiment; in the margins of my notes, I wrote this instruction to myself: “Order microfilm.”

What I did not expect was that, over time, as I completed my dissertation and began to work with these letters, I would come to see the importance of somehow working orality into the mix, however I decided to present the letters to the public. As I repeatedly read and studied the letters, it became clear to me that they were written for an audience larger than the addressees. Frequently in them, Holley and Putnam make direct reference to members of the Concord

sewing circle other than Louisa and Abba; with each additional reading of them on my own, I began to hear the letters read aloud before an assembled group. My prior work with the Thoreau *Correspondence* team proved especially instructive for this aspect of my project; at the Edition, I had learned to think about letters as fundamentally different from most historical texts: not as a printed historical record merely, but as a form of non-traditional pre- or micro- or meta-publication enacted by the reading of texts aloud. This critical lens is available for consideration of all nineteenth-century American correspondence, but acutely so for women letter writers of the age, since so many women never imagined that publication was a possibility (or perhaps even desirable) for them—and because the letters were evidently written to be read aloud before an assembled group, rather than by an individual sitting alone, and were therefore practiced as a kind of theatre. Some years before my work at the Thoreau Edition, Joel Myerson and Daniel Shealy's *Selected Letters of Louisa May Alcott* impressed upon me that Alcott often wrote letters home with the intention that they would be read aloud to the whole family. Finally, the wider audience expected for their letters by nineteenth-century women was clarified for me when I was a co-presenter with Helen R. Deese, Mary De Jong, and Sandra Petrulionis in a session on women's letters and reform at the 2006 Society for the Study of American Women Writers conference in Philadelphia.<sup>12</sup> Only when we gathered together and compared notes about our respective projects on women's correspondence did I begin to appreciate fully the cultural life and intellectual force letters represented for women. Letters provided a safe haven for nineteenth-century American women caught between the private sphere to which they were assigned and the public sphere they were typically discouraged, if not prohibited, from entering. Women letter writers and their readers might have been contemplating public life or eschewing it, but either way, they looked for an intellectual community in a world that too often denied them the very fact of their intellect. Thus, I decided that women's letters such as those by Holley and Putnam to the women of Concord needed to be understood as both oral and communal documents.

Then there was Winnie Beale's narrative, transcribed twice by Holley and included in two of the letters—embedded in the narrative of one and enclosed in another—relating her experiences under slavery and following emancipation. In

<sup>12</sup> Deese, De Jong, and Petrulionis have each authored or edited book-length works drawing significantly on women's letters: see Helen R. Deese, *Daughter of Boston: The Extraordinary Diary of a Nineteenth-century Woman* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2005); Earl Yarrington and Mary De Jong, eds., *Popular Nineteenth-Century American Women Writers and the Literary Marketplace* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007); Sandra Harbert Petrulionis, *To Set This World Right: The Antislavery Movement in Thoreau's Concord* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2006).

Holley's transcription of Beale's narrative I saw both a danger and an opportunity. The danger was that, in transmitting it, I would re-inscribe a Euro-centric colonialist perspective by simply transcribing Holley's transcription. Holley, a sympathetic listener who for six years had already lived among the former slaves and been immersed in their culture at the time of the first transcription, had probably developed a good ear for the black speech of Virginia's Northern Neck. Even so, she had grown up in a white culture that transcribed and marked black speech in exaggerated and sometimes bizarre flourishes of spelling and punctuation, and this showed in passages such as her transcription of Beale's narration of her arrest by Sheriff George Shirley and her subsequent journey to Richmond:

He took me straight to the jail in Heathsville, opened the door and told me to walk in, still not a word why I was put there—a white man—a kind of father man was in there too— I staid five days, when trader Lewis Dix came and carried me in his wagon to Merry P'int, in Lancaster County, on Rappahannock River—25 miles— Nothing was told me yet what for? I staid at his house two days they had great BIG oysters—*big* as inside my hand— But I couldn't eat— “There's your house”! “Your house is a coming”! He said when the steamboat come along— My heart loup-it-up, I felt I was almost choked— Lewis Dix went along with Mary (William Middleton's sister) and some others—a little girl so high too—we walked a mile to the cars in Fredericksburg— There was the trader John James from Nashville Tenn. He met us and took us to the cars and said “go in” “and sit down” Cushioned seats but O they was miserable seats to me. I couldn't cry my heart was *so big* (holding up her doubled fists together)—<sup>13</sup>

Although Holley's prose does not represent the worst example of such transcription, I approached her work with skepticism, for her spelling and punctuation sometimes marked Southern black speech as unusual, suggesting her own Northern white speech as the norm, and her parenthetical comments, intended to clarify a word's or an action's meaning, intruded into Beale's narrative. I required a better means to represent black orality in the project, but the solution could not result in my losing Beale's testimony; her experience merited preservation and distribution. As the project progressed, I wished that Winnie's story, if not written by her, could have been taped in the fashion of Allan Lomax

<sup>13</sup> Beale's narrative is enclosed in Holley to Louisa May Alcott, September 21, 1883, bMS Am 1130.15 (165), Houghton Library, Harvard University. Text italicized here is underlined in manuscript. Parenthetical comments are Holley's.

or Zora Neale Hurston's later recordings.<sup>14</sup> My dissertation on cross-dressing in nineteenth-century American novels gave careful consideration to Native-American and African-American trickster tales passed down through the oral tradition; these ultimately left an imprint first in captivity and slave narratives, and then in American novels that drew on such early-American historical genres. The dissertation prepared me to be thoughtful about the role of the written text in representing *itself* as important—about the cultural reverberation of authority around a written artifact. As Myra Jehlen has argued, when written and printed texts gained ascendancy in America as historically and legally authoritative, oral cultures in the colonies and the new nation were “inked over” and written out of existence, or onto the reservation, or into the silence of slavery.<sup>15</sup>

When I went to the Holley School historical site in Lottsburg to do research on its history, I found descendants of the school's alumni, who were themselves alumni, on the Board of Trustees charged with the school's preservation. I realized that as a white scholar I needed to get myself out of the way of this story as much as possible and invite these individuals to speak for themselves and on behalf of those who came before them. If, for example, there was anything left to be heard of the regional lilt of the Holley School's original black students, did it not stand to reason we might hear it in the speech of their descendants? In this respect, public radio's *Story Corps* and *This American Life* provided a more useful model for my project than any textual edition. I learned from documentarian Laura Browder about the Electronic Newsgathering (ENG) standards for audio-recording equipment and best practices for taking oral histories, and I made plans for an audio project to complement the letters project.<sup>16</sup>

Holley's and Putnam's letters address historical contexts in unique ways. Evident in them are the authors' interest in the literature and philosophy of their age, their commitment to various reform movements, and their sense of being witnesses to “history in the making” as it unfolded around them. Holley's liberal allusions to contemporary literature reveal her attraction to the literature

<sup>14</sup> For online access to and information about Lomax's sound recordings and other archives, see the Library of Congress's webpage for the American Folklife Center: <http://www.loc.gov/folklife/lomax/americansouth/americansouth.html>. For similar access and information about Hurston's archives, see the State Library and Archives of Florida webpage, Florida Memory: [http://www.floridamemory.com/Collections/folklife/sound\\_hurston.cfm#](http://www.floridamemory.com/Collections/folklife/sound_hurston.cfm#).

<sup>15</sup> Myra Jehlen, “The Literature of Colonization,” *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 11–168.

<sup>16</sup> For an example of Laura Browder's digital work, see the website for her project, *When Janey Comes Marching Home*: <http://janeycomeshome.com/exhibit.html>. For National Public Radio's *StoryCorps*: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4516989>. For Public Radio International's *This American Life*: <http://www.thisamericanlife.org/>

of reform: Whittier's "Howard at Atlanta," Emerson's "The Problem," and Longfellow's "Evangeline" and "Footsteps of Angels." In one of her letters Holley offers Abba Alcott the following improvisation on Longfellow's "Footsteps of Angels" as an elegy for Abba's brother, Samuel J. May, after she received George B. Emerson's biography of May in one of Concord's donated barrels:

Tho' oft depressed and lonely  
All my fears are laid aside  
If I but remember only  
Such as these have lived and died  
He too would have rejoiced in our work and school here as you do.<sup>17</sup>

May had taken an interest in the school's success and had served, along with Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips, and Samuel Sewall, as a bondsman for Putnam's position as Lottsburg's postmistress, in order to secure a place in the community for the school's founders.<sup>18</sup> Holley's allusion to the Marchioness of Dickens's *The Old Curiosity Shop* in reference to one of the school's neighbors, a black girl hired out to a poor white family, takes a similarly reform-minded approach by honoring the struggle of this local person of otherwise low stature.<sup>19</sup> Histories and biographies are likewise referenced in the letters, often as part of the progressive curriculum of the school, where classes were regularly organized around the biographies and writings of Charles Sumner, John Brown, and Wendell Phillips.<sup>20</sup> Thomas Wentworth Higginson's *Young Folks' History of the United States* is also mentioned in the letters; one copy was sent to Lottsburg in Concord's Christmas barrel for 1875, and, as Holley writes to Abba, another copy was contributed by Franklin Sanborn, Concord's schoolmaster, to a barrel that arrived in April 1876:

We feel the kindness of Mr Frank Sanborn to give you his copy of Col. H's U.S. History—to send our school— Now we have four. When our school was learning the Chapter on Colonial Days in New England we noticed the passage about "houses made of logs and one story high, with very steep roofs and fire places of rough

<sup>17</sup> Holley to Abba Alcott, February 14, 1876, Alcott Family Papers.

<sup>18</sup> Herbig, *Friends for Freedom*, p. 325.

<sup>19</sup> Holley to Abba Alcott, February 14, 1876, Alcott Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

<sup>20</sup> Holley to Abba Alcott, January 24, 1876, *ibid.*

stones and chimneys of sticks crossing each other smeared with mud”—excited no wonder or curiosity among the scholars! To their minds it was nothing quaint—old fashioned nor gone by— As Sam Blackwell one of our colored night-school scholars, said when Miss Putnam read him “Life of Frederick Douglass” “It is the most familiar book I ever heard”!<sup>21</sup>

History also occasionally makes a literal appearance in the letters in the shape of historic persons who turn up at the schoolhouse door, as happens when Meriwether Lewis of Lewis and Clark fame visited the Holley School in his position as a county school superintendent:

The other day Dr Merriwether Lewis the County Supt. of Public Schools made a visit to our School! He seemed quite surprised to find so large a number of scholars and such a nice house— Said there was “not another like it in all the two counties, Lancaster and Northumberland”. Complimented the order and discipline— Spoke of the pictures on the walls of Charles Sumner—Whittier—Wendell Phillips Garibaldi &c—blackboard maps—desks & chairs &c Said there was no such well furnished school-house in all his rounds— He made quite an effort to praise the school—but we cannot rely on any statement he would make— He said *he* “did not feel towards this school as the others did” he “ought to feel interested in the education of the colored race for he was indebted to it for his own education” &c (meaning his father sold slaves to pay his school bills) And he looked as tho’ *we* must warm into irresistible admiration of such magnanimous sentiment—while really we felt a chill of horror at the awful confession!<sup>22</sup>

Again and again, in the letters Holley’s and Putnam’s angle of historical perception is both useful and fascinating.

By contrast, the oral histories now underway reflect the transition away from the school’s mission and philosophy established by Holley and Putnam to those of a public black school of the South in the early twentieth century. Integrated student cohorts are, by then, a thing of the past, while corporal punishment, fiercely eschewed by Holley and Putnam, is already an established

<sup>21</sup> Holley to Abba Alcott, April 2, 1876, *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Holley to Abba Alcott, February 14, 1876, *ibid.* Text italicized here is underlined in manuscript. Parenthetical comments are Holley’s.

part of school's culture by the 1940s.<sup>23</sup> Even so, themes such as blacks' betterment in social standing and the broadly elevating intellectual and economic impact of education for black citizens are evident in reports from the school's later alumni. According to alumnus Harold Blackwell, a descendant of freedman Glasgow Blackwell who gave the speech in 1868 welcoming Putnam as the school's first teacher, "One of the things I remember my parents telling me was . . . you're going to school to learn something, to get something in your head, so that you can do better."<sup>24</sup> As Blackwell's cousin and classmate Stafford Conley recalls:

Holley Graded School provided a place for African-Americans to get an education when there was no place, and the state was not going to provide facilities for us to get an education. . . . I think it wasn't until the '30s or '40s that the state provided some funds to keep the school open to pay the teachers to come here and work. And to say the least about separate but equal facilities, the facilities were separate, but they weren't equal. [But this place] is where we first started—it's like your first girlfriend. You always remember your first girlfriend. This is the first place where we got our taste of education, and it stayed with us. And the teachers were so caring, and they were concerned about us getting an education, so we could get off the farms and out of the crabhouses and fishhouses and the tomato fields, and go on and do other things with our lives.<sup>25</sup>

The charge to students, as it was articulated first by Holley and Putnam, that they be "an example and encouragement to every scholar in school" and "a grateful and touching reward to their teachers," has obviously made its way down through the generations.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, such faith in education as a means to social and economic betterment contributed to the drive of local blacks to build the first schoolhouse and call a Yankee schoolmistress to serve the community's needs. Despite myriad past and present challenges to that mission—insufficient funding, incomplete and/or outdated materials—the spirit of progress and social reform remains to this day in the school's descendants, who have taken their Holley School education into every kind of contemporary calling.

<sup>23</sup> Harold Blackwell and Stafford Conley (President and Treasurer, respectively, Holley School, Inc.), interviewed by the author, November 14, 2009.

<sup>24</sup> Blackwell and Conley, interview.

<sup>25</sup> Blackwell and Conley, interview.

<sup>26</sup> Holley to Abba Alcott, December 27, 1875, Alcott Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

My complementary projects seek to fill several gaps in this amazing historical record. Extant biographies of Holley and Putnam—those cited above by John White Chadwick and Katherine Lydigsen Herbig—are admirable, and though both are grounded in Holley’s and Putnam’s correspondence, neither had access to these letters or to the Beale narrative contained in them, and thus could not tell the story of the School’s connection to the Alcotts or to the sewing circle in Concord.<sup>27</sup> And, as fascinating as is the picture of the Holley School that unfolds in these letters, so is the picture they suggest of the sewing women of Concord, whose work on behalf of abolition prior to the Civil War has been so well documented by Peter Stoneley, Sandra Petrulionis, and Elise Lemire.<sup>28</sup> Said Holley to Louisa in 1877: “What a broad, generous stream of love and bounty has flowed from Concord to us down here—since I had the pleasure of those six weeks in New-York with you!”<sup>29</sup> These letters and their complementary in-progress oral histories make clear that not only did the stream of influence from the women of Concord continue after the war, it outlasted their lives by many decades and is still felt today in the black community of Lottsburg, Virginia. To be sure, the story these documents will tell testifies to an impressive and lasting legacy of the Abolitionist and Women’s Rights movements in nineteenth-century America, but no less to the power of motherwit, collaboration, and tenacious dedication.

<sup>27</sup> An article by descendant I. B. Holley transcribes a related group of letters between Putnam and Ellen Emerson also related to gifts from the Concord sewing circle—but is missing this significant and much larger portion of the correspondence. See I. B. Holley, “Teaching Freedmen’s Children,” *New England Quarterly*, 74 (2001): 478–94.

<sup>28</sup> See Peter Stoneley, “Sewing in Concord,” *Women’s Studies*, 35 (2006): 397–412; Sandra Harbert Petrulionis, “Swelling That Great Tide of Humanity”: The Concord, Massachusetts, Female Anti-Slavery Society,” *New England Quarterly*, 74 (2001): 385–418; Elise Lemire, *Black Walden: Slavery and Its Aftermath in Concord, Massachusetts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

<sup>29</sup> Holley to Louisa May Alcott, January 14, 1882, Alcott Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

# What's in a Name?

## Cultural Onomastics and Other Scary Things about the Lincolns and Their Contemporaries<sup>1</sup>

James M. Cornelius

Let me engage in some speculative onomastics. Onomastics is the study of both what a person or a group calls himself, herself, or itself, and what others call that entity. It is the Lincolns' names for themselves, and what others have called them, that is the main point of discussion for this talk. Many of their contemporaries underwent similar letter-adding or letter-dropping in their names. Again, this will be speculative. I am no more a cultural historian than the next person. Nor have I performed a thorough search of the scholarly literature on either nineteenth-century naming and spelling patterns or gone into semiotic, postmodernist, or phenomenalist theory on why things get done wrong. But I hope that the few small novel points I might make will cause attention to be drawn to some odd treatment the Lincolns have suffered at the hands of their followers.

The language spoken in central Illinois in the nineteenth century was not quite the language spoken here today. In the early seventeenth century colonists to Plymouth noted that within about twenty years the local accent was no longer the same English accent they had left behind. Later, for example, it is thought that as settlers to the Midwest left Virginia or Maine, their accents flattened out, perhaps matching the terrain. This pattern is certainly true in southern Russia, where voices in Tolstoy lilt like the steppes, not at all like the rapid-fire seaside patter of Joseph Brodsky in St. Petersburg; of a Dickensian Thames-side patter; or a Brooklynese lament out of Thomas Wolfe. Think, instead, of Washington Irving's sleepy-tongued rustics or Twain's inland drawlers. Broad lands affect the mind, hence the tongue. In our first federal census, in 1790, there were twice as many surnames in South Carolina as there were in what became Maine, though their white populations were about the same.<sup>2</sup> Some of this difference stems from broader geographical origins, and some from variant spellings amongst less-literate residents, including census-takers. The population of Kentucky, the

<sup>1</sup> This essay is revised for publication here from a presentation at the annual meeting of the Association for Documentary Editing in Springfield, Illinois, in October 2009.

<sup>2</sup> *A Century of Population Growth* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), p. 114.

spawning ground for so many central Illinoisans thirty years later, partly reflects this Southern variability. Most Lincolnians are familiar with how our sixteenth president's ancestors, whether Northern or Southern, show up as Lincone, Lincolne, Lincorn, Linkhon, Linkhorn, Linkum, etc.

Then, please consider the name "Abraham." It had two syllables to most who spoke it, and the man who became president saw it printed that way, "A-brum," year after year, as late as the year he was elected president. In 1834, when the Berry-Lincoln store was going under, his friend Charles Matheny / Matheney wrote out an order for sheriff Elkin / Elkins against "Abram" Lincoln and William Berry for \$57.86 in favor of William Watkins / Watkin for debt in an appeal. Also \$8.16¼ cents as interest and costs—they were more careful about fractions than about consonants.

In the same formative period, a small town just north of Springfield, Cantrall, owes its name to the rugged settlers Cantrall. Some of their papers have recently come to light, and these bear the spellings Cantrall, Cantrell, and Cantrill (the eponymous Levi usually signed it Cantrall). Pronunciation can be as tricky as the spelling. Ward Hill Lamon, Lincoln's friend from Danville—is that LAH-mun, LAY-mun, or LEH-mun; if the last one, we might factor in *some* evidence that he was related to Rev. James Lemen, who supposedly had a secret pact with Thomas Jefferson to prevent slavery from setting roots here in the Northwest Territory; and was *he* LEE-mun, or LEH-mun? There is the Bloomington magnate Asahel Gridley, a Christian name almost never found today and thus mispronounced "AS-a-hell," though they said "uh-ZAY-ul." What of the Alton and Springfield printer, Preston Bailhache—I am told that is pronounced "Beh-LOCK-ey" (they came from Ohio, descended perhaps from early French), though hereabouts one will hear "BAIL-haitch." As concerns the putrefaction of French names under the sweltering Anglo-American sun, the great economic thinker of the day, the British editor of *The Economist* Walter Bagehot—is that BAGG-ut, or BADGE-ut? Never, to us, the original Bah-ZHO; but he left no descendants, so we have no one's word to trust. How would Lincoln and Treasury secretary Salmon (don't mention the "I") Chase have said it when discussing the LUHN-don market in greenback debt? For that matter, what of the Supreme Court justice Roger B. Taney? Knowledgeable folks today know that it was said TAW-ney . . . though that is not really right. A Marylander, he himself said it TAH-ney, and we Northern knowledgeable have over-accentuated the odd part. The British economic historian R. H. Tawney, spelled TAW-ney, said his the same way . . . TAH-ney. In a few ways, the American easterner's tongue is more like the British than the American midwesterner's.

The international element was always present in these parts. Lincoln's

friend Billy the Barber was variously William de Fleurville or William Florville; he was born in Haiti. Billy's daughter Sinete (I will not try that one) married Gilbert Johnson, who was apparently a French "Gibert" before a white American clerk added the "l." Among Portuguese Protestants in these counties, Ritta de Silva had all three parts of her name spelled in different ways, even in one document. Lieutenant-governor Koerner was born Gustavus, gradually Americanized that to Gustav, and later the publisher of his memoirs had it Gustave; and never mind the vanishing umlaut in his last name. (Even a lieutenant-governor gets his name mangled.) But, oddly enough, James Shields, who nearly fought a duel against Lincoln and who lived till he was twenty-one in Ireland, the least literate of the sources of Illinois settlement, never seems to have had his name misspelled. I have recently turned up a case of a nineteenth-century Swiss immigrant woman here in Springfield whose surname, Riepstein, is spelled six different ways in the city directories and censuses, in a thirty-five-year span. The topic arose because a photograph of her turned up, by a photographer previously unrecorded, and on the back her name was pencilled in—spelled a seventh way. So take pity upon Lincoln's fellow Black Hawk War soldier, American-born Jacob Early, whose name was spelled three ways in the same year.

Before moving on to how the Lincolns added to our sorrow by naming their boys, check the first names of our first seventeen presidents: nine bore the first names of English kings: George, John, James, William. (Not until Franklin Pierce did one have an *American* first name.) From the Old Testament we had two more, Zachary and Abraham. From the New Testament, three: Thomas and Andrew, and another if you count Martin (Luther). (Millard Fillmore got his mother's maiden name.) The Lincoln family chose traditionally for their boys: Robert, Edward, William, and Thomas (if not English kings, then all archbishops of Canterbury, anyway). Perhaps it was due to the commonness of these names that their diminutives have been shuffled around. Was he "Edd-y" or "Edd-ie"? People now seem to prefer "Edd-y"? Yet when he died one or both of his parents wrote a poem that appeared in the *Illinois Daily Journal*, the Whig paper in Springfield, spelling it "Edd-ie." Bobbie and Willie, his brothers, typically get the i-e treatment. This makes it hard for some people *not* to call the youngest one "Taddie." The family called the boy "Tad" and so is *sui generis*, a nickname that nearly replaced the Christian name given in memory of his semi-literate grandfather Thomas. The boy turned out semi-literate, too—give a dog a bad name and hang it, they say in Kentucky. Years later some newspapers, making him genteel, called him "Thaddeus." Tad's mother, by the way, wrote in 1864 that "my little boy's name is Thomas Lincoln, a very plain name."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Mary Lincoln to Fanny Barrow, May 27, 1864, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum (ALPLM), Springfield, Illinois.

For some of this confusion we cannot blame historians: Mary Lincoln spelled the second son's name "Edd-y." In the same letter to her husband she spelled the older boy's name "Boby."<sup>4</sup> For those contesting authorship of the poem upon Edd-ie's death, whether it was by the father or the mother, the spelling of the name as published seems to have been his father's preference. We might have had other problems than these. Lincoln wanted to name that first son "Joshua" for his friend Speed. And it is my opinion that the last son might have been named "Henry" because he was born nine months and five days after the death of Henry Clay, the politician idolized by both Abraham and Mary.

For my main point, let me introduce you to a woman you may not have met. She was wellborn in a southern state early in the nineteenth century. She was not entirely happy with her home life after a certain point, and left that home as a teenager. She fell in love with a man and eventually married him, giving over nearly all of her personal life and identity to his work, his efforts, and his and her children, as was common in that day. After his death she grieved deeply and thought sadly of him every day. You are thinking of her name now, I expect. I will give you three choices. Is it Mrs. Lincoln? Is it Mary Lincoln? Is it Mary Todd Lincoln? The person "Mary Todd" ceased to exist in a legal sense on November 4, 1842, when she wed Abraham Lincoln; in a personal sense she may have ceased to exist then, too. She became Mary Lincoln.

There are 319 documents at the Presidential Library in this woman's hand. She signed her letters one dozen distinct ways, involving her full name, initials, with or without "Mrs.," etc. *She never once used the name "Todd" in any of these, and she never once used the initial "T."* She signed her name "Mary Lincoln" or "Mrs. Lincoln" or "Mrs. Abraham Lincoln" or "Mrs. A. Lincoln" and even, twelve times, "Mrs. Cuthbert" or just "Cuthbert." She did not ever, let me repeat, ever, refer to herself as "Mary Todd Lincoln."

Abraham and Mary's oldest son has undergone a similar renaming. At home Robert was called Bob and Bobbie and Young Bob—to distinguish him from the family's horse Old Bob—and then, when his father was president, he was referred to by young ladies as Prince Bob and by political wags as the "Prince of *Rails*," a nifty coinage that drew upon the visit to these shores in the fall of 1860 by the Prince of *Wales*, and traded on Bobbie's father's nickname "The *Rail Splitter*." Robert might even have had royalty in mind when he and his wife named their son Abraham Lincoln II—not junior—but called him Jack (the card below the king and queen). Robert became a successful attorney, a member of the Garfield and Arthur cabinets, minister to the Court of St. James's (where he finally met the Prince of Wales), and an industrial executive; all that time he

<sup>4</sup> Mary Lincoln to Abraham Lincoln, May 1848, ALPLM.

signed himself R. T. Lincoln or Robert T. Lincoln. He did not ever sign or call himself Robert Todd Lincoln. Yet this year a man called me from Cincinnati to ask about “Robert Todd.”

This resurrection of the name “Todd” has a couple of sources. There was one good reason: As Robert Lincoln went off to serve as minister in London in 1889, and his wife Mary, done having children, became socially more noticeable, she was referred to now and then as Mary *Harlan* Lincoln, to distinguish her from a mother-in-law who had died seven years earlier. Yes, the time for any confusion between the two had long since passed, which brings us to the less-good reason: the Todd family. The three-part name Mary Todd Lincoln first seems to have appeared in print during the 1890s in magazine articles. Just as we thank Ida Tarbell for launching seriously researched Lincolnology, we may owe her partial thanks for starting the Todd / Lincoln craze (perhaps I should say Ida Minerva Tarbell, though she was not descended from an august line of sea-goddesses, Southern or otherwise). For it is Emily Todd Helm, a half-sister of Mary, who was one of Tarbell’s sources, and who then penned a piece herself in 1898 called “Mary Todd Lincoln” in *McClure’s* magazine. Emily’s father had been killed at the battle of Chickamauga—General Ben Hardin Helm, fighting for the South. In this sense, we owe the continued use of “Todd” to the Southern irredentist cause as well as the Southern aristocratic cause—the two are related. Or, really, we owe it to Mary Lincoln’s father, Robert Smith Todd, a widower who remarried and produced nine half-siblings of our Mary, one of whom let the world know forevermore that she was related, half-way, to greatness.

All this was magazine stuff, possible to miss. Jump forward a bit to a happy time, 1909, when the world marked the centennial of the sixteenth U.S. president’s birth. Yet it was also an unhappy time in America, when the goals of Reconstruction were not widely embraced in much of the country. The Emancipation Proclamation, for which Abraham Lincoln thought he would mainly be remembered, had led to a partial normalizing of blacks’ position at law, in society, at voting time. But by the fiftieth anniversary of that Proclamation, in 1913, they were more or less excluded from remembrances, as they had been excluded around the land from the 1909 Centennial celebrations of Lincoln’s birth. The focus in 1913 was less on the fiftieth anniversary of Emancipation than on the soldiers of the North and the soldiers of the South getting together and peaceably sharing their battlefield tales of youth at Gettysburg and elsewhere.

Within this political and cultural milieu, what could be done to underscore the reunion of the two halves of the nation, as exemplified by the First Family of wartime? Certainly not through Abraham Lincoln, still much reviled by many Southerners. Mary Lincoln was now formally rechristened Mary Todd Lincoln. For the first time, in 1911 a publication used the term, as far as I have been able to track it.

And what was that publication? It was a pamphlet promoting a memorial to be built in her birthplace in Lexington, Ky. Who better to enshrine an old-South, monosyllabic, consonant-rich name like “Todd” than the good people of Lexington? So what was the purpose of giving her three names? It probably was not to distinguish her from Mary Harlan Lincoln, who had very largely withdrawn from the spotlight, becoming a Christian Scientist. I posit that the reason was to remember the nobility of the South, and nobility meant the early settlers as well as the wealthy, at a time when in socio-economic terms the South did not look all that noble or wealthy. I think that “Mary Todd Lincoln” was born to stand in for that re-marriage of North and South that was memorialized by the old soldiers preparing to revisit Gettysburg in 1913.

Robert Lincoln died in 1926 and his widow Mary died in 1937. During those years I find the triple-barrel name Mary Todd Lincoln coming up only occasionally during the flapper era, in use by Honoré Willsie and Hazel Rice Larrimore, though not evidently by any men. Ida Tarbell used both forms now. Within a few years of the death of the second Mary Lincoln, a still-read biography of the wife of the sixteenth president appeared, by Ruth Painter Randall (note the three names). Randall called the First Lady “Mary Lincoln” in her biography, a World War II-era bestseller with a domestic theme to it. And so the heroine tended to be called in the popular mind for another decade or two, until, to inscribe the last and continuing chapter of this story, we see the triple-decker name seized upon as part of the women’s movement in the 1970s, enshrined in her collected letters in 1972 by Justin G. Turner and Linda Levitt Turner (note the initials or three names); and in Jean Baker’s 1987 biography, entitled *Mary Todd Lincoln*. Using all three names now is nearly universal.

One side note to this topic is that two years ago a man in Alaska called about an 1852 book he owned that was signed by Mrs. Lincoln on the flyleaf. Indeed, it was signed Mary A. Lincoln. This was plausible, but incorrect.<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Lincoln was christened Mary Ann Todd. When her parents, rather unaccountably, named their next daughter Ann Marie Todd, the eight-year-old Mary Ann took umbrage and dropped the “Ann” from her name. So she never was Mary A. Lincoln. And we recently saw a calling card, printed “Miss Mary A. Todd” with a Boston hotel name and address penned on to it, as if she were staying in Boston ca. 1840. Again, plausible; but it’s the telltale “A.”—she did not use it.

In sum, I posit that the combination of incipient women’s-rights thought in the suffragist movement after 1900, along with the old-South emphasis on

<sup>5</sup> The book signed by Mary A. Lincoln was not a fraud, but was evidently owned by a woman truly with that name.

who's-your-family surnames, and, finally, the women's movement of the 1970s, brought us to the point at which Mary Lincoln could be distinguished from that low-born gangly feller she hooked up with. Mary Lincoln did not hide her maiden name; she just did not use it in her speech, conversation, or writing. Ever.

Her well-known husband, the nationally known debater and ex-congressman, had his name rewritten in a different way. He was called "Abram" on a host of publications. This orthographic slip-of-the-lip arose from pronunciation, we may be fairly sure: he was called the two-syllable version in print in 1857 in a pamphlet contesting Douglas's views on the Dred Scott decision; in 1858 in the first printing of his "House Divided" speech; in 1859 when he spoke to those assembled at the Wisconsin State Fair, by no means the most rural, slurring group he ever met; and perhaps most oddly, in the first semi-official presidential campaign biography, available just days after the Chicago wigwam that nominated him. The *New York Morning Express*, a Democratic daily, wrote after that wigwam triumph: "But is Mr. Lincoln's name 'Abe,' or Abram, or Abraham (we ask in good faith), for we mean to spell it the orthodox way. The *Post* [William Cullen Bryant's paper] calls him Abraham; the *Tribune* [Horace Greeley's paper], Abram. 'Abe' is doubtless the B'hoy abbreviation."<sup>6</sup> Bryant of the *Post* ought to have known, since his brother lived in Princeton, Illinois—out here where flat, slurred speech was evidently less of a problem than back in Greeley's environs, Westchester County, N.Y. Nothing is worse than insinuating that your opponent is a B'hoy (the Irish street-lurker's pronunciation of "boy"), especially if the great majority of Irish voted for Democrats.

A few more variant spellings of his Christian name popped up during his presidency, maybe by people who did not read much, or spell well, or had a reason to folksify him; I have seen an 1865 mourning badge with the spelling "Abram." For Mr. Lincoln, the pattern has been a *more* certain handling of his name since the day he died. For his wife, her name has been handled *less* certainly since her death.

Ponder for a moment the best-known denizen of Illinois before 1860, Stephen A. Douglas. He was born Douglass, with two esses on the end. The latest of his letters I have seen in which he spelled it that way was 1845. Others printed it with two esses on some of his speeches in the late 1840s, and the last place I find it printed is on one of the four variant editions of his June 1857 speech, *Kansas, Utah, and the Dred Scott Decision*,<sup>7</sup> while three other printings of

<sup>6</sup> *New York Morning Express*, May 20, 1860.

<sup>7</sup> The others are a Chicago Democratic printer, a Springfield Democratic printer, and a general Washington, D.C., press; the wrongly spelled one, which does not list a printer, conceivably was a Republican or Whig imprint.

the same speech spell it right. The standard biography of Douglas, by Robert W. Johannsen, merely says that during the 1840s he switched over to using the single “s,” but Johannsen does not state why.<sup>8</sup> Did Congressman Douglass drop an “s” so that no one would think he was connected with Frederick Douglass, the runaway slave whose autobiography appeared in 1845? This has been suggested, and it seems possible, though not likely. Frederick was not well known until some years later, and this kind of crossing the orthographic street to avoid a black man did not otherwise occur in the nineteenth century, and least likely perhaps by one as big-headed and powerful as Stephen A. Douglas.

One more case shows that spelling could be culturally unfair in yet another way. Late in 1865 Mary Lincoln wrote a letter of recommendation for her confidante and servant, Elizabeth Keckly, spelling it with the e-y that came to be accepted two years later when the memoir *Behind the Scenes* was published in New York. The title page of that book spelled it e-y. But on the note Lizzie wrote on the day Lincoln died, she spelled her own name Keckly, ending l-y.<sup>9</sup> Keckly, a literate African American, had had her name respelled by her publisher and evidently by her former employer as well.

None of the above should be a great surprise to members of the ADE. People’s names and their spellings were in flux, just as the structure of our institutions sought a new formation, a new birth, in that period. Lincoln himself had to write to the chairman of the party convention that nominated him for the presidency, “It seems as if the question whether my first name is ‘Abraham’ or ‘Abram’ will never be settled.”<sup>10</sup> The changing goes on: Ronald REE-gun changed how he pronounced his name in the 1950s, and he prospered; Gary Hartpence shortened his name to Hart, and his nomination bid in 1984 was ruined, though not because of his name change. So too does our government continue to change, or at least the labels we, its operators, put on things.

<sup>8</sup> Johannsen, *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), chap. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Mary Lincoln to George Harrington, March 20, 1863, ALPLM; E. Keckly note, April 16, 1865, ALPLM; Elizabeth Keckley, *Behind the Scenes* (New York: G. W. Carleton, 1868). If you look into a library catalogue under Elizabeth Keckley/Keckly, you can see that the difference in spelling continues today.

<sup>10</sup> Lincoln to George Ashmun, June 4, 1860, in Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (9 vols., New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4: 68.

# Issues and Challenges of Moving and Maintaining *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*

Ryan P. Semmes and John F. Marszalek

In December 2008 two large moving vans arrived at the Mitchell Memorial Library at Mississippi State University, Starkville, containing over ninety filing cabinets and hundreds of boxes of materials belonging to The Ulysses S. Grant Association (USGA), formerly housed at Southern Illinois University Carbondale (SIUC). These materials represented over forty-six years of work by the late John Y. Simon and *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* project.

The Civil War Centennial Commissions of Illinois, New York, and Ohio founded the USGA in 1962 and named a then young Harvard Ph.D., John Y. Simon, to be the managing editor. The Association's office was established at The Ohio Historical Society, then on the campus of Ohio State University, but did not remain there long. In 1964, when Simon joined the History faculty of SIUC, the USGA moved into the Morris Library located on that campus. Over the next forty-four years, Simon and teams of assistant editors located Grant manuscripts from around the world and made photocopies of each of them. The result is the greatest source of information on General and President Grant available anywhere. Some originals are included in the collection, but acquiring originals was not the main purpose of the effort. The USGA, instead, collected copies of letters for the editors' use in preparing and publishing volumes of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*. Simon was always extremely generous in providing aid to researchers, but he did not open the collection to general use by scholars. He regularly answered questions from authors: forwarding opinions on historical topics, and mailing, faxing, or emailing needed data, but the Grant collection existed primarily for the massive publication project.

The first volume of the *Papers* appeared in 1967, published by Southern Illinois University Press. Other volumes followed until Simon's death in 2008. By that time, he had shepherded thirty volumes into publication and had nearly completed volume 31, which appeared in the fall of 2009. He and his editors had also begun work on a supplementary volume and a scholarly edition of the famed Grant *Memoirs*. The published Grant volumes are universally considered to be outstanding examples of the documentary editor's skills, and Simon was

renowned as a leader in the documentary-editing profession and dean among the members of the Association for Documentary Editing, which he played a major role in creating.

John Y. Simon's documentary editing accomplishments were not the only important contributions he made to his profession. He took the Grant papers into both the academic and the public marketplaces. He presented papers to learned societies, he spoke to Civil War Round Tables, he appeared as an expert commentator on television, and he published on a wide variety of Civil War topics, Grant included, of course. The result of all his work was a host of awards: Gettysburg College's Lincoln Prize, the Lincoln Forum's Richard N. Current Award, and ADE's Julian P. Boyd Award, each for lifetime achievement. No one who ever heard his melodious voice extolling documentary editing, the Civil War in general, and Ulysses S. Grant in particular, went away unimpressed. This giant of a man was a giant in his field and an invaluable friend.

In the early part of 2008, disagreements developed between the Morris Library, SIUC, and the USGA causing the Board of Directors of the USGA to decide to move their Grant Papers to another academic host institution. In July 2008, Simon died. In August, the Board of Directors of the USGA, on the recommendation of its president, former Rhode Island Chief Justice Frank J. Williams, voted to name as its new managing editor John F. Marszalek, Mississippi State University Giles Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History and author of many Civil War publications. The USGA, in the fall, through its counsel, Jim Williams, filed an action of replevin to confirm its ownership of the Grant collection. SIUC and USGA agreed to an out-of-court settlement. The USGA Board had considered several institutions interested in becoming the new home of the Grant collection and chose the Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University. A "handshake agreement" between the administrators of MSU and the USGA Board resulted in the move of the collection to Mississippi in December 2008. Demonstrating the good relationship which had developed between MSU and USGA, the official agreement, although completed in December, was not formally signed until January 31, 2009, almost two months after the move had been accomplished.

Once the legal settlement between SIUC and the USGA was complete and with negotiations between MSU and USGA ongoing, at the handshake stage, SIUC, MSU, and the USGA scheduled the move. MSU secured a moving company which provided a large van and skilled and extremely careful workmen; officials for SIUC, MSU, and USGA worked out the logistical details; attorneys for SIUC and the USGA were present during the move to ensure that all was legally done. The Collection then consisted of over ninety legal-size file cabinets, assorted memorabilia, and books, some 15,000 linear feet in all. This material

had always been housed in the Morris Library, but at that time was temporarily relocated to an annex while renovations were being made to the library.

Original plans called for the Grant material to be transferred from SIUC file cabinets to manuscript boxes before being placed in the van. Instead, an on-site agreement was reached between SIUC and MSU to keep the material in the file cabinets for the move to Mississippi. Once it arrived at MSU, the plan called for the material to be transferred to manuscript boxes, and the file cabinets returned to SIUC. After the material's arrival at MSU, however, SIUC and MSU agreed to MSU's purchase of the cabinets. Marszalek and SIUC Associate Provost Susan Logue worked together to accomplish the task. This agreement saved a great deal of work and prevented possible damage and disarray during the wholesale transfer from cabinets to manuscript boxes. Importantly, too, keeping the Collection in its original file cabinets allowed the editorial and archival processes to proceed expeditiously.

As noted above, the collection includes photocopies of Grant letters and a variety of memorabilia. Of particular interest to the parties were the 4,000–5,000 volumes (1,200 plus titles) of books found within the collection's offices. Some clearly belonged to SIUC's Morris Library, while others were part of the USGA's collection. In the case of some others, ownership was unclear. Several weeks before the December move, representatives of the SIUC Library and the USGA had met and determined ownership of all but approximately two hundred books. The day of the move, the attorneys, Associate Provost Logue, and Marszalek settled on an equitable method of decision—simply a coin toss and then back-and-forth selection based on the result of the toss. There was thought given to bringing in a history faculty member to provide expertise for SIUC, but after further discussion, it was decided that doing this would delay the move. Provost Logue suggested that Marszalek make selections both for the USGA and SIUC. Her comment that she thought that Marszalek was “an honest man” and would “be fair to both sides” is perhaps the best indication of the cooperative spirit demonstrated throughout the move. As it developed, both SIUC and the USGA were pleased with the result of the book cartel. Later, it was discovered that, in error, the USGA had moved microfilm that belonged to SIUC, and SIUC found material that belonged to the USGA. MSU sent a van to Carbondale and made the exchange to everyone's satisfaction.

Meanwhile, the announcement that the Grant materials were to be transferred from SIUC to the MSU library was not made to the Mitchell Memorial Library staff until late 2008. Maintenance personnel spent the early fall finding open space in the closed stacks for library expansion. They moved older equipment to offsite storage. Shelving was constructed in open areas that had once been occupied by neglected signage and old card-catalog cabinets. The

archivists and librarians at MSU were pleased to note the new overflow shelving and wondered aloud what large collection would take up so much newly acquired space. By the end of the fall 2008 semester, the answer was revealed. It would be the Grant Papers project.

As part of the MSU-USGA agreement, the bulk of the collection would be housed in the already-existing Congressional and Political Research Center (CPRC) reading room and office area. There was open space there that was often used for processing University Archives collections, as well as a few rows of shelving previously used for temporary storage when new collections were being inventoried. A conference room was converted into an office for Marszalek. The processing area became the place for the storage of the Grant file cabinets and books. Because of the confidential nature of the ongoing negotiations between USGA and MSU, CPRC staff did not know the extent of the collection and had not accompanied other MSU Library representatives to Carbondale for the move. When the Grant Collection arrived on campus, its size overwhelmed the staff. Immediately, the MSU Library cataloging staff began processing the books in the collection and adding them to the Library's online catalog. Boxes of USGA business materials were shelved and given low priority in the early days, as CPRC staff focused on the intellectual arrangement of the editorial project materials and devising a plan for the physical arrangement of the cases. One problem was the method that the movers had to utilize when moving the collection. Because of rain and cold temperatures, the movers were logically most interested in safely getting the material on and off what proved to be two large moving vans. In the following weeks, MSU Library stacks maintenance staff physically arranged the file cabinets based on archival assessments of the materials.

It is important to know that *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* project was transferred to an established work area whose primary focus was on the preservation, arrangement, and description of archival materials and on making these materials available for research. Dean of Libraries at MSU, Frances N. Coleman, Marszalek, and Coordinator of the CPRC, Michael B. Ballard, in conjunction with the USGA Board of Directors led by Chief Justice Williams, decided that it would make sense and fulfill the USGA's and Library's missions to make the research files available to qualified researchers even as the publication project continued toward completion. This would require a reassessment of the materials' organization.

The CPRC staff is made up of the University Archivist, an Assistant Archivist, a Senior Library Associate, a Library Associate, and four student workers. The staff is experienced in the arrangement of large collections. For example, long-time United States Senator John C. Stennis' collection has been housed at MSU since 1969 and consists of over 4,000 boxes of correspondence,

political documents, photographs, and memorabilia detailing the Senator's forty plus years in the Senate. This collection, which is divided into over fifty subject series and is utilized daily by students and historical researchers, is one of sixteen such twentieth-century political collections housed at the CPRC. The Grant material added a prestigious nineteenth-century collection. University Archivist Michael B. Ballard is a published Civil War author and Ryan P. Semmes, Assistant Archivist, is experienced in the organization of large collections. Their skill and the expertise of the rest of the CPRC staff meant that the transition from SIUC to MSU and from collection types went smoothly. The faculty and staff of the CPRC began arrangement and description of the Grant collection as soon as the two moving vans unloaded in the MSU Library. (In the end, one van could not handle the weight of the Grant material.)

The new staff of the USGA moved into the CPRC in early January 2009. At first, this staff consisted of Marszalek as Managing Editor and Ballard, as Associate Editor who served the project on a halftime basis. By July 2009, the USGA staff grew with the addition of Library Associate, Elizabeth Coggins, a *magna cum laude* MSU graduate with a joint major in History and English. The addition of two student workers and the January 2010 hiring of Assistant Editor Aaron Crawford, a veteran of *The Correspondence of James K. Polk* and *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*, both at the University of Tennessee, completed the staff for the USGA. In essence, the USGA and CPRC staffs work closely together, but they have separate responsibilities. The USGA is responsible for the administrative and editorial decisions regarding the *Papers*, whereas the CPRC is responsible for implementing the arrangement, description, and dissemination of the intellectual content of the materials to qualified researchers. In truth, the two often interconnect, and many decisions on the physical arrangement of the materials require the input of the USGA and CPRC to expedite the editorial process.

While work was being done on evaluating the collection and arranging it for its new dual purposes, the editorial process continued, as did the other work of the USGA. The death of John Y. Simon and the appointment of his replacement without the benefit of an orderly transition meant that a great deal of information had to be absorbed "on the job." USGA President Frank J. Williams, a fifteen-year veteran in his post, and John Y. Simon's widow, Harriet F. Simon, an experienced documentary editor in her own right and closely involved in the Grant Project since its onset, were both enormously helpful to Marszalek. Experienced documentary editors at other projects offered their help, too. The leadership of the Southern Illinois University Press, the publishers of the first thirty volumes of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*, sought out Marszalek, the day after his appointment and while he was in Carbondale to attend the memorial service for Simon, offering their advice and their willingness to

complete the publication of all future Grant volumes. Similarly, professionals in the Mitchell Memorial Library, led by its Dean, went out of their way to provide expertise. (The assistant editors in place at SIUC at the time of Simon's death had each moved to other positions, so they were not available during the transition.) Helpful as all of this was, however, none of it was a substitute for the insight Simon would have provided, had he lived.

Some of the immediate work had little to do with editing. Even before the arrival of the papers at MSU, Marszalek became aware that a number of legal forms required by offices in the state of Illinois, the Internal Revenue Service, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), all due at various times during Simon's illness, had not been filed. This required a search of USGA records and the aid of SIUC and a Carbondale bank to find the financial data necessary to file such reports. An Illinois attorney and friend of the project, Daniel Myers, and Marszalek's accountant son, Jamie S. Marszalek, provided expert advice. Over several months in the fall and after the papers had arrived at MSU, Marszalek had to juggle such legal responsibilities with the continuation of the editorial work and the arrangement of the Grant Papers.

After years of support, NHPRC and NEH were unwilling to fund the 2008–2009 grant period because of the uncertainty of the Papers' future and the selection of a permanent location. One of the most important tasks for Marszalek and the president of the Association was to make contact with these agencies and submit grant proposals for the 2009–2010 period. The professionals at both agencies were extremely helpful in the filing of tardy forms and the applications for new funding. A number of documentary editors offered wise counsel by email, on the phone, and later during the 2009 ADE meeting in Springfield, Illinois. Fortunately, all forms were filed and accepted, and, in June 2009, both NHPRC and NEH sent word that the USGA's proposals for support had been funded.

At the time of Simon's death, he and his editors had already completed work on volume 31 of the *Papers*, bringing them to 1885 and the death of Ulysses S. Grant. The manuscript was already in the proof stage, but it had not been read against the original typescript. The index existed in raw form but had not been completed. The decision was made to dedicate the volume to John Y. Simon, include a photograph of him, a eulogy by Williams, and a foreword by Marszalek. The latter tasks were done quickly, but the proofreading and completion of the index proved more complicated. At this time, Marszalek was the only staff member of the USGA, so he asked his wife, Jeanne A. Marszalek, a veteran research assistant, to work with him on the proofreading. At the same time, the USGA hired Dr. David Slay, a National Park Service historian with

long research experience, to complete the index. Dr. Slay accomplished his task expeditiously and well. Volume 31 appeared in October 2009, later than would have been the case had Simon lived to complete the task, but more quickly than might have been expected.

Work also continued on a supplementary volume and a scholarly edition of the *Grant Memoirs*. On the day of the move of the Papers from SIUC to MSU, Harriet Simon had marked the file drawers that contained the documents set aside over the years for inclusion in the supplementary and memoirs volumes. These were immediately separated from the main body of Grant materials and placed in file cabinets in Marszalek's office. In addition, new Grant letters continued to appear in a variety of places, and numbers of others were received on computer disks from interested parties around the nation. In between his other tasks, Marszalek began reading through this mass of material and making preliminary decisions as to what would appear in the supplementary volume. After studying in detail the earlier volumes that Simon had edited for publication, and reading earlier grant proposals and other writings Simon had composed about his ideas for this volume, it became clear that Simon had determined to cut down the amount of annotation he would provide for the letters published in this supplementary volume, and the new director saw the wisdom of this plan.

As might be expected, a great deal of time had to be spent doing administrative tasks. Since the USGA annual meeting was scheduled for May 2009 at MSU, that meeting had to be organized, and the membership had to be alerted. This meant finding an accurate membership list. Because of Simon's illness and the departure of USGA staff at SIUC, little had been done on keeping this list updated for over a year, so the original 2009 mailing resulted in many returned envelopes which then had to be traced as to whether there was a change of address or a deceased member. Early on, too, an updated brochure and Web site were required to reflect the new location of the project, the new dual nature of the Collection, and the fact that the USGA had established up to five travel grants a year for visiting scholars. The published volumes, for a reason to be seen, as well as fragile items in the collection, had to be digitized. Fortunately, professionals in the library came to the rescue. In continuation of the team effort which had guided the move to MSU, all these tasks were accomplished.

Another important task for Marszalek was to publicize the arrival of the USGA to MSU and the changed nature of the Grant collection. The USGA particularly sought to publicize the availability of the Grant collection for research. In cooperation with MSU's University Relations, press releases were sent to national news outlets, and open-house exhibitions of the collection were held for the library, the university, and the general public. The irony of the

papers of the leading Union general coming to the heart of the old Confederacy, particularly Mississippi, was not lost on the media. It provided the basic question Marszalek was asked in his many interviews with such outlets as the Associated Press, *USA Today*, *National Public Radio*, and *Civil War Times* magazine. He facetiously said that without Grant's victory at Vicksburg, in Mississippi, there would not have been a Grant. More seriously he spoke about the quality of the professionals at MSU and their ability to work in concert to acquire the *Papers*. Marszalek also presented lectures around the country discussing the new home for the project and the availability of the materials for research. In addition to new brochures, the MSU Library Instructional Media Center staff created various items to publicize the collection, as well as creating handouts and brochures for the USGA's annual meeting held at MSU in May 2009. Such publicity, as well as the Web site, has resulted in regular e-mails and telephone calls requesting information on Ulysses S. Grant, offering copies of Grant letters, scheduling visits, and often expressing excitement about the direction of the project.

As Marszalek and later the five staffers worked at this variety of tasks, keeping their special focus on the editorial part of the work, the organization of the papers continued. After forty-six years of uninterrupted editorial use, the files in the Grant collection were in excellent order and required little-to-no rearrangement. For archivists, this was a great relief. The materials in the collection make up almost 15,000 linear feet, consisting of subject files used by the editorial staff, the research files of historians Lloyd Lewis and Bruce Catton, thousands of books, articles, book chapters, secondary sources relating to Grant and his era, and over ninety cabinets containing copies of Grant documents found at libraries, archives, and other repositories around the world.

The first challenge archivists faced with the materials was their physical arrangement. The files arrived at MSU in filing cabinets, each with a designated letter and number (for example: A2, B12, etc.), yet there was no explanation as to their unusual order. Various series of files, such as those containing unpublished materials, were housed in cabinets with multiple letters identifying them. Placing the cabinets in letter and number order would have meant a disorganized collection. Therefore, CPRC and USGA staff took time to identify the materials in each cabinet. They created drawer-level (or box-level) inventories for the entire collection, and then the cabinets were relocated based on a newly determined organization of the materials. The original format of the materials was based on what was best for the editors' needs when compiling data for the publication. While this layout was well maintained, it required further explanation and planning to be beneficial to historical researchers. This was the most significant challenge: how best to arrange the materials so as to maintain the original

purpose of the collection, yet also make sense to the researcher and simplify access to the materials.

The staff determined that it would be best to break the collection down into a number of specific groups (series), that is, general subject headings describing similar materials. The collection was broken down into ten such groupings, some with many different sub-series. Items were then arranged according to the original order of the collection. These ten series were: Source Cards, Subject Files, Unpublished Materials, Published Materials-Typescripts, Books, Memorabilia, Memoirs, John Y. Simon's Files (personal files-currently closed), USGA Files (organizational files-currently closed), and the diaries of Grant's Adjutant Orville E. Babcock

The first series consists of hundreds of thousands of index cards, created for each document in the collection. These source cards are first organized chronologically by date of document creation, next alphabetically by originator and recipient, then by an accession number that is assigned to every document, and finally by the location of the repository in which the original document is found. This series allows both the patrons and the archivists to locate any document that is in the Grant collection. With just one source of information, they should be able to find the folder that contains the copy of any document. Also included in this series is a collection of newspaper source cards. These cards provide a listing of references to Grant in various newspapers, mostly during Grant's presidency, from across the United States. Organized by newspaper title and date, these cards provide the researcher with a page number, column number, and a brief description of every article. Use of these cards will help researchers to find quickly many nineteenth-century newspaper articles on microfilm and online. The decision was made that these source files would be made available to the patrons in the reading room, while the remainder of the material would be stored in a closed area or in closed stacks. By making the source cards readily available to the patrons, the staff provides a non-electronic access point to the materials in the collection and demonstrates the collecting procedures of the editorial project.

The second series is the Subject files, broken into three sub-series: Vertical files, Research files, and Lloyd Lewis Notes. These files are all similar in the types of documents, as well as in their organization. The vertical files contain articles, newspaper clippings, copies of documents, and pamphlets arranged alphabetically by general subject headings relating to Grant. The Research files contain articles, pamphlets, and book chapters about Grant specifically. The Lloyd Lewis Notes contain the original notes and research files of Lloyd Lewis and Bruce Catton, used in the writing of their volumes on Ulysses S. Grant. The reason for including these historians' files with the other research files is that the materials

are all similar in type, organization, and information. These files are arranged alphabetically by subject heading and contain general subject information on topics relating to Grant-era history. Later added to the Lloyd Lewis sub-series are the research notes that Marszalek used in writing his biographies of generals William T. Sherman and Henry W. Halleck and donated to the Grant collection. These materials mirror the files of both Lewis and Catton in organization and in material type. They were included in the second series of the Grant Collection in the Spring of 2009 after the collection was already located at MSU.

The third and fourth series in the collection make up the largest amount of material. Facetiously titled “Rejects,” the third series files are newly titled, though less humorously, “Unpublished Materials.” The files in this series are arranged chronologically and contain copies of documents relating to Grant and his era which were not chosen for publication in *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*. There are 125 drawers of such items, with each drawer averaging over 700 folders. Providing access to these materials has been the major description work undertaken to this point. Each folder is described by the name of the originator and the name of the recipient of the document, and the type of document if other than correspondence. All folders are being arranged in chronological order. The materials in the fourth series, “Published Materials-Typescripts,” are arranged in the same way as the unpublished materials; however, the files in this series contain much more information. Specifically, they contain a copy of the original document, a typescript of the document with corrections or deletions, as well as copies of any supporting documents and secondary source information that made up the rather extensive notes accompanying each such item in the *Papers*. Staff has discovered that not every document in these folders appears in the *Papers*. Unpublished letters exist in larger numbers than originally believed and provide researchers with material beyond what appears in the published volumes. These include but are not limited to Special Orders, Field Orders, telegrams, the personal correspondence of Grant’s assistants, and other non-Grant correspondence. Thus this part of the collection is more valuable to researchers than originally believed.

With more than 270 total drawers and an average of 700 folders per drawer in series three and four, establishing accurate access to the materials is important to the description process. However, the staff feels that maintaining the original descriptive techniques of John Y. Simon’s project is also important. Therefore, the decision was made to maintain the practice of labeling Grant’s frequent contacts by using just their initials, rather than their full names. Consequently, many of the folders in these series are labeled thusly: *JAR to HWH, August 13, 1863*. Thanks to a key that came with the collection, we are able to interpret the above label as: *John A. Rawlins to Henry W. Halleck, August 13, 1863*.

With a simple key of frequent contacts, the patron and the archivist are able to find any folder in a small amount of time.

Presently, a team of staff and student workers at Mitchell Memorial Library is adding the folder-level descriptions of these materials into an online database that is open and available free for public use at [http://library.msstate.edu/usgrant/finding\\_aid.asp](http://library.msstate.edu/usgrant/finding_aid.asp). The frequent-contact key is also available for consultation online, as is an originally produced video tutorial that instructs the user on how to search through the research collection. The online database is a folder-level searching mechanism that was created in-house by Library Computer Technology staff for use with all CPRC collections.

The Grant Collection's organizational structure, while beneficial to the editorial process, provided a few problems when adjusting to the online database. The editors of the *Papers* organized the materials so that all supplemental correspondence, secondary sources, and reports that refer to an initial letter were filed with said letter. In order to expedite the processing of the Unpublished materials, CPRC staff chose to enter the information of the initial letter only. The supplemental files were numbered along with the initial folder (for example, if Folder 1 has three folders of supplemental materials, the four folders are labeled as Folder 1a, 1b, 1c, and 1d) and a total count of folders was added to each title in the database (*Folder 1 HWH to USG, August 12, 1863* [4 folders]). This occurs far less in the Unpublished series than it does in the Published series as the editors tended not to provide supplemental information to letters that were not chosen for publication.

The USGA website (<http://library.msstate.edu/usgrant>) also provides researchers with a list of book, chapter, article, and pamphlet titles related to Grant, a variety of photographs of Grant and his family, a link to internet resources on Grant including MSU Library's digital collection of the Grant collection's sheet music and political cartoons, and the digitized version of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant*. This newly added digital collection of the thirty-one volumes of the *Papers* provides full-text searching of the entire publication for free. Researchers will also be able to access cataloging information for the impressive collection of books and journals acquired by the editors over the life of the project. Thanks to the Mitchell Memorial Library's talented cataloging staff, in a short amount of time, the CPRC has been able to provide access through the Library's online catalog to over 1,100 titles of books and journals, encompassing over 4,000 volumes that make up the secondary source materials (Series five) for this research collection.

Handling these materials in terms of a research collection as opposed to a manuscript collection requires the assessment of the materials in a different light. For instance, the materials in the collection will never be weeded. The

collection will not decrease in size nor remain static. On the contrary, because the publication of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* continues and as new Grant documents are found and new books published, it is clear that the collection will grow in size. Most manuscript collections, after arrangement and description is completed, generally end up smaller due to weeding and other factors. This ongoing Grant collection requires the reevaluation of the organization as more materials are added; however, its staff believes that the organizational structure of the collection will allow for additional materials to be added with ease and the editorial project to continue expeditiously.

Although the collection is generally a research collection, there are also archival and historic object materials included. Series six of the collection includes the hundreds of memorabilia items that were either donated to USGA or collected by John Y. Simon. This series contains sheet music of marches in Grant's honor, paintings, drawings and photographs of Grant, busts and statues (including a reproduction of a Grant death mask), broadsides, newspapers, various Grant collectibles, and family scrapbooks maintained by Grant's wife Julia, Grant's son, Frederick Dent Grant, and his grandson, Major General Ulysses S. Grant, III.

While the bulk of the collection is made up of photocopies, there are original documents in the collection as well. Among these are correspondence to Grant from generals William T. Sherman, John M. Schofield, and Philip H. Sheridan, correspondence between Grant and his sons, letters from Grant's wife to family members, and other original documents relating to the Grant family. Also included in the collection is a group of archival records and memorabilia belonging to General Orville E. Babcock, Grant's personal secretary. These materials include Babcock's diaries from the Civil War, his journals from his trips to Santo Domingo in the early days of Grant's presidency, and pieces of his dress uniform including a bi-fold hat, sash, and various epaulettes. These materials are described and arranged as Series ten. The decision was made to include these items in the overall collection arrangement due to their affiliation with Grant, and because they were specifically donated to USGA. There is also a large number of photographs included in this collection, most of which are copied from originals in other repositories. The photographs have been organized, have been assigned designated numbers, and are available to researchers.

Arriving with the materials that make up the Ulysses S. Grant papers was the USGA collection. Over 150 manuscript boxes of correspondence, financial records, newsletters, and speeches explain the forty-six year history of the USGA. These materials were re-housed in acid-free boxes and placed in the CPRC's closed-stacks storage. A preliminary inventory of the files allows USGA staff members to gain access to these materials. The decision was made to delay full

processing of the collection because these papers are closed to the public and used only by the USGA staff.

*The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant's* move from SIUC to MSU and its transition from publication project alone to research collection as well, was smooth with only a few minor problems or issues. The inability of the archival staff to examine the collection prior to the move, coupled with an urgency not only to unload the materials into the Library but also to have access as soon as possible for editorial needs, meant that staff members had to place all other projects on hold until the Grant collection was fully situated. (Still, volume 31 was published, and a digitized edition of volumes 1–31 was completed and placed on the Association Web site for free public use.) Other archives which may acquire the collections of major publication projects should consider these issues at the beginning of the process. What materials will you be receiving, what is the extent of the physical materials, who will work on the collection, where will they be housed, and how will the physical arrangement affect the retrieval of materials for patron use? The addition of this distinguished research collection to the Congressional and Political Research Center at MSU has been a major task but an exciting challenge. Researchers now have “one-stop shopping” for the study of General-President Grant, and much information as well on the Civil War and other important aspects of the nineteenth century. The move of the USGA to MSU, the opening of the collection to researchers, and the digitization of the 31 volumes and placement for free use on the USGA website has allowed the USGA to expand its goals, stated in the By-Laws it adopted in 1962, i.e., “conducting research into the life and writings of Ulysses S. Grant.”

# The Best Job in the World: Documentary Editor<sup>1</sup>

Beth Luey

Graduates of the Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents deserve congratulations, not only because they have learned a great deal but also because being a documentary editor is the best job in the world. I can speak of this with some authority. Although I am a 1981 graduate of the Institute, I officially became a documentary editor only after retiring from university teaching, which was my second career. My first was as a university press and textbook editor. Those were all good jobs, but documentary editing is the best. Here is why.

Editors get to know at least one interesting person really well, better than anyone except our subject's most intimate acquaintances and better than we will know any of our contemporaries except our closest friends. Why? Because we get to read their letters, diaries, and other personal papers. When people write in different genres and to different people, they disclose different aspects of themselves. I will use Louisa Catherine Adams, the wife of John Quincy Adams, as an example, but she is hardly unusual. She wrote several memoirs, which she expected other people to read—one for publication, to assert her Americanness and patriotism; two for her children, to explain and perhaps justify her life; and one to record the story of her life's greatest adventure. She wrote diaries, which she expected no one to read. She wrote letters to John and Abigail Adams, John Quincy Adams, and her brother Thomas Johnson, some of which she then copied as journal entries. She also wrote letters to her sons, to her daughters-in-law, to her grandchildren, and to other relatives, friends, and acquaintances. She is a different person in each set of writings, and no one but those of us at the Adams Papers has met all of those Louisas. I suspect that only her husband knew her as well as we do, and some days I have my doubts about him. No one knows Benjamin Franklin or Ralph Waldo Emerson as well as their editors. Or Margaret Sanger, or Thomas Edison, or Henry Laurens. This is a rare privilege—one that we extend to the world by publishing the documents. Yet even after

<sup>1</sup> This article is adapted from the author's commencement address at the 2010 Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents, Madison, Wisconsin.

publication, few people—if any—will read the documents as thoroughly or carefully as we have.

Other scholars come to the documents looking for something—in the worst case for evidence to bolster a preconceived theory, but in any case for *something*. The documents are a source, a tool, to be picked through and mined. Editors value the documents for themselves. We do not come to them with any notion of what they will tell us. We wait for that, and as we work we listen to what they have to say. All that matters is that they say something that is worth hearing. Our job is to make them heard and understood. That allows us to know our subjects as we know our closest friends: as they present themselves, as they are, non-judgmentally. Of course we like some folks better than others, but that does not affect the care with which we edit their writings.

Biographers, of course, come close to our practices—especially the best biographers. But unlike biographers, who must create a coherent narrative and interpret their subjects' lives, we are free to accept those lives in their complexity, contradiction, and incoherence. We have no need to fit them into a framework, find a pattern, or speculate about areas where evidence is lacking. We can take our subjects as they were, understand them as best we can, but stop short of trying to give their lives a shape or a meaning they may not have had. Editors develop a high tolerance for ambiguity and uncertainty, and those editors who decide also to become biographers or interpretive historians are in a position to do this with unparalleled immersion in the documents.

Editors learn the true meaning and value of collaboration and teamwork. It is reassuring to know that there is someone behind you to catch your mistakes, improve your prose, and enlarge on your research. It is also ego-boosting to realize that you play that role for the other members of the editorial team. I spent nearly thirty years in an academic department consisting of forty-odd lone rangers. People would read your work if you asked them to, but none of them knew all that much about it and few took the time to do a good job of reading. Praise was certainly nice, but it did not mean that much. As one of the people who was frequently asked by my colleagues to read their completed or in-progress studies, I learned that most people really do not want to hear an honest appraisal of their work. As a book editor, I should have known that already. No matter how tactfully phrased, criticism is rarely welcome.

Not so on an editorial project. When I made a first pass at the annotation on the first section of Louisa's memoirs, I asked two colleagues to read my notes. I was not seeking praise. I wanted to know if I was on the right track, because if I was not it was better to find out early. When I finished the annotation for that section, I was glad that the three senior members of the staff read it critically, asked for more information, corrected mistakes, and improved the style, and that our newest staff member was verifying my work, because they all caught

errors, omissions, and failures of clarity that I would not have wanted the rest of the world to see. For the first time that I can remember, reading other people's criticisms was almost enjoyable, because everyone is helping everyone else, and we all share a goal—to publish the best edition possible. Criticism is not meant or taken personally. That rarely happens in the rest of the world.

Not everyone works on a large project where the kind of teamwork I am talking about is routine. Nevertheless, no graduate of the Editing Institute works alone. For one thing, their mentors at the Institute will always be figuratively looking over their shoulders. More basically, they have absorbed the standards and mores of the discipline. And more practically, they have (or soon will have) advisory boards who should help them to be as good at their jobs as they can be. Editors know the kinds of people who will be reading their grant proposals for the NHPRC and NEH and their manuscripts for university presses. They know whose standards they will be held to, and they have internalized those standards. Every editor has a sort of phantom editorial team lurking even in a solitary office.

Editors are expected to do excellent work. Now, the world is full of people who talk about excellence and take courses in how to achieve it. But they define excellence somewhat differently. In the corporate world, it means achieving greater market share or higher profits than the competition. In universities, it means increasing enrollment, generating more grants, and rising in the professorial ranks. It rarely means actually doing difficult, painstaking work very, very well. I am not talking about perfection, nor am I ignoring the fact that editors face deadlines and budgetary constraints. There is not enough time to track down every obscure person or room to write as much in a note as you know, even if that were worthwhile; there is not enough time or space to publish every valuable document. Yet the standards that editors set for their work—for accuracy, for evidence, for consistency—are extraordinarily high. Certainly they are higher than most other scholars set for themselves.

Let me again use the Adamases as examples. All of the Adams Papers have been microfilmed and are available in research libraries all over the world. John Quincy Adams's diaries—thousands of pages of them—are available free online as images. Any scholar working on a biography or history involving them has access to them. Yet, most people who have written about Louisa Adams and her marriage have consulted only her memoirs. They are the easiest to find and are relatively short. These writers have based their interpretations of her as a person, of her importance, and of her relationship with her husband on those memoirs. Most of them have not consulted his diaries or her letters.<sup>2</sup> If they had, they

<sup>2</sup> I make an exception here for Michael O'Brien, whose new book, *Mrs. Adams in Winter* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2010), is excellent, and for Margery Heffron, who is working on a biography. Both of them have spent considerable time in our office with the documents and the other resources the project has developed, and they have taken full advantage of them.

would have drawn different conclusions. In many cases, what they have written is just factually wrong, for Louisa was careless about dates and names, and they have not corrected her. They have not considered the context in which she wrote the memoirs or her state of mind at the time. They have not read the letters that she wrote when the events were fresh or the ones she wrote while she was drafting the memoirs. Their lapse is significant. No one reading John Quincy's diary on the days of Louisa's numerous miscarriages could dismiss him as an indifferent husband or an emotionless egotist. No one who had read Louisa's letters to her father-in-law or to her son Charles Francis could dismiss her as politically indifferent or naïve.

To some extent, we editors do not make the mistakes made by other historians because usually we do not interpret. But that is not the only reason. We read the documents with great attention to detail, and we let the documents provide us with our narrative. We read all of the documents. Several times. Carefully. Every word. Our colleagues do the same thing. Our mistakes are corrected before publication because we do not work alone.

Editors learn something every day. Most jobs have their fair share of drudgery, and documentary editing is no exception. Preparing an index is not an exciting experience for most of us, yet it is often at that late stage that we see and appreciate connections not made earlier. But most of what we do is challenging and interesting. When we are transcribing and proofreading, we are learning something from the documents. Annotation is a constant challenge, applying one's research skills, requiring an understanding of events, and testing our writing ability. Being able to summarize a major historical event in a few sentences without bias or distortion is a skill that benefits everyone. Managing a huge volume of material is an intellectual as well as a clerical challenge. Keeping track of genealogy and geography and politics, picking up very subtle clues, relating a small universe to the larger one—all of these challenges prevent boredom and perhaps early-onset dementia. I often find myself forced to understand events that I spent my formative years hoping would not be on the exam. Now they are, and they are generally not only not as bad as I feared but actually fascinating. Diplomatic history was always my personal *bête noir*, but if you are editing the papers of a diplomat's wife you just have to get over that, and when you do, understanding the complexities and nuances is thrilling.

There is gold at the end of the rainbow. Unfortunately, the gold is only figurative. When you teach, the end result is under your control in only a very limited way. You can be a superb teacher, possessing total mastery of your subject, an electrifying classroom presence, and an ability to address a wide range of students. But at the end of the semester, some students will have dropped out, some will have hated the class, some will have hated you, and some will

have learned very little indeed. If you teach graduate students, no matter how diligently you work with them, some will fail their comps and still more will never finish their theses and dissertations. Preparing a documentary edition is more like planting vegetables. Like the gardener in *The Fantasticks*, you know what you're about. If you plant a radish, you get a radish. If you do your job well, you get a great product. You have also created something that will last. I have published ten books. They have all gotten good reviews, and—by the relevant standards—most have sold well. But I doubt that any of them will have much of a shelf life. By contrast, documentary editions continue to have value for a very long time. Documentary editors leave a legacy by affecting scholarship for generations.

Not only do editors get to know wonderful dead people, we get to know wonderful living people. Editors are extraordinarily generous folks. I will not try to sort out cause and effect, but the necessity of collaboration has something to do with it. When you work on a team, you cannot hoard your knowledge and skills. But it is more than that. Every year, when editors apply to the NHPRC and NEH for grants, we are competing against one another. Yet, when grants are awarded, there is no crowing. Although the process is a zero-sum game, we want our colleagues to succeed along with us. We help each other in numerous ways, from sharing research to collaborating on fund raising and advocating for one another's projects. Most editorial teams are not as hierarchical as title pages would lead you to believe. You will notice at ADE meetings that project names appear on badges, but not titles or ranks.

From necessity, no one knows the events, actors, ideas, newspapers, books, and arts of a period better than a documentary editor. We write notes about everything from politics to agriculture, Latin sayings to circuses, theology to adultery, genealogy to geography. We know small stuff. Some of the notes in our editions give new meaning to the word *minutiae*, yet you cannot understand the documents unless you know these little bits, which really are necessary to explain a world that exists no longer. When Louisa says that her bedroom in Prussia had a list carpet, only by knowing that such a carpet was made from the end scraps of fabric can we make it clear that she is complaining about the meager living allowances given to American diplomats. We also know the large stuff: my husband once asked John P. Kaminski, the director of the Ratification of the Constitution project, what the Framers had in mind when they wrote the Second Amendment. Were they really talking about an individual's right to bear arms? Even in the short-answer version, it was clear that John knew every argument that had been made, by whom, and what we should make of it now.

Talking about John brings me to my last reason why documentary editing is the best job in the world. For 99.9 percent of the earth's population, time

travel is a science-fiction fantasy. For documentary editors, it is the day's routine. Despite his technological savvy and his frequent-flier miles, John spends a good part of his life in the eighteenth century. If you have ever heard him speak about that time, you might honestly believe he was there. He can transport himself over hundreds of years in a second with no special equipment. All editors are like that. Far more easily than anyone else, we can imagine ourselves in other worlds at other times. We can imagine ourselves into other minds. Sometimes, I think, Candace Falk is not sure whether she is Candace Falk or Emma Goldman. That is not a bad thing, unless she starts blowing things up or gets deported. One reason editors can do this is that we often choose our projects because of our own interests and commitments. Ann Gordon is a superb example of someone who combines matchless editorial skills with feminist commitment. Yet even those of us who end up on whatever project is hiring have extraordinary opportunities for learning and producing great work. Gary Moulton will happily give you a very long list of things he did not know about Lewis and Clark when he applied for the editorship, but you would never know it by reading his magnificent edition.

Institute graduates all set out in a field with uncertainties about editorial procedure, technology, funding, media, and other subjects. But there are certainties as well: That the work is valuable, that they will try hard to do it well, and that if they ever retire they will feel that their working life has been worth living.

# Preserving the Alliance:

## The Artful Diplomacy of Benjamin Franklin

John P. Kaminski

*Documentary editions are filled with stories—stories that often are rich with detail. One of many such stories is found in The Emerging Nation, a three-volume work edited by Mary A. Giunta and J. Dane Hartgrove and published by the NHPRC in 1996. I would hope that this short article might inspire editors and the users of these documentary editions to bring these kinds of stories to life.*

To achieve independence and restore peace, the Confederation Congress appointed five commissioners who were to travel to Paris to negotiate directly with commissioners from Great Britain. Geographically distributed, the celebrated American peace commissioners came from the five most prominent states—John Adams from Massachusetts, John Jay from New York, Benjamin Franklin from Pennsylvania, Thomas Jefferson from Virginia, and Henry Laurens from South Carolina. Jefferson never left America to participate in the negotiations, while Laurens, captured at sea, only participated briefly while paroled from the Tower of London. Jay carried on alone for several months while Adams finished diplomatic service in The Netherlands and Franklin remained bedridden suffering from the gout and kidney stones. Eventually Jay, Adams, and Franklin signed a preliminary treaty that astonished both Americans and their allies with terms that were far more generous than had been anticipated.

As part of their instructions, the American negotiators were told not to act without the knowledge and advice of the French. By this time, Adams and Jay had become suspicious of the French, believing that they might sacrifice American interests or prolong the war to afford France and Spain more time and opportunities to achieve their own wartime aspirations. Consequently, Adams and Jay convinced Franklin that they should ignore Congress' instructions and not keep the French fully informed of the details of their negotiations with the British peace commissioner Richard Oswald. Franklin, thought by both Adams and Jay to be too sympathetic to French interests, reluctantly agreed.

Bilateral negotiations proceeded simultaneously between Britain and each of the four allied co-belligerents—France, Spain, The Netherlands, and the new United States of America. The co-belligerents had agreed among themselves that no country was to sign a peace treaty alone. Rather, all would wait until each country's negotiations with Britain had been completed.

French Foreign Minister the Comte de Vergennes was thus upset when he was informed on November 30, 1782, that the American negotiators had signed a preliminary treaty with the British and had accepted a British passport that would allow an American ship safe passage home with the glad tidings. Vergennes was equally astonished the next day when he received a copy of the treaty specifying “the very extensive advantages which our allies the Americans will reap from the peace.” “A few days later,” Vergennes expressed his disapproval in a face-to-face meeting with Franklin and Laurens.

Vergennes had not interfered with the Anglo-American negotiations. He had not even “wearied” the American negotiators with his “Curiosity.” They, on the other hand, had kept strangely aloof from him and his assistants. In fact, when John Adams returned from The Netherlands, he failed to present himself to Vergennes, until Vergennes himself arranged an official reception. Vergennes complained that “When I have had occasion to see one of them and to question them succinctly on the progress of the negotiations, they have always confined themselves to generalities, seeking to make me think that it was not advancing and that they had no confidence in the English ministers’ sincerity.” After being informed of the preliminary treaty, Vergennes believed that the reserve of the Americans was part of a scheme to break “the promise we had made each other only to sign conjointly.”

Vergennes also objected to the mutual exchange of passports so that both nations’ ships could carry the treaty home in safety. The Americans had explicitly promised Vergennes that they “would not press to obtain an English Passport.” The French opposed such passports because they would give Americans the impression that the Anglo-American negotiations were ended and that independence had been secured. Congress, knowing that negotiations were not final, would be put in an embarrassing situation of explaining that the war was not yet over. Despite the actions of the American negotiators, Vergennes told Franklin and Laurens that he had complete confidence in Congress’ willingness to continue to fight as long as its co-belligerents had not yet agreed to terms with Britain.

Vergennes wrote to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, France’s minister plenipotentiary to the United States, telling him to inform Congress “of the irregular Conduct of their delegates in our Regard.” Luzerne should not express his concerns in the form of a complaint nor should he blame any particular negotiator, although Vergennes felt that Franklin perhaps yielded “too easily to the impulses of his Colleagues.” Vergennes feared that this treachery and the attention that the Americans paid to Britons in Paris suggested that in the future America would be far more interested in its relations with Britain than with France.

Vergennes wrote to Franklin on December 15 complaining about his actions. How, Vergennes asked, could such a wise, discrete, experienced man be so ungrateful to the king and lack a sense of propriety?

In this cold diplomatic climate, Franklin's colleagues asked him to ease the tension by separately writing to Vergennes. In Franklin's letter of December 17, he first addressed the issue of the British passport for the American packet ship *Washington*. Franklin assured Vergennes that he had accepted the British passport only because he had hoped that the French would agree to another large loan that could then be carried to America with the diplomatic safety provided by the passport. Franklin also hoped that the French could safely send dispatches to America in the *Washington*. The British provided the passport without an American request for it, and the British did not send letters that would suggest a premature peace. Franklin reminded Vergennes that he had informed the American negotiators that several French cutters were about to sail for America. It would be strange, Franklin suggested, if news of the preliminary treaty arrived at Congress second-hand.

Franklin then stated that nothing in the preliminary treaty jeopardized French interests "and no Peace is to take Place between us and England till you have concluded yours." Yes, Franklin confessed, by not consulting with the French before signing the preliminary treaty, the American negotiators were "guilty of neglecting a Point of *Bienséance*," that is propriety. The American negotiators had not acted out of disrespect for the king, who was greatly admired by all Americans. Franklin hoped that their actions "may be excused" and that the Franco-American alliance would continue to benefit both countries despite this single act of indiscretion.

In making the case for a new loan, Franklin suggested that the whole war effort could fail if France refused this last request for assistance. The *Washington* would not be sent immediately, but would wait until Franklin could meet in person with Vergennes to obtain his approval. Franklin then concluded with a uniquely personal touch. Expressing his own and every American's gratitude for what the king had done for America, Franklin suggested that the king was as equally loved by Americans as by his own subjects. The English, Franklin wrote, flattered themselves they have already divided us, but Franklin hoped that this little misunderstanding would be kept secret and that the British hopes of driving a wedge between the United States and its dear friend would fail.

Vergennes received Franklin's letter and agreed to meet with him. Vergennes informed Luzerne that the meeting "passed amiably for both of us." Franklin assured Vergennes that the American negotiators were committed to the French alliance and were deeply grateful for all the French assistance. The American negotiators "would be inconsolable if their Conduct should have displeased the King and cooled his affection for the United States." Franklin hoped that Vergennes would "consign the misunderstanding to silence and oblivion." Vergennes agreed and instructed Luzerne to ignore his previous instructions. Through his personal relationship with Vergennes and

his extraordinary diplomatic skills, Benjamin Franklin was able to preserve the alliance that was so necessary to the newly independent United States.

Despite Franklin's success, or rather because of it, John Adams became increasingly suspicious and envious. After five years of contact with Franklin in Europe, Adams pictured the old diplomat as not only lazy, incompetent, and immoral, but also as his personal nemesis and as a traitor to his country under the control of the Machiavellian French foreign minister. According to Adams, Franklin was vain, ambitious, selfish, and deceitful. It could not be denied that Franklin had written profoundly in philosophy (i.e., science) and politics, but that this work had been "infinitely exaggerated." The old man was jealous and envious of anyone who might be deserving of praise. Hypocrisy and duplicity could only be expected from this arch villain. He has considered every American diplomat serving in Europe, "as his natural Enemy"; as someone, who by serving his country, might acquire a reputation and be considered by Congress as a replacement for him. All of the secret, mean-spirited, back-stabbing accusations against other American diplomats (Arthur Lee, Ralph Izard, John Jay, Francis Dana, and Adams himself) had emanated from Franklin and his French cohorts—Vergennes and his "Satellites."

In this situation, what should be done? Surely, Franklin should be relieved of all public service and brought home and in retirement to repent of his past indiscretions. But because peace was made and because Franklin was so old, it would "make a horrid Wonder in the World to remove him, and it would be impossible to publish the whole Truth in Justification of it to the People of America as well as of Europe." Thus, he should be allowed to stay, but Congress "should firmly and steadily support their other Ministers against his insidious Maneuvers. They should add no more Feathers to his Cap. French Influence will forever aid him, and both will be eternally attacking openly and secretly every other Minister. So that I am persuaded he will remain as long as he lives, the Demon of Discord among our Ministers, and the Curse and Scourge of our foreign Affairs."

Vergennes obviously had a different opinion of Franklin. "The calmness and the prudence of Mr. Franklin" were traits that other American diplomats perceived as weaknesses. Vergennes, however, saw them as strengths—as qualities that "inspired us with confidence." Vergennes believed that it would be difficult for Congress to replace him.

In 1785 Congress accepted Franklin's resignation and allowed him to come home. Thomas Jefferson, who had been in Paris since 1784 as part of a commission (consisting also of Adams and Franklin) to negotiate trade agreements with the European powers, was appointed as the new American minister plenipotentiary to France. Years later, Jefferson remembered the

effectiveness of Franklin. From an acquaintance of over two years, Jefferson was convinced that the charges against Franklin were entirely false. Franklin's amiable and conciliatory temper, his reasonable disposition, and his sensibility of the difficulties faced by France, provided Franklin with the complete confidence of the French government. In fact, Jefferson wrote, it could be said that the French ministers were more under Franklin's influence than he under theirs.

Jefferson considered his succession of Franklin as "an excellent school of humility." Whenever presented as the new minister to France, "the commonplace question" was always, "Are you the replacement for Doctor Franklin?" Jefferson always answered, "No one can replace him, Sir, I am only his successor."

## THE DOCUMENTS<sup>1</sup>

### Comte de Vergennes to Benjamin Franklin

Versailles, December 15, 1782 (translation)

I cannot but be surprised, Sir, after the explication that I had with you and the promise you gave me, that you would not press to obtain an English Passport for the dispatch of the Packet *Washington*, that you inform me that you have received such a passport, and that at ten o'clock tomorrow morning your courier will set out to carry your Despatches. I am rather at a loss, Sir, to explain your conduct and that of your colleagues on our account. You have concluded your preliminary articles without informing us, although the instructions of Congress stipulate that you do nothing without the participation of the King. You are going to hold out a certain Hope of peace to America without even informing yourself of the State of our negotiation. You are wise and discreet, Sir; you understand the proprieties; you have fulfilled your duties all your life. Do you think you are satisfying those that connect you to the King? I do not wish to carry these reflections further; I commit them to your integrity. When you have been so good as to satisfy my doubts, I will entreat the King to enable me to respond to your requests.

<sup>1</sup> The five letters to and from the Comte de Vergennes are found in Mary A. Giunta and J. Dane Hartgrove, eds., *The Emerging Nation: A Documentary History of the Foreign Relations of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, 1780–1789* (3 vols., Washington, D.C.: National Historical Publications and Records Commission, 1996), I, 720, 721–22, 727–29, 731–32; II, 302. The letters from John Adams to James Warren and Thomas Jefferson to Robert Walsh, are found in John P. Kaminski, ed., *The Founders on the Founders: Word Portraits from the American Revolutionary Era* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008), pp. 158–61 and 168–69.

## Benjamin Franklin to Comte de Vergennes

Passy, December 17, 1782

Sir: I received the Letter your Excellency did me the Honour of writing to me on the 15th. Instant. The Proposal of having a Passport from England was agreed to by me the more willingly, as I at that time had Hopes of obtaining some Money to send in the *Washington*, and the Passport would have made its Transportation safer, with that of our Dispatches, and of yours also if you had thought fit to make use of the Occasion. Your Excellency objected, as I understood it, that the English Ministers by their Letters sent in the same Ship might create inconvenient Expectations in America. It was therefore I propos'd not to press for the Passport till your Preliminaries were also agreed to. They have sent the Passport without being press'd to do it; and they have sent no Letters to go under it; and ours will prevent the Inconvenience apprehended. In a subsequent Conversation, your Excellency mention'd your Intention of sending some of the King's Cutters; from whence I imagin'd that Detaining the *Washington* was no longer necessary; And it was certainly very incumbent on us to give Congress as early an Account as possible of our Proceedings, who must think it extremely strange to hear of them by other means without a Line from us. I acquainted your Excellency however with our Intention of dispatching that Ship, supposing you might possibly have something to send by her.

Nothing has been agreed in the Preliminaries contrary to the Interests of France; and no Peace is to take Place between us and England till you have concluded yours. Your Observation is however apparently just, that in not consulting you before they were signed, we have been guilty of neglecting a Point of *Bienséance*. But as this was not from Want of Respect for the King, whom we all love and honour, we hope it may be excused; and that the great Work which has hitherto been so happily conducted; is so nearly brought to Perfection, and is so glorious to his Reign, will not be ruined by a single Indiscretion of ours. And certainly the whole Edifice falls to the ground immediately, if you refuse on that Account to give us any farther Assistance. I have not yet dispatch'd the Ship, and shall beg leave to wait upon you on Friday for your final Answer.—

It is not possible for any one to be more sensible than I am, of what I, and every American, owe to the King, for the many & great Benefits & Favours he has bestow'd upon us. All my Letters to America are Proofs of this; all tending to make the same Impressions on the Minds of my Countrymen, that I felt in my own. And I believe that no Prince was ever more belov'd and respected by his own Subjects, than the King is by the People of the United States. The English, I just now learn, flatter themselves they have already divided us. I hope this little Misunderstanding will therefore be kept a perfect Secret; and that they find themselves totally mistaken.

With great and sincere Respect, I am, Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and most humble Servant

**Comte de Vergennes to Chevalier de la Luzerne  
Versailles, December 19, 1782 (translation)**

I have the honor to send you, Sir, the translation of the preliminary articles that the American plenipotentiaries have settled, approved, and signed with that of Great Britain, to be drafted into treaties when the terms of Peace are stipulated between France and England.

You will surely applaud, Sir, as do I, the very extensive advantages which our allies the Americans will reap from the peace, but you will certainly be no less surprised than I have been at the conduct of the deputies. In following the instructions of Congress, they should have done nothing without our participation. I had apprised you, Sir, that the King would seek to influence the negotiations only so far as his offices should be necessary to his friends. The American deputies will not say that I have sought to intervene, still less that I have wearied them with my Curiosity. They have carefully kept themselves distant from me. One of them, Mr. Adams, come from Holland, where he had been graciously received and attended by our ambassador, was almost three weeks in Paris without fancying that he owed me a mark of attention, and probably I would still not have seen him if I had not contacted him. When I have had occasion to see one of them and to question them succinctly on the progress of the negotiations, they have always confined themselves to generalities, seeking to make me think that it was not advancing and that they had no confidence in the English ministers' sincerity.

Consider my surprise, Sir, when Mr. Franklin informed me on the 30th of November that the Articles had been signed. The reserve they have shown in our Regard does not pardon the breaking of the promise we had made each other only to sign conjointly. I owe Mr. Franklin the justice to say that the next day he sent me a copy of those same articles. He certainly will not complain that I did not receive it with demonstrations of sensibility. It was only a few days later that, the minister having come to see me, I allowed myself to make him understand that his conduct in hastening that Signing had been not very obliging to the King. He seemed to understand that, and made the best excuses he could for himself and his colleagues. Our Conversation passed amiably. Mr. Franklin spoke to me of his desire to send the articles to Congress, and that to that end, he and his colleagues had agreed to an Exchange of passports with the English minister for the safety of the ships that will be sent. I observed to him that this usage appeared dangerous to me, since the articles were only provisional and subject to the result of our still very uncertain negotiations. I thought that

this appearance of collusion with England, following the signing of the articles, might make the people of America think that peace had been consummated and embarrass Congress, of whose loyalty I was quite confident. I added several other arguments, of which Mr. Franklin and Mr. Laurens, who accompanied him, seemed to feel the force. They spared nothing to convince me of the Confidence we should have in the fidelity of the United States, and they left me with assurances that they would lend themselves to what I desired.

Consider my surprise, Sir, when on the evening of the 15th, I received from Mr. Franklin the note of which you will find a Copy enclosed. The tone of it seemed to me so singular that I thought I should make him the reply which I likewise transmit to you. I am unaware of the effect it has produced; I have not heard anything since from the American Commissioners. Their Courier has not come to pick up my despatches, and I have no knowledge whether they are indeed being sent out. It would be singular, after the rebuke I administered to them, that they would not have had the Curiosity to inform themselves of the Status of our negotiation in order to apprise their masters. It is still not so advanced as it concerns us, Sir, as is that of the United States. This is not to say that His Majesty, if he had shown no more delicacy in his conduct than the American delegates, could not have signed articles with England long before them; there is no very essential difficulty today between France and England, but the King wishes all his allies to be fully satisfied, and has quite determined to continue the war, despite any particular advantage that might be offered him, if Great Britain wishes to wrong anyone.

It still remains to conciliate the interests of Spain and those of Holland. I have reason to hope that we shall soon have agreement with regard to the first; the fundamental bases have been laid down, and it is only a question of agreeing on the forms. I think that the United States would do well to reflect upon Spain and treat her with respect. She will have them for neighbors. As for Holland, I fear that its affairs will cause us delays and embarrassments. The dispositions of the English ministry toward that republic seem to me something less than favorable.

So, Sir, that is the present State of things. I hope it improves, and soon, but no matter what may transpire, I think that it is appropriate that the most influential members of Congress be informed of the irregular Conduct of their delegates in our Regard. You will restrain yourself in speaking of it, not attaching to your words the Character of a complaint. I do not accuse anyone, I do not even blame Mr. Franklin. Perhaps he yields too easily to the impulses of his Colleagues, who pretend to know nothing of any Regard. All their attentions are for the English whom they meet in Paris. If we may judge the future from what is now passing before our eyes, we shall be ill-paid for what we have done for the United States of America and for assuring them their rights.

I say nothing to you, Sir, concerning the requests for money that are made to us. You may well understand that the present conduct does not encourage us to show ourselves forthcoming.

**Comte de Vergennes to Chevalier de la Luzerne**  
**Versailles, December 21, 1782 (translation)**

My letter N<sup>o</sup>. 45, Sir, was already enciphered when Mr. Franklin, perceiving the irregularity of the conduct for which I had reproached him, wrote to me to vindicate himself and asked me for an interview, which took place yesterday. It passed very amiably for both of us. He assured me that the Intention of his principals was not to take the least action at any time that might detract from the fidelity which they owed to their Engagements and which, in spite of the necessity and the Expediency of peace, they would renounce rather than neglect the obligations they have to the King and the gratitude they owe him. Mr. Franklin added that he and his Colleagues did not think differently and that they would be inconsolable if their Conduct should have displeased the King and cooled his affection for the United States. Mr. Franklin justified as best as he could the attempted precipitate Dispatch of the packet *Washington*, the departure of which was delayed, and concluded by entreating me to consign the misunderstanding to silence and oblivion.

As I so promised him, you would do well, Sir, not to make use of my letter N<sup>o</sup>. 45, inasmuch as the American plenipotentiaries will have informed Congress of that to which it relates.

**John Adams to James Warren**  
**Paris, April 13, 1783**

I have in some late Letters opened to You in Confidence the Dangers, which our most important Interests have been in, as well as the Opposition and Jealousy and Slanders, which your Ministers have met with, from the vain, ambitious and despotic Character of one Minister, I mean the C. de Vergennes. But You will form but an imperfect Idea after all of the Difficulties We have had to encounter, without taking into Consideration another Character equally selfish and interested, equally vain and ambitious, more jealous and envious, and more false and deceitful, I mean Dr. Franklin.

It is a saying of Algernon Sidney concerning Sir Walter Raleigh, that "his Morals were not sufficiently exact for a great Man." And the Observation can never be applied with more propriety than to Dr. Franklin. His whole Life has been one continued Insult to good Manners and to Decency. . . .

A sacred regard to Truth is among the first and most essential Virtues of a public Man. How many Kings have involved themselves and their Kingdoms in Misfortunes, by a Laxness in this particular? How much Mischief has been done

in all Ages by Ministers of State, who have indulged themselves in a Duplicity and Finesse, or in other Words, in an Hypocrisy and falsehood, which some are even abandoned enough to recommend and prescribe to Politicians, but which never yet did anything but Harm and Mischief. I am sorry to say, but strict and impartial Justice obliges me to say, that from five complete Years of Experience of Dr. Franklin, which I have now had in Europe, I can have no Dependence on his Word. I never know when he speaks the Truth, and when not. If he talked as much as other Men, and deviated from the Truth as often in proportion as he does now, he would have been the Scorn of the Universe long ago. But his perpetual Taciturnity has saved him.

It would be Folly to deny that he has had a great Genius, and that he had written several things in Philosophy and in Politics, profoundly. But his Philosophy and his Politics have been infinitely exaggerated, by the studied Arts of Empiricism, until his Reputation has become one of the grossest Impostures, that has ever been practiced upon Mankind since the Days of Mahomet.

A Reputation so imposing in a Man of Artifice and Duplicity, of Ambition and Vanity, of Jealousy and Envy, is as real a Tyranny as that of the Grand Seigneur. It is in vain to talk of Laws and Justice, of Right, of Truth, of Liberty, against the Authority of such a Reputation. It produces all the Servility of Adulation, all the Fear, all the Expectation and Dependence in Court and of Imperial Splendor. He had been very sensible of this, and has taken Advantage of it.

As if he had been conscious of the Laziness, Inactivity and real Insignificance of his advanced Age, he has considered every American Minister, who has come to Europe, as his natural Enemy. He has been afraid that some one would serve his Country, acquire a reputation, and begin to be thought of by Congress to replace him.

Sensible that his Character has not been so much respected in America as in Europe, he has sought an Alliance to support him with Mr. de Sartine and the Comte de Vergennes and their "Autours"—Satellites. It is impossible to prove, but from what I know of him, I have no doubt, that he is the Man, who, by means of the Emissaries or Satellites just alluded to, made to those Ministers all the malicious Insinuations against Mr. [Arthur] Lee and Mr. [Ralph] Izard, which, although absolutely false and groundless, have made as much Noise in the World, and had almost the same Effects, as if they had been true. From the same detestable Source came the Insinuations and Prejudices against me, and the shameless abandoned Attack upon me,<sup>2</sup> the History of which You know

<sup>2</sup> A reference to Franklin's letter to Confederation Secretary for Foreign Affairs Robert R. Livingston, July 23, 1783, in which Franklin wrote of Adams "that he means well for his Country, is always an honest Man, often a wise one, but sometimes, and in some things, absolutely out of his senses." Franklin wrote the letter at the insistence of Vergennes. Livingston had the letter read aloud in Congress. Adams's friend, Elbridge Gerry sent copies of the letter to Abigail Adams and to James Warren, both of whom informed Adams of Franklin's "back-stabbing."

better than I. Hence too the Prejudices against Mr. Dana, Mr. Jay and every other. These are my Opinions, though I cannot prove them, otherwise than by what I have seen and heard myself, what results from a long Series of Letters and Transactions, and what I know of the Characters of Men. The C[ount] has had his Head filled with so many Prejudices against others, and in favor of him, and has found him so convenient a Minister, ready always to comply with every Desire, never asking anything but when ordered and obliged to ask for Money, never proposing anything, never advising anything, that he has adopted all his Passions, Prejudices and Jealousies, and has supported him, as if his own Office depended upon him. He and his Office of Interpreters have filled all the gazettes of Europe with the most senseless Flattery of him, and by means of the Police<sup>3</sup> set every Spectacle, Society, and even private Club and Circle to clapping him with such Applause, as they give to Opera Girls. This being the unfortunate Situation of foreign Affairs, what is to be done?

Franklin has, as he gives out, asked Leave to resign. He does not mean to obtain it, but to save the Shame of being recalled. I wish with all my Soul he was out of public Service, and in Retirement, repenting of his past Life, and preparing, as he ought to be, for another World. But as the Peace is made, and he is old, and it will make a horrid Wonder in the World to remove him, and it would be impossible to publish the whole Truth in Justification of it to the People of America as well as of Europe, perhaps it may be as well to let him alone. But at least Congress should firmly and steadily support their other Ministers against his insidious Maneuvers. They should add no more Feathers to his Cap. French Influence will forever aid him, and both will be eternally attacking openly and secretly every other Minister. So that I am persuaded he will remain as long as he lives, the Demon of Discord among our Ministers, and the Curse and Scourge of our foreign Affairs.

<sup>3</sup> Noah Webster, *A Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* (1806), defines "Police" as "the government of a city or place."

### Comte de Vergennes to Chevalier de la Luzerne

Versailles, February 15, 1784

We think that Congress has acted wisely in recalling most of its agents in Europe; their character is too little conciliatory, and their head too much excited, to admit of their being useful to their country.<sup>4</sup> The calmness and the prudence

<sup>4</sup> After concluding peace, Congress recalled most of its ministers abroad, including Arthur Lee and Ralph Izard. Franklin was made minister plenipotentiary to France and John Adams was made minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain. When Congress accepted Franklin's resignation in 1785, Thomas Jefferson succeeded him.

of Mr. Franklin are certainly grave faults in their eyes; but it is by those qualities that this minister has inspired us with confidence. I do not believe that the superior services which this minister has rendered to his country will be requited; I can say that it will be very difficult for Congress to replace him.

**Thomas Jefferson to Robert Walsh**

**Monticello, December 4, 1818**

As to the charge of subservience to France, besides the evidence of his friendly colleagues before named [John Jay, Silas Deane, and Henry Laurens], two years of my own service with him at Paris, daily visits, and the most friendly and confidential conversation, convince me it had not a shadow of foundation. He possessed the confidence of that government in the highest degree, insomuch, that it may truly be said, that they were more under his influence, than he under theirs. The fact is, that his temper was so amiable and conciliatory, his conduct so rational, never urging impossibilities, or even things unreasonably inconvenient to them, in short, so moderate and attentive to their difficulties, as well as our own, that what his enemies called subserviency, I saw was only that reasonable disposition, which, sensible that advantages are not all to be on one side, yielding what is just and liberal, is the more certain of obtaining liberality and justice. Mutual confidence produces, of course, mutual influence, and this was all which subsisted between Dr. Franklin and the government of France.

# Editing Non-Canonical Texts: Issues and Opportunities

Kenneth M. Price

The three articles that follow—by Elizabeth Lorang, Amanda Gailey, and Wesley Raabe—highlight challenges and opportunities faced by editors who address non-canonical texts.<sup>1</sup> These essays, while commenting on individual projects, also help narrow the gap separating the disciplines of literary studies and documentary editing. That is, in the past few decades in literary studies, a great deal of attention has been directed toward previously neglected writers. This work—and the debates it has engendered—is contributing to a more complex and multi-faceted sense of our cultural history. Remarkably, full-scale editorial work has barely addressed our altered intellectual landscape.<sup>2</sup> Most work by editors has focused on editions of larger-than-life historical and literary figures. The collected edition of a major writer or historical figure has been central to—at times it can almost seem the defining undertaking of—documentary editing. Yet if we value a rich and wide-ranging understanding of our cultural past, we need to look beyond the most famous writers and historical figures.

In fact, if we have a sense of shifting tastes over time, we see that the American literary canon has been remarkably changeable. The acknowledged greats of nineteenth-century American literature at one time included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Greenleaf Whittier, and James Russell Lowell. In the pantheon they have been replaced by Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson, Herman Melville, Frederick Douglass, and others. The uncertainty of the process of canonization makes us wonder which currently neglected writers may hold a much more prominent position in the future's view of our past. Dickinson, Melville, Kate Chopin, Zora Neale Hurston—at certain times all of these writers were hardly on the literary map. Various kinds of critical and editorial work have brought each to prominence.

In their examination of once-canonical, newly canonical, and non-

<sup>1</sup> These three essays originally highlighted a panel at the ADE meeting in Springfield, Illinois, in 2009.

<sup>2</sup> Some recovery work has, of course, centered on making available inexpensive reprints of long-neglected work. Typically, this work has not involved collation of various versions of a text or detailed accounts of the genesis of a text.

canonical texts, and of the editorial methods for treating them, the following essays advance thinking about both the literary record and documentary editing. Harriet Beecher Stowe, the subject of Wesley Raabe's essay, might at first glance seem to be the writer who least belongs in a group of essays treating non-canonical material. These days a person might reasonably ask: how could Stowe be regarded as anything but canonical? She is widely taught and written about, and numerous new editions and reprintings of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have appeared in recent years. Yet Stowe's resurrection is a recent phenomenon (which helps explain why there is no edition of her letters available). When I was an undergraduate in the early 1970s, she was still widely dismissed for manipulative plots and emotional excess: Stowe was a prime example of a writer who could be—and was—maligned as unduly “sentimental.” This was of course before an array of critics including Jane Tompkins drew attention to the gender politics inhering in our evaluative norms and rethought sentimentalism, seeing in it subversive power and an effective political and spiritual mode. Had Stowe been treated as a canonical writer before recent decades, a more developed scholarly apparatus would have been built around her writings, and the crucial, authorially sanctioned variants concerning race that Raabe has uncovered would have been studied intensively.

Occasionally, an essay reminds us of just how selective our view of the past is, how highly filtered it is when it reaches us, and how little of the past we really know. Elizabeth Lorang, in “From the Canonical to the Non-Canonical: Editing, the *Walt Whitman Archive*, and Nineteenth-Century Newspaper Poetry,” asks disarmingly simple questions: how should we edit nineteenth-century newspaper poetry? What is the proper relationship between the poetic content and the overall newspaper context? Given the enormous number of poems written, how does a scholar usefully select poems to treat, and then, given the magnitude of material to consider, how much context can or should be presented? As Lorang notes, she necessarily has a “bifurcated” object of study—both the poem and the newspaper—because neither can be fully understood without the other. Does newspaper poetry continue to function as newspaper poetry if shorn of its context? Moreover, most editorial models are centered on “authorship,” yet authorship is a meaningless category when it cannot be established for as much as two-thirds of the corpus. She also wisely notes that nineteenth-century readers accepted anonymity as a regular part of literary culture, thereby again suggesting how our current editorial norms are at odds with the most pervasive means of distributing and experiencing poetry at that time. Her digital project on newspaper poetry, if fully realized, would enable us to trace the course of reprintings and the life of a poem through its circulating history. At the moment, we can offer no good answer to Lorang's fundamental question about how

best to edit newspaper poetry, though she goes a long way in this essay toward documenting how dauntingly complex any adequate answer will have to be. Her essay demonstrates just how limited has been the purview of most scholars when generalizing about nineteenth-century American poetry.

Amanda Gailey's "Rethinking Digital Editing Practices to Better Address Noncanonical Texts" also notes the inadequacy of usual approaches to editing for the material she is treating here, Joel Chandler Harris and the Uncle Remus industry, material that is both under-studied and undeniably important for its role in the teaching of race to children. Gailey demonstrates through the example of Harris that textual remakings can sometimes be more culturally significant than the original work (for example, Disney's recreation of Uncle Remus as opposed to Harris's original character). We may question the literary merit of Harris' creation, but its cultural significance is undeniable. It is the reception of Harris's works, how they were appropriated, pirated, and disseminated into American racial consciousness that is of interest in our time, and studying these matters is not in the least enabled by an author-centered edition.

As indicated, editorial work has concentrated on prominent literary and historical figures, with good reason. These are major aspects of the cultural heritage we want to see live in the future. Yet we are in an age when what we want to remember and foster is heavily contested. These three essays remind us that practices established for presidential papers or for canonical writers are not necessarily ones that are useful for less well known writers or for material in forms other than manuscripts and books. A challenge for the future is to help bring into being tools and approaches that allow editing—increasingly digital in form—to fulfill its promise of enhancing understanding of long-revered and newly valued objects of study.

# From the Canonical to the Non-Canonical:

## Editing, the *Walt Whitman Archive*, and Nineteenth-Century Newspaper Poetry

Elizabeth Lorang

This paper draws on my experiences at the *Walt Whitman Archive* as I begin thinking about my own digital editing project that will treat nineteenth-century newspaper poetry. Until recently, I have imagined my project as a fairly straightforward digital documentary edition of newspaper poems, one in which a selection of newspaper poems would comprise the primary texts for editorial treatment. The edition also would accommodate the surrounding text of the newspapers in some capacity, whether with page images or within a critical apparatus. As I have become more familiar with the texts I want to recover, edit, and present—the number and variety of them, their participation in larger newspaper contexts, and their fluidity in the process of reprinting—I have started to question this plan: Can documentary editing meet my goals for digitizing and presenting these materials? If so, what might a digital documentary edition of these texts look like, and how might it function?

### *Background*

In 2005, I began working with Susan Belasco to edit first periodical printings of Walt Whitman's poems for the *Whitman Archive*. Prior to our work, these poems had never been systematically gathered and edited. *Walt Whitman's Poems in Periodicals*, which went live in the spring of 2007, is a documentary edition of the more than 160 poems that Whitman published in forty-five different newspapers, magazines, and journals from the late 1830s until his death in 1892.<sup>1</sup> Along with facsimile page images, we provide encoded transcriptions for every poem, the mark-up of which conforms to the TEI guidelines for text encoding.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Whitman's Poems in Periodicals*, edited by Susan Belasco and assisted by Elizabeth Lorang, is available at <http://whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/index.html>

<sup>2</sup> The poems originally were encoded according to the Text Encoding Initiative's P4 Guidelines. As of writing, the *Whitman Archive* is in the process of converting the files to the most recent version of

While working on the edition, I became interested in the pieces that Whitman published in the *New York Herald* late in his life and career. Although scholars had studied Whitman's associations with the periodical press for some time, they had neglected the *Herald*, despite the fact that Whitman published more poems in the *Herald* than in any other magazine or newspaper. My intensive work with the *Herald* poems for the *Archive*—transcribing, encoding, annotating, and publishing them—led to an article in which I argue that understanding Whitman's poems in the *Herald* depends on recognizing their function as newspaper poetry and studying newspaper poetry as a distinct genre.<sup>3</sup> This article then led to my dissertation, “American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper from the Rise of the Penny Press to the New Journalism,” which is the first literary study of nineteenth-century American newspaper poetry and which I am currently revising as a book project.<sup>4</sup>

“American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper” examines the relationship of poetry and the U.S. daily newspaper in the nineteenth century and begins the process of recovering and reevaluating newspaper poetry of the century. In doing so, it draws on and participates in current discussions about the role of poetry and poets in society, the importance of periodicals in the development and dissemination of American literature, and the value of studying non-canonical texts. Rarely considered in histories of American literature or studies of poetry, newspaper poems emerge as a key element of nineteenth-century American poetry, both because of their presence and participation in the daily lives of the people and because of their impact on literary culture.

The relationship between poetry and newspapers in the nineteenth century was multifaceted. Many kinds of poems were published in many types of newspapers, and they appeared within a variety of contexts. Newspapers featured not only original poems, which could vary widely in subject matter and treatment, but also poems read at public events that were later printed in the newspaper, poems reprinted from other newspapers, as well as from magazines,

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the guidelines, known as P5. For more information, see the TEI Guidelines, <http://www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/>

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Lorang, “‘Two more throws against oblivion’: Walt Whitman and the *New York Herald* in 1888,” *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*, 25 (2008): 167–91.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth Lorang, “American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper from the Rise of the Penny Press to the New Journalism” (PhD diss., University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2010). Since delivering an early version of this paper as a talk at the annual meeting of the Association for Documentary Editing in October 2009, I have learned of another scholar who is in the early stages of studying newspaper poetry since the Civil War. Mike Chasar, an assistant professor at Willamette University, edits the *Poetry and Popular Culture* blog and writes about popular uses of poetry in the United States, including in daily and weekly newspapers. See <http://mikechasar.blogspot.com/>

other periodicals, broadsides, and books. Poems appeared in daily, semiweekly, and weekly commercial, mass-market, and literary newspapers that were local, regional, and national in scope and distribution. They appeared as stand-alone pieces, within news stories and editorials, in advertisements, and in death notices. In short, for much of the nineteenth century, poems of one form or another were ubiquitous in American newspapers and performed a range of functions.

The terms “newspaper poetry” and “newspaper poem” appear in a variety of usages in nineteenth-century texts. Both terms could refer, most broadly and simply, to poems published in newspapers, whether original verse, occasional poems, or reprinted works. More specifically, however, the terms describe a subset of poetry and poems: those written for and first published in newspapers. Throughout my study, then, I emphasize poems first published in, and often written exclusively for, newspaper publication. This emphasis is in keeping with the most common definition of newspaper poetry that existed in the nineteenth century. Before they were known as fireside or schoolroom poets, for example, William Cullen Bryant and John Greenleaf Whittier were popularly called “newspaper poets” because they published so much of their verse originally in the papers. At times, newspapers even cultivated resident poets who sometimes were established writers, staff members, or informal correspondents. In other instances, “newspaper poetry” more specifically described the work of local writers, often unknowns, who hoped to see their poems in print and circulated in the daily press. Their poems might treat current events or local customs, but these aspiring poets also were responsible for innumerable poems on unrequited and young love, the changing seasons, and children. In critical discourse and popular understanding, “newspaper poetry” became associated primarily with such poems, although newspaper poetry as a form included socially engaged verse that addressed timely topics and concerns, as an example from the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* illustrates.<sup>5</sup>

On January 4, 1840, the editors of the *Picayune* begged correspondents to stop sending poetry. They wrote, “If you only knew what uninspired, plain, every-day sort of folks are we of the *Picayune*, you would never condescend to indulge us . . . for the fact is we are so dull that we can’t for the soul of us comprehend poetry.”<sup>6</sup> Yet, less than two weeks later, the *Picayune* published the first of nearly 200 poems written for the paper by the poet “Straws”—Joseph M.

<sup>5</sup> For further discussion, see Lorang, “American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper from the Rise of the Penny Press to the New Journalism.”

<sup>6</sup> “To Correspondents,” *Daily Picayune* (January 4, 1840).

Field.<sup>7</sup> Straws's poems appeared in the *Picayune* regularly from mid-January 1840 through June of 1841. The *Picayune's* treatment of poems in 1840–1841 appears related to the function of the Straws poems as original, local, socially oriented newspaper poems. Rather than the “admirably intricate . . . most mysteriously profound efforts of the most moon-inspired poetical prodigies of the present day,” the Straws poems were for the “plain, every-day sort of folks” crucial to the success of the penny press, and the newspaper was central to the cultural work of the poems. Neither the penny press nor its poetry should replicate distant, old models and values. New Orleans in 1840 required a current, regular, local, urban yet also regional, humorous newspaper and newspaper poetry.

In order to be successful, daily newspapers, and particularly penny dailies, needed to develop a sense of inclusiveness and build readership within the civic community. Newspaper poems could participate directly in this work. They might help advertise and define the personality of the newspaper; share and editorialize the news; provide entertainment; provoke discussion locally and nationally; and build a community of readers. To do so, newspaper poems had to use a language appropriate for the newspaper context that would also appeal to a broad range of readers. For the Straws poems, Field used an immigrant dialect. While dialect verse was not the only possibility for appealing to a broader audience—increasingly working-class, immigrant, or the children of immigrants—it did stand in contrast to conventional poetic language and demanded a different kind of material, as well as a different treatment of its subject matter. In addition, although Field's dialect verse is complicit in many of the same problems as poems by white authors written in a “black dialect” later in the century and should not be understood to be representative of any real immigrant group's manner of speaking, it did in some capacity embody the social reality of New Orleans in 1840. New Orleans had emerged as the second largest port of entry for immigrants to the United States by the 1840s.<sup>8</sup> Although most immigrants who entered the U.S. via the Port of New Orleans moved to the Midwest or elsewhere, the population of the city doubled to more than 102,000

<sup>7</sup> A popular actor, playwright, theater manager, poet, and newspaperman from the early 1830s until his death in 1856, Field is perhaps best known today as the father of journalist Kate Field. For more on Joseph Field, see Hennig Cohen and William B. Dillingham, *Humor of the Old Southwest*, third edition (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 98–99; Lorang, “American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper from the Rise of the Penny Press to the New Journalism,” pp. 16–69; Sol Smith, *Theatrical Management in the West and South* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1868); Charles S. Watson, *History of Southern Drama* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), pp. 54–63; and Lilian Whiting, *Kate Field: A Record* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1899), pp. 3–56.

<sup>8</sup> James M. Bergquist, *Daily Life in Immigrant America, 1820–1870* (Westport: Greenwood, 2008), p. 85.

during the period 1830 to 1840, and foreign immigration played a significant role in this population increase. In 1840, approximately 10,000 inhabitants were German immigrants, the largest immigrant population in the city.<sup>9</sup> Almost certainly in response to these numbers, and despite his own ties to Ireland, Field adopted a dialect suggestive of a German immigrant to the United States for his Straws poems.<sup>10</sup>

Like the conversational frame employed in many of the poems, the dialect suggested an inclusiveness. Further, by employing a dialect understood to represent a local manner of speech, Field reversed a major poetic tendency: rather than universalize themes or treatment of themes, the Straws poems depended on localization. A sense of the local was important to the penny dailies, including the *Picayune*; treatment of the local experience was significant in the community-building work of daily newspapers. The dialect poems amused readers, and their humor hinged on the juxtaposition of standard English elsewhere in the paper and the non-standard English of the poems. Spelling, pronunciation, and malapropisms provided frequent opportunities for humor. Indeed, throughout the poems the use of dialect allowed Straws to address serious and timely topics, including yellow fever, slavery and abolition, temperance, and politics more generally, but to do so with a degree of levity. In their employment of dialect and the pairing of serious topics with a “low” rhetorical treatment, the Straws poems were an early voice in the tradition of Southern ironic humor.<sup>11</sup>

From the beginning, Straws’s poems treated timely material or current events, often local to New Orleans. One of the major news stories of early 1840 was the discovery of subterranean vaults in New Orleans, and Straws wrote several poems on the vaults, which appeared alongside articles and editorials on the subject (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). Yet as close as they are connected to New Orleans of 1840–1841, the Straws poems are not without their troubling aspects, as poems such as “Amalgamation” and “The Bloodhounds” illustrate.

<sup>9</sup> Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States: With Special Reference to Its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), p. 483; Kevin Fox Gotham, *Authentic New Orleans: Tourism, Culture, and Race in the Big Easy* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> Field’s German dialect shares conventional features of German dialect literature, including confusion in pronunciation of “w” and “v.” Unlike other writers of German dialect poetry, however, Field did not employ any German vocabulary in his poems. For more on the characteristics of German dialect literature, see Holger Kersten, “Using the Immigrant’s Voice: Humor and Pathos in Nineteenth Century ‘Dutch’ Dialect Texts,” *MELUS*, 21 (1996): 3–17.

<sup>11</sup>In fact, Joseph Field is recognized as one of the major early voices of Southern humor. Mark Twain is known to have read some of Field’s work, although it is unlikely he would have encountered the Straws poems.

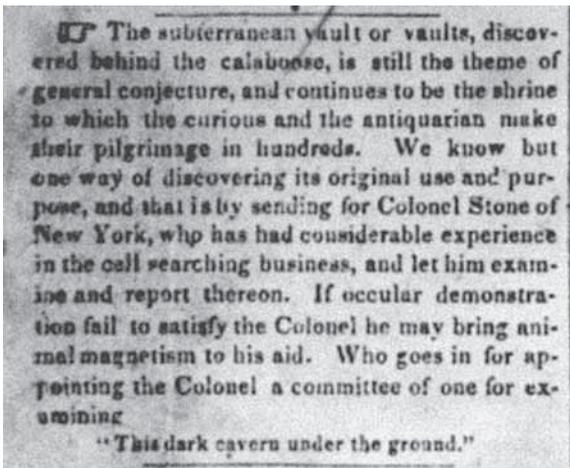
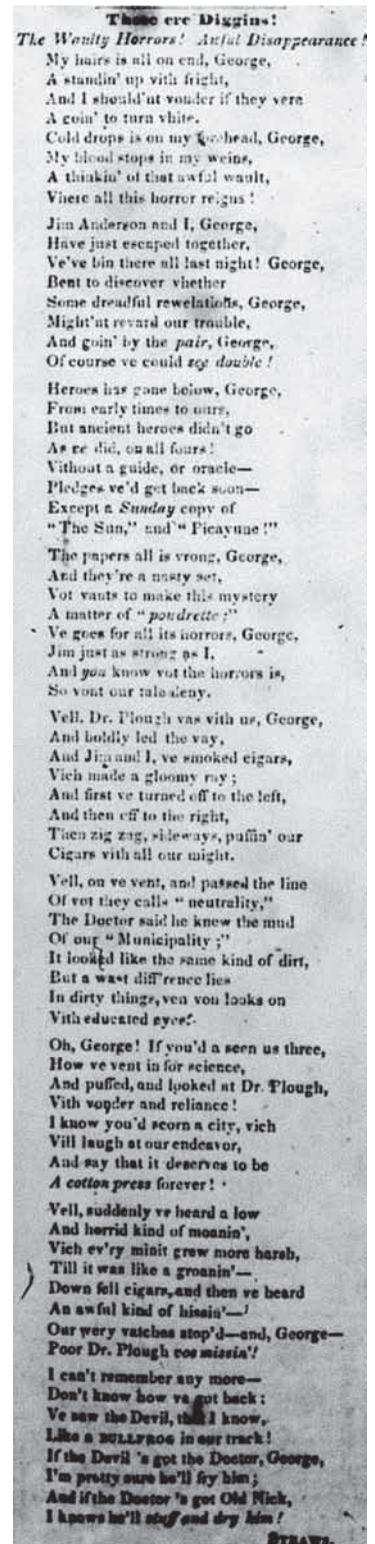


Figure 1 (above): Short piece about the recent discovery of subterranean vaults in New Orleans, published in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* on February 20, 1840.

Figure 2 (right): Straws's "These ere Diggins!," a poem about the subterranean vaults, published on page two of the New Orleans *Daily Picayune* on February 21, 1840. On the same page, the editors called attention to Straws's piece, writing: "Just read 'Straws' account of his visit to the subterranean vaults, in the neighborhood of the old Calaboose. He elucidates the thing to our satisfaction."

"Amalgamation" depicts Straws's fears of the blending of whites and blacks, and in "The Bloodhounds" he explains the failure of dogs to capture Native Americans in Florida as a result of the dogs being, in his view, inhumanely muzzled.<sup>12</sup> One does not have to approve of Straws's sentiments to acknowledge the poems' function within the newspaper. In commenting on timely issues as both editorial and entertainment, the poems participated in an ongoing conversation about human rights and the South. Through his poems Straws rallied local readers and antagonized critics as he championed the *Daily Picayune*, his poetry, and New Orleans and its ways of life.

<sup>12</sup> Straws, "The Bloodhounds," *Daily Picayune* (March 11, 1840), and "Amalgamation," *Daily Picayune* (December 25, 1840).



*Editing Newspaper Poems*

To extend further the study and understanding of newspaper poems, including the Straws poems, I plan to digitize and digitally present a substantial body of the poems. I have two major goals for this work: first, to increase accessibility, particularly by moving the newspapers and their poetry out of archives, out of special collections rooms within libraries, and out of electronic formats that do not meet the needs of most researchers interested in studying newspapers, and second, to increase understanding of newspaper poetry and the study of the poems. Increasing understanding of newspaper poetry requires more than simply making the poems readily available, and the prevailing models for the editorial treatment of periodicals in digital projects cannot meet the goals for my project.

A common model for the editorial treatment of texts published in periodicals is the extraction of the primary text for study from the rest of the periodical text. In the case of *Whitman's Poems in Periodicals*, for example, only Whitman's poems have been transcribed and encoded. Such an extraction of poems or other texts from the rest of the newspaper can work for a project like the *Whitman Archive*, where what is most important is presenting Whitman's body of writing. The participation of the poems in the newspaper, and particularly to the extent that the poems may engage in and thus promote an in-print conversation with other texts in the newspaper, can be elucidated in editorial notes, knowing that the major frame of reference is always Whitman. This model has utility for author-centered editions as well as for thematic editions where there is a clearer overarching and organizational narrative. For my project, however, I have come to the conclusion that I necessarily have a bifurcated object of study—that I need to study both the poem and the newspaper in which it appeared. They are mutually dependent.

In addition, conceptualizing my project around authorship would be almost meaningless; such an approach may work well for a prolific newspaper poet such as Straws, but it could not accommodate the thousands of anonymous works. In my examination of poems published in ten different newspapers during the period January 1 through August 31, 1863, I have calculated that authorship for as many as two-thirds of the poems may never be known. (In the study, I examine newspaper poetry written and published during of one of the most volatile periods of the Civil War.<sup>13</sup>) Further investigative work may

<sup>13</sup> Lorang, "American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper from the Rise of the Penny Press to the New Journalism," pp. 123–173.

uncover names of some of the authors. In 1863, some of the pseudonyms and initials would likely have had immediate significance in their local communities, particularly for some of the smaller newspapers publishing original verse. In other cases, even unsigned poems may have been known to be by a newspaper's editor or a local writer. I do not want to overstate the significance of attribution for nineteenth-century readers, who accepted anonymity as part of their reading culture, but we naturally have lost some of the information readers of the newspapers would have had about authorship in 1863. More of the poems are figuratively anonymous today, whether unsigned or signed with pseudonyms, initials, or even full names. An edition centered on authorship would not illustrate particularly effectively the cultural work of poems in newspapers.

Another potential model for my project is the *Whitman Archive's* presentation of three months of the *New York Aurora*, a daily newspaper Whitman edited from February through late April, 1842. In the case of the *Aurora*, the *Archive* has decided to present the entirety of the newspaper because there is some debate over what items during Whitman's tenure as editor are Whitman-authored; moreover, all contributions may bear his editorial mark in some way. Not yet publicly available, the *New York Aurora* is a facsimile edition. Page images for each issue can be "turned" and allow for reading the entire issues. This model works well for the *Aurora*, and the *Archive*, because the *Aurora* has never been microfilmed and only one library, the Paterson Free Public Library of Paterson, New Jersey, is known to have a complete print run of the paper. Simply making the page images widely available, then, is a significant contribution to Whitman scholarship.

For my project, however, the benefits of a facsimile edition do not outweigh the limitations. As I worked on my dissertation and cataloged newspaper poems, I moved from digitally imaging single pages of newspapers to imaging complete issues of newspapers. I could therefore begin building a facsimile edition almost immediately. But a straightforward facsimile edition has extremely limited potential for my project. Certainly, it would increase access to the texts on a basic level and help to achieve one of my goals, including moving the newspapers and their poems out of a special room in the library. But it would not go very far with the second goal, increasing understanding of newspaper poetry. An edition of digital images derived from original newspapers and microfilm copies would not allow the newspapers or their poems to be machine-readable for searching, text analysis, and more sophisticated functionality. Eventually, transcriptions of the pages might sit behind the digital images to allow for searching and analysis, but the challenges of creating clean transcriptions of a significant number of newspapers—to say nothing of critically edited transcriptions—are monumental.

**Dying and Living.**  
BY ASA HARTZ.

I would not die on the battle-field,  
Where the missiles are flying wild,  
'Tis a fancy death—but it doesn't suit  
My mamma's darling child.  
The cannon's roar, and the clash of steel,  
And the victor's joyous shout,  
Sound well, no doubt—if a fellow don't care—  
But I'd rather be counted out!

I would not die on the vessel's deck,  
With the wild waves dashing around;  
'Cause it might occur that I'd have to swim,  
And I can't—so I'd surely be drowned.  
And the idea of pickling myself in brine  
Is too salty to be endured,  
Besides, there's a dearth of salt in the South,  
And we've other meat to be cured.

I would not die at home—in bed—  
It would kill poor Klubs with sorrow;  
For if to-day he should find me dead,  
He would die, himself, to-morrow.  
And since I've thought the matter o'er  
(The truth for once I'm giving.)  
If I'm to have a choice in the thing,  
I guess—I'll keep on living!

Figure 3 (above): Asa Hartz's (George McKnight's) "Dying and Living" as published in the *Vicksburg Daily Whig* on April 7, 1863.

From the Mobile Tribune.]  
**DYING AND LIVING.**  
BY ASA HARTZ.

I would not die on the battle-field,  
Where the missiles are flying wild,  
'Tis a fancy death—but it doesn't suit  
My mamma's darling child;  
The cannon's roar, and the clash of steel,  
And the victor's joyous shout,  
Sounds well, no doubt—if a fellow don't care,  
But I'd rather be counted out!

I would not die on the vessel's deck,  
With the wild waves dashing 'round,  
'Cause it might occur that I'd have to swim,  
And I can't—so I'd surely be drowned;  
And the idea of pickling myself in brine  
Is too salty to be endured,  
Besides, there's a dearth of salt in the South,  
And we've other meats to be cured.

I would not die at home—in bed—  
It would kill poor Klubs with sorrow;  
For if to-day he should find me dead,  
He would die himself to-morrow,  
And since I've thought the matter o'er,  
(The truth for once I'm giving.)  
If I'm to have a choice in the thing,  
I guess—I'll keep on living!

MOBILE, March, 1863.

Figure 4 (right): Hartz's "Dying and Living" as published in the *Memphis Daily Appeal* on April 23, 1863. (The *Appeal* reprinted the poem from the *Mobile Tribune*.) Although the poem was titled "Dying and Living" in both printings, there are several small differences in the *Daily Whig* and *Daily Appeal* versions, including in punctuation and the use of italics.

Further, the social function of the texts is something I want to illustrate dynamically, not simply descriptively. What I am most interested in is an edition that holds within itself a text-analysis tool that allows for conceptual and word-pattern linking of the newspaper poems with the rest of the newspaper, and not necessarily limited to a single issue. A proof-of-concept project I am currently collaborating on with Brian Pytlík Zillig of the Center for Digital Research in the Humanities at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln seeks, for example, to compare patterns of words between issues of the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* during the Civil War, as well as between poems that appeared in the paper and the rest of the newspaper content. Building on this project, an edition of newspaper poems and an embedded tool should also make it possible to follow poems through reprinting and recreation in different newspapers. For example, when the poem "The Defense of Vicksburg" appeared in the *Memphis Daily*

*Appeal* on February 23, 1863, the final line read, “And Southern colors proudly flying / Defiant in the breeze.” When the poem was reprinted in the *Vicksburg Daily Whig* three days later, “defiant” in the final line was changed to “defiantly,” ostensibly so that it paralleled “proudly” from the previous line, although the interpretation becomes perhaps slightly different. In what other ways may the poem have been changed, and what are the possible implications of those changes, as it circulated in daily newspapers throughout the first half of 1863?

A more provocative example may be the transmission of the poem “Dying and Living,” written by Southern soldier and prisoner of war George McKnight under the pseudonym “Asa Hartz.” Apparently first published in the *Vicksburg Daily Whig* on April 7, 1863, “Dying and Living” circulated in the local Southern press in the spring of 1863. It appeared in the *Memphis Daily Appeal* and the *Mobile Tribune*, and other newspapers likely also carried the poem (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). At some point—I am not sure where—the title was changed to “Living and Dying.” The poem appeared under this title in Beuhring H. Jones’s *The Sunny Land; or Prison Poetry and Prose* (Baltimore, 1868), and twentieth-century scholarship identifies the piece by the revised title. But written by a soldier in one of the most heavily contested areas of 1863, and published within the pages of newspapers daily mediating the local experience, “Dying and Living” means something quite different from “Living and Dying.” In what context, and when, did the title change? Ideally, over time my project will have the capacity to “ingest” accurate transcriptions of newspapers and their poems, and thus allow researchers to follow a poem’s transmission and uncover reprintings, revisions, and recreations.<sup>14</sup>

In order to do the kind of work I am imagining, my project will require carefully transcribed texts, but what texts, exactly—the poems themselves are not enough, but what then? Entire newspapers with poems? Or do I also include

<sup>14</sup>The project I envision is one that may start with a selected corpus, but would have the technical capacity to take in other accurate transcriptions, whether from the on-going work of a scholar or from a repository that has digitized newspaper content. Once the tool has taken in or, as I phrase it, “ingested,” these additional texts, they would be available to be queried and electronically analyzed. Nineteenth-century newspapers have been, and are being, mass-digitized in a number of efforts, among them those led by private companies, such as ProQuest and Gale, and by the Library of Congress’s National Digital Newspaper Program. Transcriptions of newspaper text produced in mass-digitization efforts, however, have extremely limited use for a project like the one I imagine, because of the number of errors in transcription. For more, see Kenning Arlitsch and John Herbert, “Microfilm, Paper, and OCR: Issues in Newspaper Digitization,” *Microform & Imaging Review*, 33 (2004): 59–67; Tracy Powell and Gordon Paynter, “Going Grey? Comparing the OCR Accuracy Levels of Bitonal and Greyscale Images,” *D-Lib Magazine*, 15 (2009), [www.dlib.org](http://www.dlib.org); and Simon Tanner, Trevor Munoz, and Pich Hemy Ros, “Measuring Mass Text Digitization Quality and Usefulness: Lessons Learned from Assessing the OCR Accuracy Rate of the British Library’s 19th Century Online Newspaper Archive,” *D-Lib Magazine*, 15 (2009), [www.dlib.org](http://www.dlib.org).

entire newspapers without poems? Scope is one major issue I need to confront, and decisions I make for scope will have implications for what I am actually able to do with the edition. I am also wondering how my project can deal with the timeliness, locality, and community of the poems as well as their transmission and fluidity. Current technology and practices place a number of constraints on the project, and the availability of time and money inevitably do as well. Perhaps the fundamental question is one of how best to do justice to the poems and the newspapers given my intellectual concerns, the intellectual concerns of our current moment, and the technological capabilities and limitations we now have.

# Rethinking Digital Editing Practices to Better Address Non-Canonical Texts

Amanda Gailey

This article stems from my recent work on *Race and Children's Literature of the Gilded Age* (RCLGA),<sup>1</sup> a digital archive that aims to provide a heavily annotated resource for scholars and students of literature, history, African American studies, visual communication, and education to examine how adults wanted children to think about race during the era of Jim Crow. I edit the archive with Gerald Early, Professor of Modern letters, English, African studies, and African American studies at Washington University in St. Louis, and D. B. Dowd, Professor of Communication Design and American Culture Studies, also at Washington University. When complete, RCLGA will include literature, illustrations, and popular-culture materials featuring characters of different races primarily intended for a juvenile audience between the end of the Civil War and the publication of *The Brownies' Book*, the first American mass-market periodical for minority children, in 1920–1921. In some cases, the authorship of this material is collaborative, corporate, or altogether unknown. What binds the materials together is that they all provide evidence of how popular media marketed to children or families during the period of Jim Crow helped to assert, reinforce, and, occasionally, diminish racial inequity.

The materials seem almost defined by their unsuitability for a scholarly editing project. Virtually all of the materials are uncanonical or decanonized texts; their authorship is frequently slippery or of little interest, for many of the texts are derivative works, sometimes by one or more uncredited authors, and their afterlives in unauthorized or appropriated forms are often more significant to our study than their pristine origins. The conventional ways of conceptualizing a scholarly edition or digital archive, along with the methods and technologies developed around conventional editions, while eminently reasonable for certain types of materials, have proven unwieldy and inappropriate for ours.

<sup>1</sup> This is a working title and will likely change before we make the archive public.

In this article I would like to discuss how we should treat literature that falls into the chasm between scholar-led digital editing, usually organized around one canonical author or text, and mass digitization projects, which lightly treat large numbers of texts with little guidance or claims about their literary or historical value. Neither model offers much support for inquiries about, say, how one text influenced another or how generic or thematic similarities stretch across works by different authors in even the same time period. I will suggest that emerging semantic Web technologies, combined with existing digital markup practices, may be the way to accommodate a wider variety of interest in many literary texts.

Author- and single-text-centered editions have long been important tools for literary scholarship, and it would be surprising if they lacked digital equivalents. However, the study of some kinds of literature is not best accomplished through single-author or single-work editions, yet still benefits from the structure and editorial attention of a rigorously edited and deeply marked-up project. The works of Joel Chandler Harris, which I have been editing for RCLGA, serves as a case in point.

If editorial work moved faster than glaciers, there would likely be a sprawling, multi-volume print edition of Joel Chandler Harris's works in every American research library. In the mid-1950s, when editors schooled in the latest techniques of professional editing undertook the preparation of modern editions of so many American authors, Harris probably seemed like a prime candidate for such work. At the time of his death in 1908 he was second in popularity only to his admirer Mark Twain, and Theodore Roosevelt published a letter mourning the loss of a national treasure, declaring Harris's fiction the most likely of American works to endure.<sup>2</sup> In the 1920s, over a decade after Harris's death, a survey of U.S. high school and college teachers showed that Harris was considered one of the five most important authors in the United States.

Harris published dozens of novels and collections of short stories over his literary career, which stretched from 1881 to 1908, but his most popular works were his Uncle Remus books, in which a loyal former slave tells folk stories to an unnamed white child. Today, Harris's phonetic spellings of nineteenth-century middle-Georgian African-American dialect, which strike many readers as difficult or offensive, and his paternalistic approach to Remus and occasional

<sup>2</sup> For information on Harris's popularity, see Walter Brasch, *Br'er Rabbit, Uncle Remus, and the 'Cornyfield Journalist': The Tale of Joel Chandler Harris* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2000). In a letter published in *Uncle Remus's Magazine* (September 1908, p. 5) Roosevelt opined, "I very firmly believe that his writings will last; that they will be read as long as anything written in our language during his time is read."

implicit nostalgia for the antebellum days, have helped boot him from the canon. Perhaps most damaging to Harris's reputation, however, was the appearance of *Song of the South*. Produced by Walt Disney and released by RKO Radio Pictures in 1947, the film trades on the worst aspects of the Harris tales: the more complex Remus character of Harris's books is caricatured into a hyperbolically loyal and happy servant to white children, and today, over sixty years after its premiere, Disney views the film as an embarrassment and refuses to re-release it.

Though Harris himself has fallen into obscurity, and though we no longer view his works as unproblematically good, his texts and their reception suggest interesting and instructive patterns about late nineteenth-century American attitudes toward race and culture. To study these patterns, though, requires a perspective very different from the view afforded by an author- or work-centered edition. I started working with Harris's texts almost three years ago and began by scanning, transcribing, proofing, and encoding the first editions of his Uncle Remus books. Two years ago, when Emory University in Atlanta agreed to let RCLGA use their Harris holdings, I approached their vast collection from the perspective of an author-centered archive. As I planned how to use limited time to go through thousands of special-collections items, the best approach seemed to be to concentrate on the early drafts of his work. Indeed, the materials for an author-centered digital edition of Harris's work are ripe for the picking. Given enough time in Emory's special collections, we could trace many of his tales from their first drafts through first or final publication. But such an approach would have a hard time answering the question, "Who cares?" Harris's texts are entertaining reads and fascinating glimpses into U.S. racial history, but certainly the best treatment of them is not presenting Harris as he may have once been viewed: a highly canonical genius whose compositional process elicits scholarly curiosity or admiration. It is the reception of Harris's works, how they were pirated, appropriated into popular culture, and generally disseminated into American racial consciousness that is of interest, and studying these is not in the least enabled by an author-centered edition.

Our critical interest in Harris's Uncle Remus tales is in many ways similar to ongoing scholarship on Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which in recent years has enjoyed attention from scholars who examine its cultural significance through the many sympathetic and hostile appropriations it spurred: parodies, homages, minstrel shows, and so on. Stowe's and Harris's central characters followed a very similar path through American and international culture. Both Uncle Tom and Uncle Remus were born in the pages of American periodicals—Stowe's in the *National Era* and Harris's in the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*. Both Harris and Stowe wrote well-intended but sentimental and paternalistic depictions of black characters in an effort to effect social change.

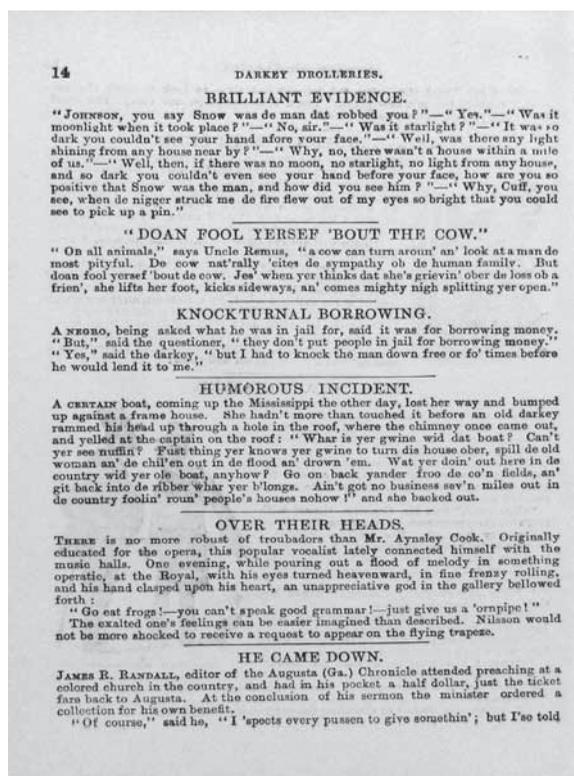


Figure 1: Excerpt from *Darkey Drolleries* by "Uncle Remus." London: John and Robert Maxwell, 1883. Courtesy of Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

Stowe, of course, sought the end of slavery, and Harris, writing at the height of Jim Crow in the American South, hoped to humanize African Americans to his white readers in an effort to end the epidemic of lynchings. Stowe's and Harris's political goals, however flawed they now may seem in execution, were progressive in their times and elicited both admiration and hostility.

Stowe's and Harris's moral earnestness made them prime victims of parodists and hacks. Just as Stowe's characters were quickly subsumed into consumer culture and the minstrel stage, Uncle Remus was featured in pirated publications, abridgments, household decorations, advertisements, and corporate logos.

A closer look at a derivative British publication, *Darkey Drolleries*, will help demonstrate a problem with digital editing (see Figure 1). This booklet, published in London in 1883 by John and Robert Maxwell, purports to be by Uncle Remus, but is in effect a printed minstrel show much like the stage adaptations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in which

Stowe's originally progressive characters were conscripted to racist aims. Amid passages actually written by Harris, the publishers inserted materials they either wrote or recycled from other publications, much of which is far more vehemently racist than anything Harris ever wrote. So although the entire publication is ascribed to Uncle Remus, this page consists of a clip from a British compilation of American humor, a reflection on cows attributed to Uncle Remus, an excerpt from a book of humor published in Pittsburgh, a racist anecdote circulated on American postcards, an anecdote about a British opera singer, and a story reprinted from a Georgia newspaper. Of the six pieces on this page, the only one for which we cannot locate a source is the one spoken here by Uncle Remus—it does not appear to have come from anything Harris wrote. The whole booklet, predictably, is illustrated with racist caricatures that could be stock drawings or may have been taken from other publications.

*Darkey Drolleries* is evidence of how literary piracy influenced the proliferation of racist imagery. Considered alongside the postcards, menus, coloring books, and toy sets that all bore Harris's characters, it seems that

the cultural reach of Harris's characters far exceeded his grasp. It is this reach that is of most interest about Harris, but it is the author's grasp that defines most editorial undertakings. Unfortunately, some of the most provocative and interesting materials relating to Harris fall into a no-man's land that seems beyond the scope of a single-author edition but would not be adequately noted or otherwise made available in mass digitization efforts.

One of the few digital projects to trace the cultural reconfigurations of an American literary text is Stephen Railton's *Uncle Tom's Cabin in American Culture*,<sup>3</sup> which is full of fascinating material and editorial insights but beset by technological and navigational problems. Railton's site includes images of several editions of the book; Stowe's own *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* and adaptation of the novel for the stage; "pretexts" that illustrate the culture into which Stowe was publishing her work; numerous reviews of the book; adaptations of the book for children; 3D manipulable images of memorabilia based on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; and images of the book's eventual transformation for stage and screen. All of this traces the text's trajectory from its roots in mid-nineteenth-century abolitionism to its transformation into a twentieth-century industry of racial degradation and caricature.

The problem with the site, which is not unrelated to its inconsistent interface and difficult navigation, is that few developed methods available to digital literary scholarship support this kind of approach to texts. For example, Railton is rightfully interested in the covers of early editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. From the golden age of conspicuous literary consumption, these covers speak to what publishers and purchasers found important and beautiful about the text. They worked as the marketable face of the book, and if the ubiquitous still-uncut pages of nineteenth-century gift editions tell us anything, it is that the face of the book most frequently held the owner's interest. Yet TEI (Text Encoding Initiative), the *de facto* encoding standard for digital editing projects, does not even have a single tag, much less a developed module, for describing the outside of a book—something that is relevant to many literary projects.<sup>4</sup> The *Walt*

<sup>3</sup> See <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu>.

<sup>4</sup> Both scholarly digital editions and mass digitization projects are built using the guidelines published by the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), the *de facto* standard for digital editing in the humanities. TEI provides a vocabulary of several hundred terms that editors may use to label structural features and significant content in the transcription of a text within an XML (Extensible Markup Language) file. TEI provides a common language, allowing editors from different projects to communicate about their materials and sometimes even aggregate them. It has proven invaluable to the development of digital editing, and the fact that editors can customize it—selecting and tailoring the TEI terms or "tags" that best work for their projects—makes it a tool that provides not only a common language for the digital editing community, but one that is pliant enough to serve an array of editorial interests.

*Whitman Archive*,<sup>5</sup> for example, understandably omits cover information from its encoding, since it is unsupported by TEI. However, the 1856 edition of *Leaves of Grass* was widely known at the time for the adulatory Emerson quote—“I greet you at the beginning of a great career”—that Whitman brazenly reprinted on the spine. If the *Archive* wanted to include this they would have to develop an ad-hoc TEI extension. One of RCLGA’s customizations to TEI was to create a simple tag for the illustrator of a book, a person as important to children’s literature as the author. The orthodox TEI approach to treating illustrators is, bizarrely, as a specialized kind of editing—that is, TEI recommends encoding the illustrator this way

<editor role=“illustrator”>A. B. Frost</editor>

as though the illustrator were merely another corrupting or altering influence on a pristine text.

The lack of an <illustrator> tag in TEI reflects a bias in the way the vocabulary allows projects to describe texts. TEI works best for digital editions that view a single and singly intended text as the fundamental unit of the archive. The literary structures of that text, but not its bibliographic structures, its relationship to other texts, nor its collaborative aspects, are robustly supported by the TEI tagset. A project designed around a core of stand-alone texts written by one author is much more suited to TEI than a thematically oriented project or one that examines textual transmission and appropriation. In the case of the author-centered archive, the design of the project matches up with the nesting structures of TEI: the identity of the author contains individual texts which are comprised of chapters, which hold paragraphs, and so on. But if a project hopes to examine the kinds of connections and cultural dispersions that Railton’s work addresses, for example, TEI may begin to seem like a hindrance: a significant investment of time and labor into tagging that supports little of the intellectual interest of the project. Given that the major U.S. funding agencies all but state a requirement of TEI compliance for digital editorial projects,<sup>6</sup> the author-centered model is not only implicitly encouraged by the current granting system but is also clearly the path of least resistance for anyone with an interest in digitally editing American literature.<sup>7</sup> For many projects, though, it seems that we lack good

<sup>5</sup> See <http://www.whitmanarchive.org>.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, the guidelines for Scholarly Editions grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities: <http://www.neh.gov/grants/guidelines/editions.html>.

<sup>7</sup> Ann Gordon discusses how grants for editing historical papers have skewed the selection of subjects in “Experiencing Women’s History as a Documentary Editor,” *Documentary Editing*, 31 (2010): 1–9.

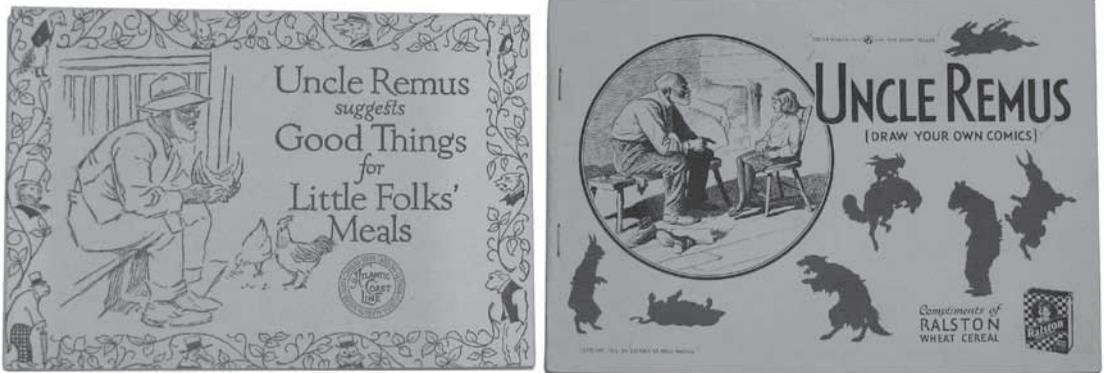


Figure 2: Uncle Remus ephemera from Atlantic Coast Line and Ralston Wheat Cereal. Courtesy of Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University.

editorial standards for describing what is most of value: how, in Joseph Grigely's words, those "post-textual reconfigurations of a work tell us something about the personality of a culture."<sup>8</sup>

TEI is indispensable for many digital editing tasks, but was simply not intended to note the relationships among ephemera such as a children's menu, a do-it-yourself comic, or the other many merchandise tie-ins and other cultural goods generated by the publication of the Uncle Remus tales (see Figure 2). Similarly, it is not suited to capture what is of interest in the array of materials pertaining to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* that Railton has collected, or the larger patterns of co-opting Uncle Tom and Uncle Remus, which ranged from friendly retellings to degrading parodies. We have a markup vocabulary for noting intricate structures within a single text, but lack a graceful way of noting patterns or relationships to which a text belongs.

As a case in point, I would like to look at Harris's first story collection, *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings*, from 1880. This collection was arguably his most influential, and its story about Brer Rabbit's encounter with a tar baby would be Harris's most widely recognizable tale. RCLGA has encountered a variety of materials, both texts and nontextual objects, that were directly or indirectly based on Harris's Uncle Remus tales and that demonstrate the tales' cultural influence. In some cases an item was clearly influenced by a particular book or story, as with "Tar-Baby Nails." Other items make use of characters that recur in several of his collections.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph Grigely, *Textuality: Art, Theory, and Textual Criticism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996): 46.

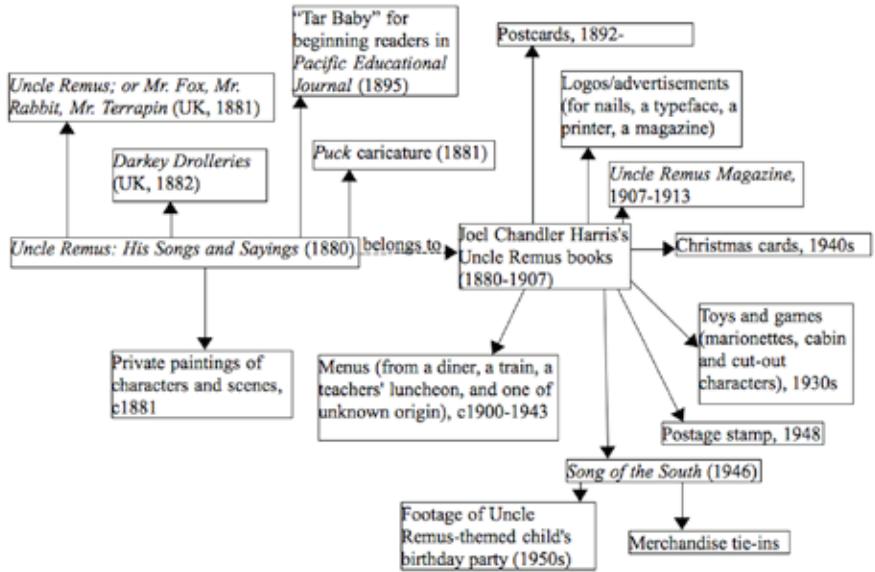


Figure 3: A schematic illustrating how Harris's Uncle Remus books inspired derivative cultural works.

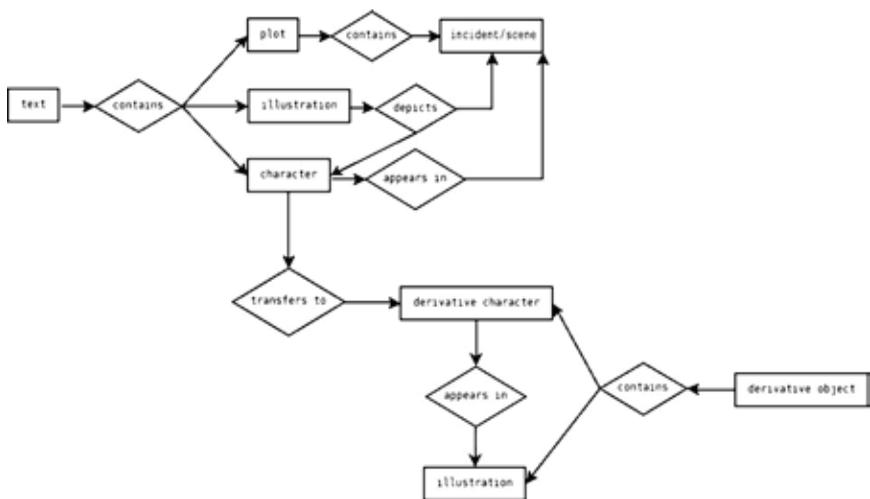


Figure 4: A model of how a textual component is appropriated by another work.

Figure 3 illustrates the relationships among many materials we have encountered while working on Harris's texts. For the sake of simplicity the diagram omits materials commonly encountered in author-centered archives, such as manuscript drafts. I have separated *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* from the rest of the Remus texts in order to illustrate that many derivatives directly relate to one text, while others, produced after many of the books were published and making use of recurring characters, cannot be traceable to a particular text. Except for the dotted arrow noting the special relationship between the 1880 text and its parent category, the arrows in the diagram indicate the direction of demonstrable influence.

Viewed this way, it is easy to see how this now fairly obscure text functioned as a cultural vector. However, this diagram does not capture many details of the relationships that are of interest to literary scholarship. A few details that would likely be of wide interest include:

1. What kind of thing is the appropriation?
2. Was the appropriation authorized by Harris?
3. Is the appropriation sympathetic to or critical of the aims of the source text?
4. What aspects of the source text were appropriated: characters, illustrations, plot, direct language?

There are more questions we would want to ask, of course, but these few may serve as examples. A model that could support these kinds of queries would need to be ontologically nuanced; that is, it would need to be a carefully constructed formal system that describes the entities, their properties, and their relationships to each other. Figure 4 attempts to represent how a character in one object (a book) is appropriated into an illustration in another object (a menu). Because space is an issue I have kept the figure simple and only included here some representative entities and attributes.

A few technologies could allow us to implement this model. Relational databases appeal to some literary archives that attempt to foreground relational structures.<sup>9</sup> Recently, the viability of relational databases as a tool for modeling

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Ed Whitley's *Vault at Pfaff's* (<http://digital.lib.lehigh.edu/pfaffs/>), a study of the bohemian community in New York that served as a nursery for several important mid-nineteenth century American writers. Whitley realized early in his work that the relationships among these authors and the many texts they published in a particular newspaper were of much more scholarly interest than the finely tuned editing of any particular text. He and a colleague at Lehigh University's library created a database that would allow them to express these relationships and store an impressive quantity of annotations on the writers (Whitley, 5–6). Railton's site on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* would benefit from a relational database, but when the site was updated to conform to technological standards, the focus was on migrating the data into TEI-compliant XML.

texts has been called into question, most notably in a lively *PMLA* exchange between Ed Folsom, co-editor of the Walt Whitman Archive, and several respondents, including Jerome McGann. McGann makes a compelling point about the strength of markup and limitations of databases in literary editing:

For scholars interested in migrating our cultural inheritance to digital environments, databases are by no means the most useful tools for the task.

. . . The inline markup approach of the Text Encoding Initiative . . . became a standard for digitizing literary works for a reason. . . . Let's be clear. The TEI and XML do not adequately address the problem of knowledge representation that is the core issue here—that is, how do we design and build digital simulations that meet our needs for studying works like Whitman's—but they get a lot further along with that task than do database models. They are better because they model some of the key forms of order that are already embedded in textual works. . . . They are better because they understand that works like poems and novels are already marked data.<sup>10</sup>

I believe the conflict between inline markup and relational models that McGann addresses here is a false one. McGann is correct about the suitability of markup to the digitization of individual texts, for which databases would be an ill-fitted tool. But here he seems to conflate individual texts with “our cultural inheritance,” which really is (as he later acknowledges) more than the sum of its parts. Markup is the best tool for those parts, but for representing the complex relationships among texts we need a technology that is suited to describing relationships. McGann and others in the *PMLA* exchange seem to use “database” to mean a non-narrative representation of ontologically discrete objects and their attributes and relationships to one another. However, McGann's criticism of database as a form of knowledge representation and accommodation seems to arise from occasionally conflating this abstract definition with the particular technologies used to build relational databases, which are much more rigid and limiting than database in the abstract. He explains that “databases and all digital instruments require the most severe kinds of categorical forms. The power of database—of digital instruments in general—rests in its ability to draw sharp, disambiguated distinctions.”<sup>11</sup> He argues that card catalogs are more amenable

<sup>10</sup> Jerome McGann, “Database, Interface, and Archival Fever,” *PMLA*, 122 (2007): 1589.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1590.

to literary research than digital databases because their physicality allows people to “intervene” when strict categorizations are not helpful—by jotting notes, cross-references, and other exceptional information on the cards. He concludes that databases ultimately fail to accommodate and contain our knowledge because scholars have multiple and ever-changing interests in texts and their production and reception histories. As he puts it, “Scholars do not edit or study self-identical texts. They reconstruct a complex documentary record of textual makings and remakings, in which their own scholarly investments directly participate.”<sup>12</sup> Crucially, though, this rigidity may be inherent in SQL (Structured Query Language) based databases, but it is not inherent in other ontological technologies that identify objects and declare relationships, such as new semantic web technologies.

McGann’s critique of database thus seems at least twofold: first, inline, marked data better captures textual structure and content than database, and second, the strict categorization required by databases defies the diverse, amorphous, and ongoing record of our engagement with texts. The first complaint seems accurate but ultimately irrelevant, since treating an individual text with inline markup is not incompatible with treating the text as an object in a database that records inter- or extra-textual information. The second complaint seems targeted at a specific relational database technology, and not at the more abstract idea of a model that records information about texts, their attributes, and their relationships.

Semantic web technologies such as RDF (Resource Description Framework) and OWL (Web Ontology Language) are proving to be viable, flexible alternatives to relational databases, and can accommodate an expanding and diverse set of claims about entities, their properties and relationships. While admittedly difficult to learn and technically implement in comparison to inline markup or the relational database technologies that McGann finds too limited, the formal specifications of the semantic web, expressible in XML, allow projects to specify particular entities and relationships among them within sophisticated ontologies. Semantic web technologies provide ontological rules and a syntax for expressing them. For example, if we were to describe a set of relationships involved in textual transference in OWL, we could claim the following:

- 1) Uncle Remus is a character in “The Wonderful Tar Baby Story”
- 2) Joel Chandler Harris wrote “The Wonderful Tar Baby Story”
- 3) A toy advertisement features Uncle Remus.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1592.

The inferential rules we can describe through OWL would later allow us to derive from this information that this toy advertisement features a character that Joel Chandler Harris created, even though we never directly stated that. This is a simple example, but because the technologies allow us to provide the ontology with new entities continually, it can grow complex very quickly and ultimately allow us to derive sophisticated information about two entities inferred from a multitude of single, separately entered statements about them. Essentially, the data-interchange standards of the semantic web are expansible in ways that can satisfy McGann's and others' understandable discomfort about the brittleness of relational databases.

Already some digital humanists are exploring how semantic web technologies such as RDF can complement inline markup. For example, recently in *Literary and Linguistic Computing* Ariana Ciula and Tamara Lopez explained how the Henry III Fine Rolls Project uses RDF and OWL to help express relationships among historical figures.<sup>13</sup> Other projects, such as NINES (Networked Interface for Nineteenth-Century Electronic Scholarship), use RDF to express orthodox metadata about individual texts.

Semantic web technologies, combined with a constrained vocabulary tailored to the purpose, could help literary scholars and cultural historians track the dissemination of characters and images through texts and other artifacts. Further, the flexibility and expansibility of semantic web technologies such as RDF and OWL could allow for aggregation: individual projects describing historically or thematically similar materials could combine records and allow for the mapping or graphing of relationships among materials across projects. But currently, the lack of a developed method for tracking cultural transmission is a significant lacuna in digital literary scholarship. As we seek to build upon the rich tradition of the collected edition, an ontological framework for describing intertextual relationships could prove fruitful.

<sup>13</sup> "Reflecting on a Dual Publication: Henry III Fine Rolls Print and Web," *Literary and Linguistic Computing*, 24 (2009): 129–41.

# Editing Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the Fluid Text of Race

Wesley Raabe

I suspect that many scholars begin to edit a work by accident: I begin with the anecdote of how I became an accidental editor of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in academic year 2002. I had read not a single work by Harriet Beecher Stowe when I was admitted to the Ph.D. program at the University of Virginia. During my first semester, I was often at Alderman Library's Special Collections floor to subject a copy of Delariviér Manley's *Memoirs of Europe* (1710) to bibliographical analysis. I was reading Stowe's work in another course, was already in Alderman for the Manley work, and so decided to look up the first edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published in 1852 by John P. Jewett. The catalog search showed that Special Collections also held an original newspaper copy of Stowe's work, which began its serial run the year before Jewett's edition, so I requested that too. The bound volume of *National Era* numbers with *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in weekly installments made all "books" of my previous experience seem small, just as Stowe's authorial voice seemed more like one from a whirlwind than human. On beginning the dissertation prospectus, I was advised that the newspaper version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* could form the basis for an intriguing type of digital edition. The first step, to imagine how a new edition could preserve some of the periodical's rich context, was one of many, and I have been editing Stowe's work since shortly after that push in the right direction, over seven years ago.

A digital edition of the *National Era* version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became a dissertation, and the project has been reconceived, now as a critical edition that will include at least six documentary versions of the text. As I transcribe and collate copies and versions, correct transcriptions and identify textual variants, assemble an editorial team, draft procedural guidelines, prepare grant applications, and plan the design of the digital project, other scholars edit *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with disconcerting frequency. In the past four years, Stowe's work has been published in six new or reissued editions for academic audiences: the Norton Annotated (2007) and the Bedford College (2008); two editions in 2009, the Harvard-Belknap and the Broadview; and two more editions

in 2010, the second Norton Critical and the Library of America.<sup>1</sup> Though valuable for their commentary and annotation, these reprints share a similar editorial approach: Jewett's two-volume edition, which by scholarly consensus is authoritative, forms the basis for the new versions. I admit that "chutzpah" is part of the reason for discussing such a prominent work under the heading "Editing Non-Canonical Texts," but the alternate "texts" of Stowe's work remain non-canonical even as reprints have made *Uncle Tom's Cabin* a hyper-canonical work in today's scholarship. One version of the text is now essential reading in American literature, but other print forms are neglected. Scholars who read editions that neglect alternate print forms will not know that the work has embedded in its variant texts the author's engagement with the fluidity of racial identity, a characteristic that is best suited for study with new models for digital presentation. Basic digital reproductions (such as Google Books) address alternate textual versions no more effectively than barbed wire of apparatus, so scholarly editors can either ignore readerly resistance to apparatus or respond to it with new modes of presentation that encourage active engagement with alternate textual forms.

The latter approach is advocated by John Bryant, who argues that editors must develop paradigms for the presentation of the "fluid text" in print and on screen. In *The Fluid Text* (2002), he offers a theory of revision to guide editorial presentation of multiple-version works. A fluid text, as Bryant defines it, "is any literary work that exists in more than one version. It is 'fluid' because the versions flow from one to another." Bryant recommends two important shifts in editorial presentation. He insists, first, that editorial work is a form of pedagogy, that editors must write "revision narratives." Though editors must still identify documents and establish an authoritative record of texts, editors must also teach readers to interpret sites of textual variation. Second, editors must "showcase revision," that is, they must create "a map for reading shifting intentions as revealed through variant sequentialized versions."<sup>2</sup> Bryant affirms that such work is subjective: the editor announces a critical agenda and offers a narrative

<sup>1</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Annotated Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ed. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., and Hollis Robbins (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007); *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or, Life among the Lowly*, ed. Stephen Railton (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2008); *Uncle Tom's Cabin: or, Life among the Lowly* (Cambridge: John Harvard Library of Harvard University Press, 2009); *Uncle Tom's Cabin: or, Life among the Lowly*, ed. Christopher G. Diller (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2009); *Uncle Tom's Cabin: Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Contexts, Criticism*, ed. Elizabeth Ammons, 2nd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010); *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, ed. James M. McPherson (Library of America, forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> John Bryant, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), pp. 1, 159, 164, 144.

interpretation of revision that can encourage debate. I apply the term *fluid* to racial identity in a parallel sense to that which John Bryant applies it to texts.

With the recognition that race in present and in past American contexts is constructed culturally and contingently for individuals—and retains social power though its biological basis has been debunked—my agenda highlights textual fluidity among characters that Stowe identifies as black or Negro. From a fluid text perspective, the alterations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* add radical instability into the family of Uncle Tom, complicate the individual identity of Sambo and Quimbo, and reconfigure the Christian doctrinal development of the enigmatic Topsy. The racial fluidity of Stowe's texts has multiple dimensions—mixed-race characters like George and Eliza Harris blur racial boundaries—but I limit this discussion to characters identified categorically with blackness in the three earliest American publications of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: the *National Era* serial, Jewett's two-volume first edition (1852), and Jewett's one-volume paperback "Edition for the Million" (1852/1853).<sup>3</sup> These three versions are a subset of the planned project, which will also include the extant manuscript fragments, Jewett's illustrated edition (1853), and Houghton, Osgood, & Company's New Edition (1879), but translations, British editions, and reprints by publisher Houghton Mifflin and other late-century American publishers will be excluded.<sup>4</sup> Reprints are omitted to circumscribe the project within manageable limits, but artificial circumscription demands that the project be designed to allow future revisions, a version 2.0. One may doubt that late reprints hold significant interest for a study of Stowe as author, but experience shows that they cannot be dismissed. Editing brings to mind more often than wished Samuel Johnson's definition of the lexicographer, but drudgery is punctuated with exhilaration, such as the discovery that Stowe revised the Million edition. An extensive insertion alters Topsy significantly, a fact unnoticed during decades of scholarly interest in Stowe's text. I did not expect that Stowe had revised a reprint edition, but the discovery

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. H. B. Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly*, *National Era*, June 5, 1851–April 1, 1852; Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly*, 2 vols. (Boston: John P. Jewett; Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor, and Worthington, 1852); *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly*, Million ed. (Boston: John P. Jewett; Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor, and Worthington, 1852/1853).

<sup>4</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*, illustrated ed. (Boston: John P. Jewett; Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor, and Worthington, 1853); *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly*, new ed. (Boston: Houghton, Osgood, 1879). For the known manuscript pages, see "The Manuscripts of Uncle Tom," *Uncle Tom's Cabin & American Culture*, ed. Stephen Railton (Charlottesville: Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities; Electronic Text Center, 2006); <http://utc.iath.virginia.edu/uncletom/utcmshp.html>. For a brief review of the proliferation of late-century reprints, see Michael Winship, "The Greatest Book of Its Kind': A Publishing History of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,'" *American Antiquarian Society* 109 (2002): 326–31.

affirms a principle that should guide all editorial work: you do not know until you check. My editorial agenda is to teach scholarly readers of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, who almost always read a reprint of the 1852 Jewett edition, that this well-known version may not provide an adequate representation of Stowe's work nor of her attitudes toward race.

Uncle Tom, a black Everyman, his wife Aunt Chloe, and their children offer the initial model for an ideally constituted family, one which the slave trade tears apart when the trader Haley buys Tom. The names of the family's members, however, are unstable in the multi-version work. They vary between the *National Era* and the Jewett edition—and within variant printings of the book text. The serial's third installment has a curious variant: Chloe is misnamed "Sally" when she starts to "bustle about earnestly in the supper department."<sup>5</sup> Readers learn of Sally, a character who is mentioned but never appears, only through Chloe's statements. Sally is first descried as an incompetent apprentice, later said to be able to manage the household when Chloe wishes to go to Louisville, and finally chastised as incapable of selecting the proper tea-pot after Chloe returns.<sup>6</sup> Chloe's representations as to Sally's competence, which depend on Chloe's arguments for her own household dispensability, are a humorous minor theme, and the misnaming may be no more than an authorial slip or a compositor's error. Because most of the manuscript is lost, we cannot know. But a consideration of other members of Uncle Tom's family suggests that Stowe was not fully committed to particular names for the members of her emblematic slave family.

Of the family's three children, the two boys are Mose and Pete in the Jewett edition, but the name *Pete* is typically spelled *Peet* in the serial. *Peet* outnumbers *Pete* eight to one. The spelling *Pete* in the serial appears only with the discussion of Uncle Peter and could be corrupted by proximity to the elder's name.<sup>7</sup> The spelling change seems deliberate. Also intriguing, however, is the name of the toddler, who is *Mericky* when she first appears in the *Era*'s third installment.<sup>8</sup> That name survives into the Jewett edition, issued on March 20, 1852.<sup>9</sup> But the child's name in the first printing of the Jewett edition was

<sup>5</sup> *Era*, June 19, 1851; Jewett, 2 vols., 1: 42. Subsequent references to the *National Era* version are to Wesley Raabe, "Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: an Electronic Edition of the *National Era* Version" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 2006); <http://www3.iath.virginia.edu/wnr4c/index.htm>.

<sup>6</sup> *Era*, June 19, 1851, p. 97; *Era*, November 13, 1851, p. 181; *Era*, April 1, 1852, p. 53; also see Jewett, 2 vols., 1:42–43, 2:57, 2:305.

<sup>7</sup> *Era*, June 19, 1851, p. 97.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> "Will be Ready March 20th," Jewett advertised in a previous issue (*Era*, March 11, 1852, p. 44). The edition may have been available two days earlier in Boston, the date of *Era* agent G. W. Light's advertisement ("Uncle Tom's Cabin," *Era*, March 18, 1852, p. 47).

inconsistent—Mericky in chapter 4, Polly in chapter 44.<sup>10</sup> The correction of stereotype plates imposed consistency on individual copies of the Jewett edition: *Polly* replaces *Mericky* in chapter 4, an authorial correction which the publisher completed before April 1.<sup>11</sup> The *Era*'s final installment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared just less than two weeks *after* Jewett's edition went on sale, and Chloe's child in the April 1 installment is Polly, which matches the Jewett edition's corresponding passage and the corrected version of chapter 4. As the extent of corrections suggests strongly that they are authorial, Stowe must have been aware that replacing Mericky with Polly in the *Era*'s April 1, 1852, installment would be inconsistent with the serial chapter published on June 19 the previous year, but she did not impose consistency on the serial text. The belief that no readers would remember may be justified. Even if the failure to correct was accidental or cannot be assigned definitively to Stowe, textual fluidity in Chloe's child's name invites interpretive reading.

I offer the following as a starting point for debate: the initial name "Mericky" like Tom is a type of national Everychild character, a dialect rendering of "America"—she is an Every-Slave child. The name Polly, though repeated for other minor characters and thus a reminder that Polly could be sold away, explores an emblem of black identity as not fully human, a type of play with mid-century cultural resonance and well-known literary antecedents. Recall that Robinson Crusoe has as his first speaking companion the parrot "Poll," who will be superseded by Friday as his second talking companion.<sup>12</sup> Bird metaphors and similes, which highlight mimicry and objectify those so designated, are common for slaves in Stowe's work: she compares slave catching to hunting partridges and slave children to roosting crows.<sup>13</sup> In addition, concern for birds is prominent in the *Era* as a social marker for highly developed sensibility.<sup>14</sup> The paradox of concern for birds as a mirror to the concern for slavery is marked out in Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768), where Yorick turns his sympathetic interest to a caged starling because of his own fear of incarceration in the Bastille, an interest that contributes ultimately to a lively trade in the bird's distress but never its freedom.<sup>15</sup> Sterne's starling episode elicited Common Sense philosopher

<sup>10</sup> Jewett, 2 vols., 1:42, 2:306.

<sup>11</sup> See E. Bruce Kirkham, "The First Editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: A Bibliographical Study," *PBSA* 65 (1971): 367, 371, 374–75; Michael Winship, "The Greatest Book of Its Kind," pp. 313–14.

<sup>12</sup> Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe* (Chadwyck-Healey, 1996), 3rd ed. (London: Taylor, 1719), p. 131. Citations are to the 1996 edition.

<sup>13</sup> Jewett, 2 vols., 1:67, 1:106.

<sup>14</sup> "Debate on the Destruction of Small Birds," *National Era*, August 21, 1851, p. 136.

<sup>15</sup> Laurence Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*, vol. 2. (London: Becket and De Hondt, 1768), pp. 22–28.

Dugald Stewart's reflections on the power of fiction to create sympathetic identification in the mind of the reader, a text that Stowe likely knew.<sup>16</sup> If this textual fluidity reminds readers of antecedents from English novels, the Mericky/Polly doubling slides between an emblem of America in racially marked language and the emblem of a subjected being whose ability to elicit emotional sympathy depends in part on the being remaining captive and thoughtless.

Michael Borgstrom has advised that Stowe's abolitionist message leads her to resolve unsettling doubling: the effeminate valet Adolph, Augustine St. Clare's double, is sold at auction to foreground the work's antislavery message. An ineffectual example of manhood, Adolph ultimately doubles St. Clare's wife Marie, a failed black identity to correspond to her failed femininity. Adolph exits because Stowe's "text must forsake his body and its implicit threat to discrete identity categorization."<sup>17</sup> Though Borgstrom's attention to this suggestive doubling is salutary, attention to textual variation of Sambo and Quimbo, like that of Mericky as Polly's invisible double in the corrected Jewett edition, may invite us to consider anew whether Stowe's antislavery message should remain uppermost in our reading of the text, because to reveal the fluid text can expose the racist identity play that hovers near the text's surface. When Stowe's protagonist reaches Simon Legree's plantation, Sambo and Quimbo are yet another doubled pair, brutish overseers whose very names are derogatory stereotypes.

Stowe's derogatory linguistic markers are disturbing enough, but the interchangeableness of Sambo and Quimbo may have been a subject for private amusement. Legree's overseers are always paired: few readers remember that Legree purchased Lucy in New Orleans for Sambo, not for Quimbo, a fact that is consistent in the three versions.<sup>18</sup> But when the texts of serial and first edition are compared side by side, the overseers' names are exchanged three times. The first exchange is when Legree sends for Tom after the failed hunt for Cassy and Emmeline. The narrator interjects that Sambo and Quimbo "were joined in one mind by a no less cordial hatred of Tom." In both texts, Legree sends Quimbo. But after the narrator interjects, the texts differ on who departs. In the Jewett

<sup>16</sup> Dugald Stewart, *The Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (Google Books, 1829), vol. 1. (Edinburgh: Strahan, Cadell, Creech, 1792), pp. 376–78. Citations are to the 1829 edition. For Stowe's familiarity with Scottish philosophy, see Gregg D. Crane, "Dangerous Sentiments: Sympathy, Rights, and Revolution in Stowe's Antislavery Novels," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 51 (1996), 185–86; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2933960>. For Catharine Beecher's study of Common Sense philosophy and the Hartford Seminary, see Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 81–84.

<sup>17</sup> Michael Borgstrom, "Passing Over: Setting the Record Straight in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," *PMLA* 118 (2003): 1295, 1299, 1300; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1261465>.

<sup>18</sup> *Era*, February 5, 1852, p. 21; Jewett, 2 vols., 2:184; Jewett, Million, p. 129.

edition, Quimbo (the man whom Legree sent) departs. In the serial, however, “Sambo therefore departed.” In both cases, the overseer who departs returns with Tom: Sambo seizes Tom in the serial; Quimbo seizes him in the book.<sup>19</sup> Quimbo and Sambo are switched yet again after they beat Tom viciously. Sambo speaks first in the *Era*: “we’s been **rael** wicked to ye.” In the Jewett edition, Quimbo speaks a slightly variant version of the same line: “we ’s been **awful** wicked to ye!”<sup>20</sup> The initial pair of name switches could be one error made consistent by a correction, but the third switch suggests a pattern, which is most likely to be the author’s private fun with Sambo’s and Quimbo’s interchangeableness. The thin barrier that either book or serial text maintains between identity and difference—recall the “one mind” of Sambo and Quimbo—is permeable when the two texts are studied side by side. To speculate what Stowe intended is interpretive, but the three revision sites suggest conscious engagement with the racist trope that one black man is indistinguishable from another.

Stowe’s engagement is not limited to the serial and first book edition: she revised the character of Topsy in Jewett’s “Edition for the Million,” which was issued in December of 1852. This paperbound edition had no illustrations, very thin paper, small margins, and small type in two columns that squeezed the work into 166 pages. It sold for 37½ cents, a fraction of the two-volume edition’s cost, which was \$1.00 in its cheapest paperbound configuration.<sup>21</sup> The Million edition expanded the work’s audience: Jewett sold fifty thousand copies in December of 1852.<sup>22</sup> In chapter 20, St. Clare purchases Topsy, a neglected slave child, as a project for his Vermont cousin Miss Ophelia (see Figure 1). The efforts to train Topsy in behavior and Christian doctrine result in exasperating frustration for Ophelia and comic relief for many readers. Topsy exults in her special status: “I ’s the wickedest critter in the world.” In the Million edition, an exchange between Topsy and St. Clare follows:

“But I ’s boun’ to go to heaven, for all that, though,” she said, one day, after an *exposé* of this kind.

“Why, how ’s that, Tops?” said her master, who had been listening, quite amused.

“Why, Miss Feely ’s boun’ to go, any way; so they ’ll have me thar. Laws! Miss Feely ’s so *curous* they won’t none of ’em know how to wait on her.”<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *Era*, March 11, 1852, p. 41; Jewett, 2 vols., 2:271.

<sup>20</sup> *Era*, March 18, 1852, p. 45; Jewett, 2 vols., 2:275.

<sup>21</sup> *Era*, April 1, 1852, p. 55.

<sup>22</sup> Winship, “The Greatest Book of Its Kind,” p. 315.

<sup>23</sup> Jewett, Million, p. 96.

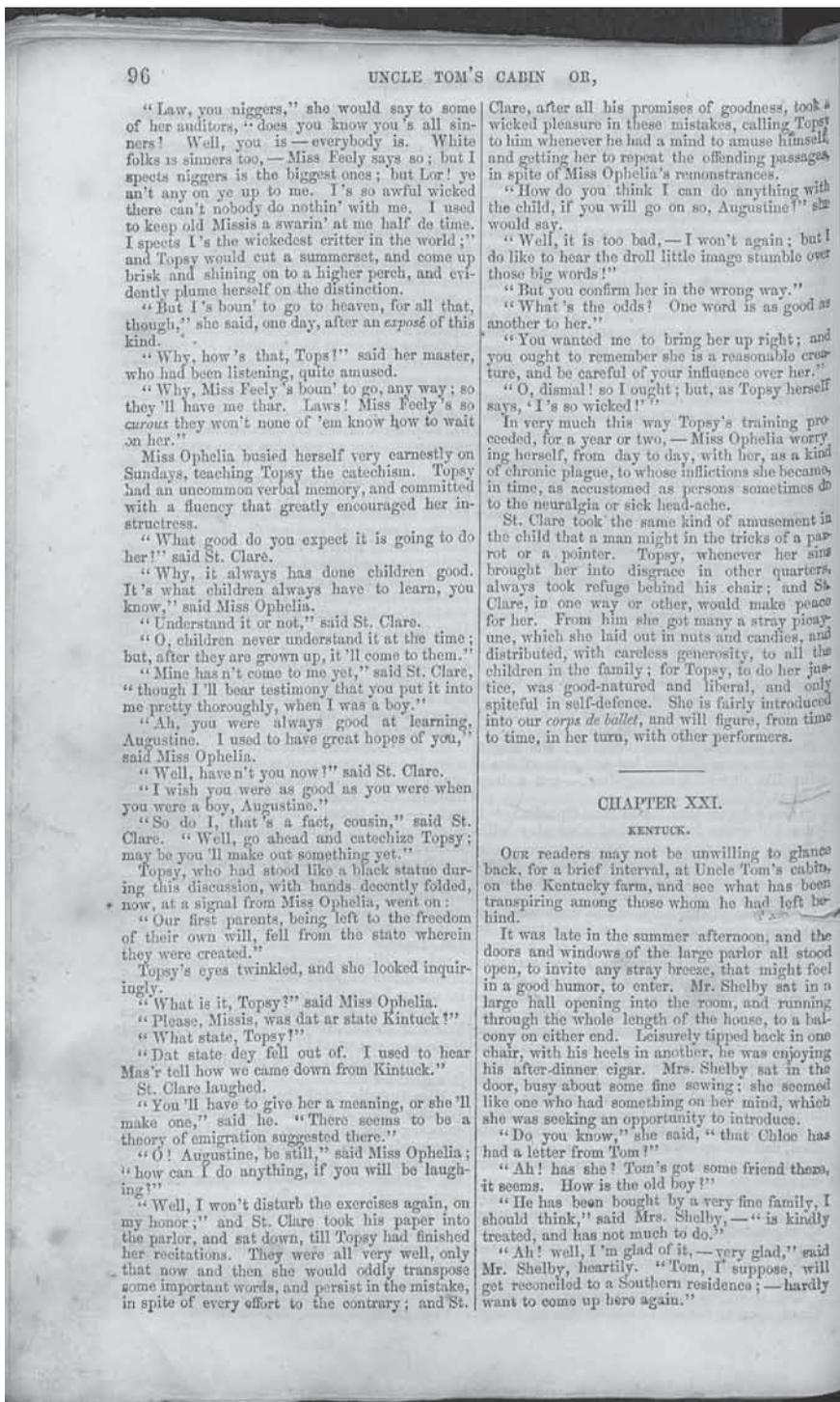


Figure 1: Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin: or, Life among the Lowly*, Million ed., (Boston: John P. Jewett; Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor, and Worthington, 1852/1853), p. 96. Original page size, 15.0 cm × 23.8 cm. Personal copy.

In this passage, Topsy too is a suggestive double for St. Clare: her unconscious (or knowing?) mockery of Ophelia's emphases echoes his. In Topsy's questionable Christian doctrine, she charts a route to heaven through temporal service to a heaven-bound mistress. Since Ophelia's path to salvation must rest on her obsessions with order and neatness, Topsy believes that her own path must depend on service to Ophelia. Topsy's doctrine, though comical, is a subversive critique of Ophelia's emphasis on procedure and rules rather than love. For readers of this edition, Topsy echoes other faulty Christian doctrine in the text, such as slave trader Haley's determination to leaven his cruelty with humanity so to gain "a better chance for comin' in the kingdom at last" and slaveholder Shelby's delusion that he might gain heaven by his wife's "superabundance of qualities to which he had no particular pretension."<sup>24</sup> This revision of Topsy, unnoticed during thirty years of intense interest in the work, is so complex that it must be attributed to the author. Furthermore, the Million edition's variants must be reviewed as potential authorial alterations of the text. Our own moment's reimagination of scholarship in digital form, when joined with the reimagination of editorial presentation along John Bryant's fluid text paradigm, offers an opportunity to reconsider what for scholars has become the "standard text" of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: presumptions about the stability of racial identity on the basis of a single text of the work are made problematic.

From my current point in "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*: A Digital Critical Edition," I can offer four recommendations for others who may consider a similar project. But before practical recommendations is a more general advisory: scholarly editing is not a hobby. The enthusiasm that begins a project must resolve into dogged determination to complete it properly and truthfully, because "scholarly editions make clear what they promise and keep their promises."<sup>25</sup>

First recommendation: Future editors should study systematically the theory, practice, and tools in the fields of bibliographical, editorial, and digital scholarship. Graduate students who would consider scholarly editing should choose an institution with a traditional or a newly prominent emphasis in these fields. Institutions that are strong in at least two of them include the University of Virginia, University of Nebraska, University of Washington, University of South Carolina, Boston University, University of Maryland, and Brown University. Scholars beyond graduate study, but without extensive experience in editorial work, should read widely from bibliographies of the field.<sup>26</sup> The study

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 28, 8.

<sup>25</sup> Committee on Scholarly Editions, "Guidelines for Editors of Scholarly Editions," Modern Language Association, [http://www.mla.org/cse\\_guidelines](http://www.mla.org/cse_guidelines).

<sup>26</sup> Dirk Van Hulle and MLA Committee on Scholarly Editions, Annotated Bibliography: Key Works in the Theory of Textual Editing, "Guidelines for Editors of Scholarly Editions," Modern Language

of editorial theory and practice should be supplemented by training in standards and technologies, such as the Text Encoding Initiative. Workshops are offered by Rare Book School, Digital Humanities Summer Institute at the University of Victoria, NINES, and Brown University's Women Writers Project.<sup>27</sup> Editors at any career stage can seek out colleagues at conferences of the Association for Documentary Editing and the Society for Textual Scholarship.

Second recommendation: As editorial and digital scholarship are collaborative, ambitious projects must be imagined to continue even in the absence of the original scholars who shaped them: reminders of editors' mortality are often found in dedicatory statements of late print volumes from large-scale projects. When a project grows larger than one scholar, seek collaborators and institutional support. Throughout this project, Natalie Raabe, my spouse, has aided in transcribing and proofreading. Over the years I have benefitted from dissertation advisors, enlisted fellow graduate students with similar interests, and established an editorial board. Les Harrison recently joined the project as a co-editor, and we are actively pursuing funding support for additional interested scholars. Institutional support is essential. As an early-career faculty member, I have benefitted from Kent State University's support through the auspices of the Institute for Bibliography and Editing, the Research Council, and the English department's program for undergraduate research assistance.

My third recommendation, which speaks to future hopes rather than past experience, is to seek out grant-based funding from organizations like the NEH and NHPRC. I will rely on more experienced colleagues and the aid of specialists in proposals and budgeting. And the final recommendation is to set deadlines, which are defined by the project's internal logic and are enforced by external factors, such as the deadlines for conference presentations, grant proposals, article submissions, and reappointment and tenure applications. A colleague reminds me periodically of Samuel Johnson's arch praise for deadlines: "when a man knows he is to be hanged in a fortnight, it concentrates his mind wonderfully."<sup>28</sup>

More generally, so not a recommendation, editorial work like all

Association, [http://www.mla.org/cse\\_guidelines](http://www.mla.org/cse_guidelines); G. Thomas Tanselle, "Introduction to Bibliography: Seminar Syllabus" and "Introduction to Scholarly Editing: Seminar Syllabus," Rare Book School, <http://www.rarebookschool.org/tanselle/>.

<sup>27</sup> Rare Book School, <http://www.rarebookschool.org>; Digital Humanities Summer Institute, University of Victoria, <http://www.dhsi.org>; NINES: Nineteenth Century Scholarship Online, <http://www.nines.org>; Women Writers Project Workshop on Text Encoding with TEI, <http://www.wwp.brown.edu/encoding/workshops>.

<sup>28</sup> James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, vol. 3, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, rev. and enl. ed., L. F. Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), p. 167.

scholarship is contingent on the state of the field. Editorial work on Stowe joins a conversation with scholars who have offered major reconsiderations of the publication history of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, of its history of illustration and visual adaptation, of revisionary response novels, and of dramatic adaptations in England and America.<sup>29</sup> The new electronic edition will focus scholarly attention on the textual forms most close to the author. At the project's current stage, the variants in the paperback edition have been reviewed but not systematically analyzed, but the 1853 illustrated edition and 1879 New Edition still remain to be closely examined. These two texts are part of the project's current work, but other potentially significant texts are likely to remain outside of the project's scope. Nineteenth-century publishing formats for the work included binding Stowe's novel with the companion *Key*, which invites us to think again about the interrelation between story and documentation.<sup>30</sup> Stowe's adaptation for dramatic reading echoes the Topsy revision in the Million edition.<sup>31</sup> And Houghton Osgood's 1879 New Edition, which reused illustrations from Nathaniel Cooke's 1853 London edition, may have a text inflected by the British reprint.<sup>32</sup> Research and work published by others has the potential to reshape the project, though options become fewer as deadlines approach.

For a work so culturally pervasive as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the nineteenth century, there can be no definitive edition. So a digital edition is the best way to address textual fluidity among the daunting proliferation of forms, especially into the future. Since scholarly interest includes the work's interaction with the larger culture, the project will be submitted to federated collections like NINES.<sup>33</sup> Our project's limitation to texts most closely associated with the author for American

<sup>29</sup> Claire Parfait, *The Publishing History of Uncle Tom's Cabin, 1852–2002* (Aldershot, Hampshire, England; Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2007); Joy Jordan-Lake, *Whitewashing Uncle Tom's Cabin: Nineteenth-Century Women Novelists Respond to Stowe* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2005); Jo-Ann Morgan, *Uncle Tom's Cabin as Visual Culture* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007); Sarah Meer, *Uncle Tom Mania: Slavery, Minstrelsy, and Transatlantic Culture in the 1850s* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005).

<sup>30</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly* [and] *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* (Boston: John P. Jewett; Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor, and Worthington, 1852/1853); *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly* [and] *A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, vol. 2, Writings of Harriet Beecher Stowe. 16 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896).

<sup>31</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The Christian Slave, A Drama. Founded on a Portion of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Dramatized by Harriet Beecher Stowe, Expressly for the Readings of Mrs. Mary E. Webb* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1855), p. 42.

<sup>32</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly; A Tale of Slave Life in America* (London: Nathaniel Cooke, 1853). On source of illustrations, see Parfait, *Publishing History*, pp. 128–29.

<sup>33</sup> NINES, <http://www.nines.org>.

publication reflects a belief that scholarship would benefit from a comprehensive effort to undermine the authority of the two-volume Jewett edition as the only authorial version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. If this project can make scholars aware that the text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is fluid, scholars with interests in any of its cultural iterations could respond to its deficiencies with their own efforts. A study of the *Key*, the *Cooke* edition, or any of the hundreds of editions—for example, another early American version, the German translation published by Jewett<sup>34</sup>—may lead another scholar to conclude that this project does not adequately represent important forms in which Stowe's work was disseminated and read. Let other scholars take up the challenge and show that the project's inadequacies demand a new editorial effort, one which *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a world cultural phenomenon—children's abridgments, theatrical and cinematic adaptations, translations, and reprints into our own day—richly deserves. But even if the author's role is not the primary concern, the work's textual fluidity, especially its role as a fundamental text for engaging concepts of race in American and European contexts from the nineteenth century into our own, can be brought into interpretive focus with the digital tools of our own and of future times.

<sup>34</sup> Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Oheim Tom's Hütte: oder, Das Leben bei den Niedrigen*, trans. Hugo Rudolph Hutten. (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1853).

# New Editorial Futures for the Past

Kenneth M. Price

Last year in her presidential address, Cathy Hajo, issued a challenge to us as members of ADE. After considering the rapidly changing nature of information, she concluded by remarking: “We publish only a tiny part of the knowledge and expertise that we gather in our work and it is time to take some chances, to try new things, and to risk some investment of time, against the chance that we can make a connection with the biggest audience that any of us will address.”<sup>1</sup> She had in mind most importantly that vast world of potential readers available to us through open access publication. She noted that if we do not engage with the new possibilities for scholarly communication we run the risk of becoming obsolete. The clear message of her talk was that ADE—comprised of leaders guiding the best practices and standards for scholarly editing—must engage with the changes in publishing and access that are reshaping human society in our time.

For both better and worse, in the early twenty-first century we *are* faced with transformations in editing. On days when it seems for the worse, it is tempting to think the actor Paul Newman was talking about editing when he said, “It’s always darkest before it turns absolutely pitch black.” Most of the time, though, I am pleased about the new directions in editing, and I am certainly optimistic about the prospects for ADE. It can be difficult to embrace change, and this organization has responded with creative adjustments to our fluid, altering circumstances, making some key decisions that should help us sustain and build on our past achievements as we move into an increasingly digital future. Two of those decisions are significant enough to deserve comment tonight: plans to renovate our journal and our pending education grant proposal to the



*Photo by Ray Smock*

<sup>1</sup> Cathy Hajo, “Scholarly Editing in a Web 2.0 World,” *Documentary Editing*, 31 (2010): 103.

National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) to assume responsibility for running the Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents, familiarly known as Camp Edit.<sup>2</sup> Both of these changes engage our association with what has been called the digital turn in the humanities, and in the final portion of these remarks I will consider what digital editing may do *to* and *for* our own individual projects in the future, how it will shape the way we organize knowledge, and how it could potentially alter for the better our professional standing.

In considering the Editing Institute, I am reminded of advice I received from my graduate school mentor: never accept a job before it's offered. The same of course can be said about grant funding. We all want to keep in mind that our education initiative is a *pending* proposal, and it is good not to build up too many expectations (much less bills!) based on grant money that has not been awarded. That said, we would be remiss as an organization if we did not think about the future possibilities opened up by the thoughtful proposal developed last spring by an ad-hoc committee. As you know, John Kaminski, Rich Leffler, and Michael Stevens, most notably, and many others as well, contributed to a successful editing institute held at Wisconsin since 1978. The aim of our proposal is to extend the outreach of this program and ADE generally to new constituencies and to develop specialized workshops for more experienced editors. A major goal of adjustments to the Editing Institute is to increase our membership. This point is key because the demographics of our organization are not favorable. With numerous retirements approaching, we will need to revitalize—and perhaps to some degree reorient—the organization in order for it to thrive in the future. The grant proposal would fund a part-time education director who will be charged with devising an institute and an annual workshop beneficial to both new and seasoned editors. Conversations with Kathleen Williams and others at the NHPRC have helped us consider new strategies to increase the impact of our Editing Institute and reap benefits for our members. An intriguing possibility emerged through our discussions: to run the Institute so that it is contiguous with the annual meeting. We realized that there would be some advantages in linking the Institute and the conference. Travel could be combined for both instructors and students producing a significant cost savings. In addition, attendance at the national meeting could be built into the funding and expectations for the

<sup>2</sup> Some weeks after the delivery of this presidential address, the National Historical Publications and Records Commission awarded the ADE \$250,000 over three years to enable the organization to run the summer editing institute along with advanced workshops.

Institute. Doing so would allow nearly two dozen new editors to get to know our organization and—well, frankly, we hope they fall in love! Seriously, we hope that hearing good papers and interacting with junior and senior people who share their intellectual interests will encourage them to remain members of ADE well into the future. It is important that we think in creative ways about educating new and established members about how to succeed in a rapidly changing editing and publishing landscape. The grant proposal includes a continuing education dimension (with topics varying year to year treating a range of matters such as metadata and text encoding, project management, and grant writing).

We faced an immediate practical problem with this plan. Linking the conference and the Institute, even if we compressed the Institute schedule slightly, meant an extended commitment for attendees of both events. Given that many people we would like to attend or to serve as instructors at the Institute are tied to the academic calendar, we concluded that taking a week off from other responsibilities in the fall, the traditional time of the ADE conference, might not please our colleagues at our home institutions. The ad-hoc committee was not certain how the membership would feel about moving the conference to the summer, when the Institute has been held. And of course none of our planning would make any sense if we moved the annual meeting time to the summer only to discover that the general membership wanted no part of such a plan, under any circumstance. So we took the question to the members, asking whether moving the conference would be worthwhile, if in doing so we could gain the advantages of cost savings, a likely increase in membership, and opportunities for continuing education. Remarkably, 96% of the membership voted in favor of moving the conference time if the grant application proves to be successful. Now we need to hope that the proposal is approved and that the consequences we anticipate come to pass.

### **Documentary Editing / Scholarly Editing**

Just as interesting—and promising, in my view—is what is happening with the association's journal. *Documentary Editing* has served the association well since 1979 as a print journal, but it has run into the familiar problems of a print journal with a limited circulation and ever-increasing costs for paper, printing, and mailing. There have also been problems in having a lack of continuity in the position of editor. The association owes many thanks to the publications committee, and in particular to Ron Bosco and Rich Leffler for their recent work as co-editors. Bosco and Leffler agreed to serve for two years, and with time slipping away we needed new leadership. Luckily Amanda Gailey and Andrew Jewell stepped forward with a plan to succeed them in editing the journal. Essentially, they proposed an open access online journal that could reach a much

larger audience. Gailey and Jewell plan to continue with all of the content that people are accustomed to in our journal, but they also will add a new feature by making available space for small-scale peer-reviewed digital editions. This development holds promise of promoting both editing and the accompanying analysis of the text. As we know, peer review is not as well established for digital publication as it is for print, and by providing a venue for peer reviewed digital editing the ADE is taking not a responsive but a proactive role in helping to advance editing in a medium with an extraordinary power to enrich the work we do. It is precisely because some of the problems associated with digital scholarship have yet to be resolved that our organization should be working in this area. One of the key intellectual tasks of our generation, it seems to me, is to harness the power of the electronic medium.

The Publications Committee and the Council of ADE accepted this proposal to begin with the 2012 issue. Jewell and Gailey, editors respectively of the *Willa Cather Archive* and *Children of the Sun: Race and the Making of American Childhood*, have a deep commitment to this undertaking, and they have gained institutional support from the Center for Digital Research in the Humanities at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, which will help with such matters as design, long-term sustainability of the documents, and search functionality.

Early reactions to this initiative have been encouraging. Frances Whistler, writing last year as Assistant Director of the Editorial Institute at Boston University, sent an unsolicited letter saying how valuable having this outlet would be for her students and for the editing community generally. She noted how she often becomes aware “of excellent student work for which there is not necessarily a prospect of book publication. Sometimes this is directly the result of the relatively small scale of the work. . . . I shall look forward eagerly to learning more about this valuable development.”<sup>3</sup>

Other signs have been promising as well. The initial call for papers and editions yielded numerous strong proposals, and, significantly, most were from scholars not previously associated with ADE. People want the opportunities our new publication will offer, and they see the value of our organization. The new thrust of the journal may open our organization to a new group of potential members—digital humanists interested in editing. The fact that our new editors are both literary scholars may help us attract more members from that side of our organization (increasing the number of literary editors has seemed possible for years, though such growth has been slow in coming). The new editorial team is thus well positioned to cultivate new audiences while continuing to serve

<sup>3</sup> Email message from Frances Whistler to Jennifer Stertzer, April 14, 2010, quoted with permission.

familiar ones as well. Incidentally, the journal will also undergo a name change from *Documentary Editing* to *Scholarly Editing: The Annual of the Association for Documentary Editing*. The editors hope that the new name will signal an openness to a variety of editorial approaches, even as it cues some readers that this journal is not the place to look for an essay on Ken Burns and filmmaking.

I hope that I have shown how ADE has begun to meet the challenges Cathy Hajo posed to us last year. I would like to conclude by issuing a challenge of my own, less to the organization per se, and more to how we conceive of our own research. Much could be said, but in the interest of brevity let me confine myself to a single thread, one that is consistent with points made in Ann Gordon's illuminating article in *Documentary Editing*, "Experiencing Women's History as a Documentary Editor." She points out that "Historical editions that we recognize as women's history take the form, primarily, of the papers of individual women."<sup>4</sup> Of course there was nothing inevitable about that. When the NHPRC decided to include women's history in its publications program, one of the early examples of a completed edition was not of a solitary figure but instead of the *Papers of the Women's Trade Union League*. "The Trade Union League, based in New York City and Chicago in the early twentieth century, built alliances between working-class, often immigrant, women in factory jobs and upper-class progressive women for the purposes of resisting exploitation, organizing unions, and fighting for safety in the workplace."<sup>5</sup> Few people followed the pattern set by the editors of the League's papers. Rather, the monumental scholarly edition, centered on a single great figure dominates our work. Much of my own work fits this pattern, too, since I have spent the last fifteen years as co-editor of the *Walt Whitman Archive* editing the writings of a single figure.

Still, like Ann Gordon, I see great possibilities in the future in what are now less common approaches to editing. Our focus on canonical writers and major political leaders runs counter to an ongoing revisionist trend in American literary study and history: as we know, in literary studies the standing of the "author" has been questioned, cultural studies has flourished, and the canon has dramatically expanded, while in history a bottom-up view of change and significance has led in recent decades to an emphasis on social history (and of course a de-emphasis on "great men"). In these circumstances, much of the editing we do can appear to outsiders as stodgy. Further complicating matters, as editors we can feel torn by the differing priorities of two groups from whom

<sup>4</sup> Ann D. Gordon, "Experiencing Women's History as a Documentary Editor," *Documentary Editing*, 31 (2010), 1.

<sup>5</sup> Gordon, 1.

we often seek support: our colleagues in the disciplines of literary and historical study who tend to support experimentation in methodology (except when it comes to technology) and funding agencies who tend to support mainstream topics the “significance” of which goes without saying (even as they endorse the use of new technologies in editorial work).

Electronic editing would, in fact, be more congruent with recent developments in the humanities disciplines generally if it were to evolve away from solely writer-based approaches to accommodate topic-based approaches that employ a tightly integrated combination of collecting, editing, interpreting, and tool building. We might even end up producing scholarship that could restore the standing of editing in English and History departments, whose faculty, paradoxically, often use and admire scholarly editions even while they are unwilling to hire, tenure, or promote a scholar who produces that work. The type of enhanced editing I am imagining could help realize a potentiality in scope and expressiveness now available to editors and result in work so useful and enlightening that they could once again thrive in academic departments where they must explain themselves, vie for internal funding, seek promotions, and otherwise survive.

My thinking on a set of interrelated issues—what is it we should be editing? how should we go about it? how should we fund it? how should we position it within the disciplines?—is shaped by involvement in both the *Walt Whitman Archive* and a second digital project, titled *Civil War Washington*. The two projects differ in many ways. The *Walt Whitman Archive* is far along in its development, generously funded, and has a clear plan of development. *Civil War Washington*, in contrast, is just getting started, has had to struggle for funding, and has a less obvious trajectory. Of the two, the *Whitman Archive*, begun in 1995, more closely resembles a traditional print edition at least partly because of the time at which it came into being. *Civil War Washington*, begun in 2006, is less like a print edition for the same reason. Both projects take part in a broader movement in our time that strives to stretch, remake, and revitalize what editing can mean, and they also illustrate some of the challenges editors will need to address in the coming decades.

Many of you heard papers about one aspect of the work of the *Whitman Archive* yesterday—our work on the correspondence. The correspondence is added to our other work treating Whitman’s published poetry, prose, reviews of his writing, translations, bibliography, teaching materials and so forth. In addition to further broadening the range of materials we edit, we have been devoting more thought recently to the ways that we can enhance intellectual access to Whitman, his writings, and the world he moved in. We are assessing what new types of contextualization might mean for the infrastructure, usability, function, and the look and feel of the *Archive*, as well as for the distinctions

between text, context, and commentary. One of the questions we have asked is: What would be the effects of prioritizing geography in the organization and analysis of his works? We would like to study and present Whitman as a city poet. He once said that *Leaves of Grass* “arose out of his life in Brooklyn and New York from 1838 to 1853, absorbing a million people, for fifteen years with an intimacy, an eagerness, an abandon, probably never equaled.”<sup>6</sup> A lifelong city-dweller, his work also emerged out of New Orleans, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia/Camden. To consider such questions is to reexamine our scholarly methodology and perhaps the definition of an edition. In short, what happens—what is obscured and what is clarified—when tracing a writer’s movements through time and space is afforded as much attention as tracing the textual variants in his or her texts? These questions are not the kind traditionally addressed by printed scholarly editions, but that may be because the print apparatus could not accommodate them.<sup>7</sup>

If ADE members undertake to address such questions, we will be challenged to build strong connections between the texts we care about and other bodies of knowledge. And if we make those connections well enough, we can also strengthen our connections to our non-editing colleagues in the academy as well as in the larger world beyond the academy. In doing so, the stock of editors can only rise.

Because of work conducted since the 1950s we have become comfortable in knowing what an edition should look like and how it should function. The first digital editing projects have not reconsidered the edition as dramatically as they might have, in part because simply moving materials online, publishing more materials, and making them searchable were tremendous advances on their own. Now we can see that there is so much more we can do, but it is going to take some experimentation and a willingness to rethink how we define editing and the edition. What we end up making may sometimes look foreign and may even go by names other than edition—archive, thematic research collection, database are terms that all come to mind. But if we can build these new intellectual constructs with the care, rigor, and good judgment in selection that characterizes the best editing, we will create scholarly contributions that carry their own justification. ADE and the field of editing are positioned to help usher in the changing scholarly forms of the future.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in David S. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman’s America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1995), p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> Some of the ideas in this paragraph and the preceding one first appeared in “Civil War Washington, the *Walt Whitman Archive*, and Some Present Editorial Challenges and Future Possibilities,” in *Online Humanities Scholarship: The Shape of Things to Come*, ed. Jerome McGann (Houston: Rice University Press, 2010), pp. 287–309. This essay is also freely available online at [www.whitmanarchive.org/about/articles/P5/anc.00550.html#rn7](http://www.whitmanarchive.org/about/articles/P5/anc.00550.html#rn7)

**The Lion in Winter**

*Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Volume VIII: Letters and Social Aims.*

Edited by Ronald A. Bosco, Glen M. Johnson, and Joel Myerson. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010. cclxxiv + 397 pp. ISBN 0674035607. \$95.00.

Richard Deming

The recent publication by Harvard University Press of Ralph Waldo Emerson's *Letters and Social Aims*, Volume VIII of the *Collected Works*, is in many ways the most important contribution of this ongoing project, which presents scholarly editions of one of America's most central literary and philosophical figures. Among all of Emerson's books, *Letters and Social Aims* is without a doubt the most vexed in terms of textual questions, coming as it did so late in his life and at the dimming of his powers. However, the volume also represents some of the finest, most necessary thinking of this shaper of American ideas and ideals, reminding us just how crucial it is to have authoritative editions of his entire output in print. To read Emerson closely is to trace the grain of American thought and so it is crucial to have texts that represent those ideas and ideals as authentically as possible.

*Letters and Social Aims* originally appeared in December of 1875, six years before Emerson's death. Emerson, as one of America's most important, most enduring thinkers and writers, has become a major force in intellectual history—influencing not only nineteenth-century figures from Walt Whitman to Thomas Carlyle and Friedrich Nietzsche, but also twentieth-century thinkers such as John Dewey, Harold Bloom, and Stanley Cavell. During the last decade of his life, however, Emerson had already begun what his daughter Ellen Tucker Emerson would refer to as his “descent.” While his reputation was as strong as it would ever be, beginning in the early 1870s, Emerson's energy, his memory, and especially his vaunted concentration and intensity became increasingly diffuse, so much so that as the great master's resources and output dwindled apace, Ellen took more and more of a role in facilitating her father's writing and editing process.

The assembling of *Parnassus* (1875), an anthology of poems that Emerson began in the 1850s and in the early 1870s negotiated a contract to edit, seemed to be a task that left the poet and cultural critic intellectually drained; his recovery was so slow that his daughter Edith Emerson Forbes largely took over the obligation, though her father's name remained on the title page. But evidence of Emerson's problems to create at the level he had once maintained started earlier than that. Beginning in 1870, upon the invitation of Harvard's president, Charles W. Norton, Emerson began delivering a course of lectures entitled “Natural History of the Intellect” at the university. These talks profoundly exhausted the

master lecturer at every level of his being, as he came again and again to confront the newfound limitations age placed on his abilities to articulate his thinking. His stamina failed, his memory faltered, and he was plagued at every turn by an almost debilitating self-doubt. Yet, no event was as catastrophic and traumatic as the virtually complete destruction by fire of his home in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1872. Soon after this horrendous event, occurring when he was 69 and already showing signs of failing health and mental impairment, Emerson collapsed physically and emotionally. Arguably, he never really recovered.

There would have been no *Letters and Social Aims* if Emerson had not been more or less forced into action by an English publisher, John Camden Hotten, who in 1870 began to plan the production of a British edition collecting some of Emerson's then as yet fugitive essays. Emerson was only able to block Hotten's efforts by promising to undertake the assembling of such a collection himself, though it would be Chatto and Windus that, because of Hotten's death in the intervening years, would actually publish the book when it was completed. Although when the time came to undertake the work, Emerson became too disheartened to face the project himself and so the editing all but halted for years. Whereas previously he had held an active, involved relationship to the appearance of his work, Emerson adopted an abstracted attitude to this collection of essays. Ellen, her brother, Edward Waldo Emerson, and James Elliot Cabot, Emerson's literary executor, all stepped forward to undertake the completion of the volume in order to fulfill Emerson's contractual obligation. Collaboratively, these three assembled the eleven essays that make up *Letters and Social Aims*. The diminishment of Emerson's faculties certainly contributed to his sense of emotional distance from the volume of essays, but since the others were called in to shape the various pieces as well as the book as a whole, it is very likely that his proprietary sense of authorship of these texts withdrew all the more because of his attenuated participation. Ralph L. Rusk, an important mid-twentieth-century biographer of Emerson, went as far as to argue Emerson was so removed from the process of readying the pieces for the collection that "*Letters and Social Aims* was almost posthumous," and for that reason there arose ethical questions about attributing the essays wholly to Emerson, with Rusk comparing the textual negotiations to the task Hegel's editors faced of bringing some sort of order to Hegel's confused manuscript notes on the history of philosophy.<sup>1</sup>

Cabot and the younger Emersons did not simply select the essays to be included in the 1875 collection; they also worked at crafting many of the essays themselves—striking out repetitions, forging links and transitions between

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York: Scribner's, 1949), p. 487.

paragraphs and across various sections, making choices among the various possible versions that Emerson's drafts in journal and lecture manuscripts offered. In the books Emerson had published prior to *Letters and Social Aims*, such editorial input even from his publishers was less than necessary. In general, Emerson was an extremely careful, thoughtful writer and so editorial intrusions and insertions (beyond copyediting and correction) had been minimal in the essays he had produced in the past. Emerson's care is evident even in his drafting process, which, in a sense, occurred very much in the public eye. Often, Emerson, who made most of his income by working the lecture circuits, would hone and revise his essays through the course of his public talks. The audience reactions would signal to him sections that seemed too abstruse or simply lacking the necessary intensity that he sought to achieve in all his work. "Poetry and Imagination" is an example of a piece that had been evolving since the 1850s as he gave versions and variations of this essay in several lecture series as late as 1870, each time winnowing or expanding based on his sense of how the material worked before the audiences that gathered to hear what we would now refer to as America's first important public intellectual. It was Emerson's usual practice to compile his notes from these various versions of his lectures in order to fashion the essay that he would then see into print. Moreover, he would draw from journals and notebooks that he kept over the years, making use of sentences and passages that sounded apt or fitting within the new context of an essay. This explains the verbatim or near-verbatim passages that appear in multiple essays. Clearly, Emerson thought in terms of musicality and conceptual effect when he was composing his essays, rather than simply trying to present a discursive, argumentative structure.

When outside editors are called upon to fashion a viable, cohesive text for a dead—or even a living—writer, the question of authorship becomes quite knotted, of course. A contemporary reader might read with a skeptical eye, wary lest he or she be "tricked" by an inauthentic thought or bowdlerized claim, concerned about putting weight on a line or passage that cannot be ascribed with certainty to the author rather than the editor or amanuensis. There even arise certain ethical concerns about assigning an author's name to that which may not be entirely the author's work. As Emerson himself once stated in "The Poet," an essay from the 1840s, "Words are also actions, and actions are a kind of words."<sup>2</sup> Because words are deeds and these have implications, it is crucial, imperative even, to get the words right. The more closely people read these late essays of

<sup>2</sup> "The Poet," in *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Vol III: Essays: Second Series*, edited by Joseph Slater, Alfred R. Ferguson, and Jean Ferguson Carr (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 6.

Emerson's and construct concepts from what is found there, the more necessary it is to be sure of the veracity of the texts themselves.

Given the questions around the "purity" of the text's composition, and because the book represents such late work by Emerson, it might be tempting to see *Letters and Social Aims* as simply a coda to such an important body of work, as a postscript that is merely historically relevant rather than conceptually or philosophically significant. If it were not for the fact that two of Emerson's most powerful essays—"Poetry and Imagination" and "Quotation and Originality"—appear in the collection, *Letters and Social Aims* might be well overlooked. These two pieces, though perhaps not as well known or as foundational as, say, "Self-Reliance" or "Experience," are as complex and compelling as anything Emerson wrote in his career. Moreover, these two essays seem only to be increasing in their importance as more and more critics, scholars, philosophers, and theorists—from Sharon Cameron, Joan Richardson, and P. Adams Sitney to younger scholars such as John Lysaker, Maurice Lee, and myself—plumb these texts for what they can tell us about Emerson's arguments tying together language and the construction of our sense of daily reality. "In proportion as a man's life comes into union with truth," Emerson writes, "his thoughts approach to a parallelism with the currents of natural laws, so that he easily expresses his meaning by natural symbols, or uses the ecstatic or poetic speech. By successive states of mind all the facts of nature are for the first time interpreted."<sup>3</sup> This passage shows Emerson's thought in all its representative nuance and complexity. It is Emerson's ongoing contention that the book of life—and it is a book insofar as it must be read and interpreted—is revealed by and within the details of the mind's search for meaning among particulars. This might be Emerson in decline, but let us not forget that, even so, Emerson's insights into how human beings discover that Nature and human nature are intertwined, not only spiritually but epistemologically, are unparalleled.

Without a doubt, Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson are the two most important, most exacting textual scholars Emerson's oeuvre has had. Because of their dazzling meticulousness, it is unlikely that there will ever be any serious need for future scholars to revisit and revise the work they have done thus far, which ultimately is a level of achievement that most textual scholars aim to accomplish. This is what some might call *trust*. In this volume, Glen M. Johnson joins Bosco and Myerson and provides the extensive notes appended to the book. In their desire to present the text as closely to Emerson's authorial intents as possible, Bosco, Myerson, and Johnson keep their apparatus at the edges, with

<sup>3</sup> "Poetry and Imagination," in *Letters and Social Aims*, p. 39.

the notes and editorial efforts appearing before and after the main body of essays. A reader is allowed, therefore, to trace the variations and emendations if he or she so desires, but the text also is allowed to stand forth on its own so that a reader can grapple with Emerson's prose directly, without having to glimpse it through scholarly scaffolding, a feature that has been consistent throughout the various volumes of the *Collected Works*. In this, the editors and publisher (and Bosco has been serving as the project's general editor for almost ten years) make clear that their dedication is to facilitating a more or less direct experience of reading one of America's finest minds, even if in these essays that mind is in decline.

Both Bosco and Myerson contribute lengthy and detailed essays that serve to establish the context and conditions within which the volume was written and assembled. In the historical introduction—a more than two-hundred-page, comprehensive, illuminating biographical piece focused upon Emerson's final decade—Bosco describes the years surrounding the compilation of *Letters and Social Aims*, recounting the twilight of Emerson's life and its impact on various projects. He presents a persuasive, provocative argument that Emerson's abilities begin to decline in the late 1860s rather than in 1872 as a response to the crisis of losing his house, which traditionally is where scholars and biographers signal the beginning of the end. Bosco cites the death of certain members of Emerson's family and the fact that he was professionally overtaxing himself as being not the causes but at least factors that hastened a form of senility that might today be diagnosed as Alzheimer's. Bosco's extensive research in primary and secondary materials, correspondence, and journals fashion a full and provocative portrait of the ways that Emerson's offspring and his literary executor all helped keep the Emerson intellectual industry in place even as the master's gifts failed him.

Since four of the essays had appeared previously in journals such as *The Dial* and *North American Review*, not everything included in *Letters and Social Aims* has a fraught and somewhat unstable history. Versions of "Persian Poetry," "Quotation and Originality," "The Comic," and "The Progress of Culture," all were available before being collected in this collection, Emerson's last major book. The rest had not only never been in print, they were composed from manuscript sources that covered an expanse of, in some cases, decades. That there was so much general sculpting of the essays of *Letters and Social Aims*—since what Cabot and the Emersons undertook was something more than mere editing—means that Bosco, Myerson, and Johnson have had to be extremely comprehensive in their research in order to discern as much as possible where hands other than Emerson's were shaping the texts of the essays both in the editing of the first edition and in subsequent reprintings. The result of their endeavors is that this new scholarly version published by Harvard/Belknap represents an edition not only authoritative; we might even call it *authorial*.

Although *Letters and Social Aims* first reappeared after Emerson's death as part of the Riverside edition of Emerson's collected works, edited by Cabot, and then once again as the Centenary edition, edited by Edward Emerson, this new scholarly version will be the definitive one. Both of the earlier series of Emerson's collected works amended accidentals and attempted to make Emerson's coherent but idiosyncratic choices of diction, spelling, and punctuation much more contemporary through certain forms of editorial modernizing and regularizing of the source texts. Edward depended largely on the versions of the essays Cabot had settled upon to make his own emendations and corrections, thereby compounding the drift from Emerson's intentions. While the Centenary edition includes crucial notes and commentary by Edward himself, his textual scholarship was neither as complete nor as rigorous as what Bosco, Myerson, and Johnson have supplied in this new edition. For instance, this new edition of *Letters and Social Aims* includes an appendix cataloguing the instances of parallel passages that appear elsewhere in Emerson's oeuvre. That way, the editors have made it possible for a reader to trace the weave of Emerson's thinking not only within this volume but across his body of work.

Emerson's own insistence on reading as a means for contemplating the world and the self becomes the impetus for textual scholarship of the kind Bosco, Myerson, and Johnson have undertaken. Indeed, their dedication and attention to details both historical and textual testify to how seriously the editors have taken Emerson's sense of responsibility to language and these legible acts of choice and interpretation inherent in words and meanings. "In the highest civilization, the book is still the highest delight. He who has once known its satisfactions, is provided with a resource against calamity."<sup>4</sup> Whether we agree or disagree with Emerson's theories and philosophies, editing of this caliber and acumen is itself a resource against calamity, insuring that when the conversations begin, the ground for thought is surefooted.

<sup>4</sup>"Quotation and Originality," in *Letters and Social Aims*, p. 93.

**Willa Cather's Many-Colored Medusa of Art**

*Youth and the Bright Medusa*. Willa Cather. Historical Essay and Explanatory Notes by Mark J. Madigan. Textual Essay and Editing by Frederick M. Link, Charles W. Mignon, Judith Boss, and Kari A. Ronning. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Willa Cather Scholarly Edition Series. 2009. 646 pp. 25 illustrations. ISBN 978-0-8032-1754-6. \$80.00.

## Nancee Reeves

Willa Cather was notoriously picky not only about the excellence of her writing, but also about how those words would be presented to the public. She involved herself in every step of the publishing process: paper stock, font, margins, illustrations, ink color, cover, and wrapper design. To Cather, reading was an immersive activity, one that should be tactile and aesthetically pleasing, as well as emotionally and intellectually stimulating. She believed that “a book’s physical form influenced its relationship with a reader” (ix). She would hate today’s practice of cramming her most well-known works together in one unwieldy volume printed on thin paper with nonexistent margins.

The latest edition to the Willa Cather Scholarly Edition series, *Youth and the Bright Medusa*, is a monument to Cather’s own standards of excellence. The thick paper stock is warm and creamy—the kind of paper that feels smooth and comforting to fingers well used to thumbing the cheap texts that are so common today. The type is large and dark, and the wide margins showcase the text while filling the consummate note-taker’s heart with joy. As the series general editors, Susan J. Rosowski and Guy J. Reynolds, point out in the preface, “[g]iven Cather’s explicitly stated intentions for her works, printing and publishing decisions that disregard her wishes represent their own form of corruption, and an authoritative edition of Cather must go beyond the sequence of the words and punctuation to include other matters” (ix–x). The book itself is lovely, warm, and inviting—all that Cather herself could have wished.

The attention to detail that we see in the physical presentation of the book is a good indication of what is to come. Cather was an accomplished and well-practiced editor, and she used her skills on her own writing, making a thoroughly researched textual apparatus indispensable if a reader wishes to understand her creative process and her true intentions. She also wrote untiringly about her own life, as well as the trials and tribulations of those few dear people close to her, making historical essays, research, and explanatory notes critical to a literary scholar. Combining all these elements, The Willa Cather Scholarly Editions are a study in both literary scholarship and textual scholarship—two fields that are usually studied separately, but which greatly profit from a graceful commingling.

Perhaps more than most of Cather’s works, *Youth and the Bright Medusa* benefits significantly from both a textual and literary treatment. All eight stories

in the collection deal with artistic longing, the management of a creative gift, and the high cost of artistic success—themes explored and brooded over by Cather throughout her long career. They are also unique in that four of the stories were originally published in *The Troll Garden* (1905), and the other four came from contemporaneous magazine publications. None of Cather's other short story collections were comprised of stories previously published in other books, making *Youth and the Bright Medusa* one of Cather's most heavily edited collections. All of the stories were reedited by Cather before being republished, undergoing many substantive changes. For the first time, these stories are presented with complete historical backgrounds and a textual apparatus that show how the stories changed through many drafts and subsequent publications. By studying the stories first historically and then textually, the reader is able to understand not only how and why the works were originally conceived, but also how Cather changed as both an artist and a person.

The eight stories in this scholarly edition are presented as they originally appeared in the first U.S. edition of *Youth and the Bright Medusa*, published in 1920 by Alfred A. Knopf. The pages are clean and unmarred by any sort of textual apparatus—even the endnotes are listed by page, so no unnecessary numbering distracts readers from the stories. This conforms to the series' aim to produce a "critical text faithful to [Cather's] intentions as she prepared it for the first edition" (vii). The historical essays, explanatory notes, and extensive textual apparatus appear after all the stories have been presented. This certainly allows the reader to enjoy the stories on a visceral level that is not always possible in scholarly editions. However, most readers of this edition will be using it for scholarly purposes rather than for entertainment purposes. And for this, the edition may be inconvenient. While the editors should be applauded for their efforts to present an authentic and historically accurate base text, readers may find that they spend a good deal of time flipping back and forth between the story and the explanatory notes, as well as reading the part of the historical essay that deals with the story they had just finished (while it is fresh in their mind), rather than wait until all eight stories have been consumed.

However, despite the cumbersome nature of the book's setup, the editors are justified in their assertion that this edition "is distinctive in the comprehensiveness of its apparatus, especially in its inclusion of extensive explanatory information that illuminates the fiction of a writer who drew so extensively upon actual experiences, as well as the full textual information we have come to expect in a modern critical edition" (vii). As shown by the historical essay and explanatory notes, written by Mark J. Madigan, Cather was a writer who drew strongly on her own life and the lives that surrounded her for inspiration and insight. Madigan has broken down the historical essay into sections, so the reader can, after a general introduction, read about the historical

construction of each story. Cather was notoriously private, destroying personal letters and even including a stipulation in her will that forbade the publication of her private papers. However, through publisher's records and letters, interviews with friends, memoirs of contemporaries, and detective work, a strong historical background is available for each story in the collection.

It is fascinating to see how deftly Cather blended fact and fiction, plucking characters wholesale from her personal life and making use of their talents and foibles for her own ends. It is especially interesting to see how Cather interwove the careers, personal lives, and personalities of the opera singers of her time to produce fully realized characters such as Eden Bower from "Coming, Aphrodite!" and Kitty Ayrshire from "A Golden Slipper" and "Scandal." However, by far the most original and fascinating contribution to Madigan's historical essay is the story behind "Paul's Case."

It has long been established that Cather drew on students from her teaching days to construct Paul, a young man willing to sacrifice his life for a few weeks' escape from the "colorless mass of every-day existence" (209). However, by examining newspaper articles and wading through factual errors introduced by earlier Cather biographers and critics, Madigan is able to show for the first time how Cather drew extensively from a case that mirrors that of the fictional Paul. A photograph that ran along with the news stories also strongly suggests that Cather modeled her character's personal appearance after that of his doppelganger. It is rare and fine to see this level of historical research done for a scholarly edition.

The historical essay also gives valuable insight into the motives that often pushed Cather to produce her work. The most stinging example is the background of "The Sculptor's Funeral," a story that closely mirrors the funeral of Pittsburgh-born artist Charles Stanley Reinhart. While mourned by the artistic community, in his hometown he was counted a man who "never amounted to much," which led Cather to conclude, "I never knew the emptiness of fame until I went to the great man's funeral. I never knew how entirely one must live and die alone until that day when they brought Stanley Reinhart home" (330). If it is possible to have an overarching theme or moral to all the stories contained in *Youth and the Bright Medusa*, Cather's comment on Reinhart's funeral is it.

Madigan's historical essay is followed by pictures that elaborate on his analysis. Many are of interest, such as a facsimile of a page from the first draft of "Coming, Aphrodite!" and the newspaper photo of James J. Wilson, the prototype for Paul, while others are less so, such as generic pictures of opera halls and hotels that are briefly mentioned in various stories. The explanatory notes that follow suffer from the same unevenness. A history and explanation of the title "Coming, Aphrodite!" is valuable to a full understanding of the story,

but most readers do not need to be told what a Boston bull terrier or a lilac is. However, as this is common practice for scholarly and critical editions, it is easy to forgive.

As mentioned before, many of the stories in *Youth and the Bright Medusa* have a long and tattered history. After outlining their methods (which follow the guiding practices of the Modern Language Association's Committee for Scholarly Editions), the editors give a complete but succinct publication history for each of the eight stories. This is followed by a printing history, which details the significant changes made to three American editions and the first British edition, as well as the part Cather played in the book's entire publishing and printing history. The essay then takes up each story in turn, following it from manuscript (when available), to magazine, to *The Troll Garden*, to the copy-text. All together, there are twenty-seven source documents for the texts of the eight stories.

As with the historical essay, the textual essay's convention of breaking down the stories into parts makes it easier for a reader to concentrate on a story that is of particular interest. While many of the textual changes are accidentals or typographical (interesting in themselves for the level of perfection and control Cather asserted over her writing), some of the stories have interesting and telling substantive changes. For example, Cather's story based on the life of her music-loving Aunt Georgiana, "A Wagner Matinée," has 130 substantive changes. The majority of these changes were made to appease family and friends who "felt insulted by her thinly veiled characterization of the 'pathetic and grotesque' Aunt Georgiana and the hard depiction of pioneer life" (328).

Even more interesting, "Coming, Aphrodite!" has over three hundred variations between the magazine text and the text that appeared in *Youth and the Bright Medusa*. Short on money at the time of its initial publication, Cather bowed to pressure from the Society for the Suppression of Vice and allowed her story to be bowdlerized as the only means of getting it published in a magazine—she was even required to change the title to "Coming, Eden Bower!" In this version Eden does not dance "wholly unclad," but instead cavorts in a "pink chiffon cloud." This was perhaps not the hardship it appears, as Cather knew the story would be published, in *Youth and the Bright Medusa*, in its original form later that same year.

The detailed textual essay is followed by a list of emendations and a table of rejected substantive variants that show the changes between the copy-text and every other text available for each story. A reader would be hard-pressed to wish for a more thorough textual examination of this tenth volume of the Cather Scholarly Edition and Cather's seventh book and her second volume of short stories. However, the genius of this series is not in its thoroughness (no matter

how much that is appreciated), but in the skillful and dedicated way the editors have crafted a successful work of textual and literary scholarship. Not only does it make for a more interesting read, it is also an invaluable asset to scholars looking for a well-rounded, complete study of Willa Cather's writing. Nothing is left out, nothing is wanting.

# Recent Editions

Compiled by W. Bland Whitley

This annual bibliography of documentary editions recently published in the fields of American and British history, literature, and culture is generally restricted to scholarly first editions of English-language works. In addition to the bibliographical references, Internet addresses are provided for the editorial project or the publisher.

ADAMS FAMILY. *The Papers of John Adams, Volume 15: June 1783–January 1784*. Edited by Gregg L. Lint, C. James Taylor, Robert F. Karachuk, Hobson Woodward, Margaret A. Hogan, Sara B. Silkes, Mary T. Claffey, and Karen N. Barzilay. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2010. 608 pp. \$105. ISBN: 9780674051232. This volume covers a critical period in Adams's diplomatic career, during which he, along with Benjamin Franklin and John Jay, finalized the Peace Treaty with Great Britain. The volume also follows Adams on a perilous journey to the Netherlands, where he secured a loan that helped save the new American nation from financial disaster.

<http://www.adamspapers.org>

AMERICAN SOUTH. *See* BROUGHTON, VIRGINIA E. WALKER; LEGARE, JOHN GIRARDEAU; TAYLOR, ANNE HEYWARD.

AUDEN, W. H. *The Complete Works of W. H. Auden: Prose, Volume 4, 1956–1962*. Edited by Edward Mendelson. Princeton University Press. 2010. 1056 pp. \$65. ISBN: 9780691147550. This fourth volume of W. H. Auden's prose provides a unique picture of the writer's mind and art when he was at the height of his powers, including the years when he was Professor of Poetry at Oxford. The volume includes his best-known and most-important prose collection, *The Dyer's Hand*, as well as scores of essays, reviews, and lectures on subjects ranging from J. R. R. Tolkien and Martin Luther to psychedelic drugs, cooking, and Homer. Much of the material has never been collected in book form, and some selections, such as the witty orations Auden wrote for ceremonies at Oxford University, are almost entirely unknown.

<http://press.princeton.edu>

BALLADS. *The Glenbuchat Ballads*. Edited by David Buchan and James Moreira. University Press of Mississippi. 2010. 304 pp. \$60. ISBN: 9781578069729. Collected and compiled by the Reverend Robert Scott in Glenbuchat Parish, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, about 1818, these ballads have never before been published. The manuscripts, containing 68 ballads, were not included in Francis James Childs's seminal anthology. Most appear to have been drawn from oral sources and thus reveal a great deal about the nature of Scottish music at the time they were collected.

<http://www.upress.state.ms.us>

BENTHAM, JEREMY. *Of the Limits of the Penal Branch of Jurisprudence*. Edited by Philip Schofield. Oxford University Press. 2010. 384 pp. \$170. ISBN: 9780199570737. Written between 1780 and 1782, this work was part of the introduction of Bentham's projected penal code in which Bentham tried to distinguish between civil and penal law. This fully annotated edition illuminates Bentham's efforts to think through some of the most fundamental problems in jurisprudence and the theory of human action.

<http://www.oup.com/us>

BENTHAM, JEREMY. *Writings on the Poor Laws, Volume 2*. Edited by Philip Schofield and Michael Quinn. Oxford University Press. 2010. 800 pp. \$220. ISBN: 9780199559633. In the three works contained in this volume, "Pauper Management Improved," "Situation and Relief of the Poor," and "Outline of a Work Entitled Pauper Management Improved," all written in 1797-98, Bentham offers a detailed exposition of his plan for the reform of the English poor laws. The plan consisted of the creation of a National Charity Company, which would oversee the operation of 250 Panopticon Industry Houses, each accommodating 2,000 people, who would be occupied primarily in production for their own subsistence.

<http://www.oup.com/us>

BEOWULF. *The Beowulf Manuscript*. Edited and Translated by R. D. Fulk. Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library. 2010. 390 pp. \$29.95. ISBN: 9780674052956. This volume places for the first time *Beowulf* alongside the other four texts from the epic poem's sole surviving manuscript: the prose *Passion of Saint Christopher*, *The Wonders of the East*, *The Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle*, and (following *Beowulf*) the poem *Judith*.

<http://hup.harvard.edu>

BERENS, WILLIAM. *Memories, Myths, and Dreams of an Ojibwe Leader: William Berens, As Told to A. Irving Hallowell*. Edited by Jennifer S. H. Brown and

Susan Elaine Gray. McGill-Queen's University Press. 2009. In the 1930s Chief William Berens shared with anthropologist A. Irving Hallowell a remarkable history of his life, as well as many personal and dream experiences that held special significance for him. Most of this material has never been published. Berens's reminiscences and story and myth texts provide insights into the outlook of this important Ojibwe leader and into the history and culture of his nation.

<http://mqup.mcgill.ca>

BOGGS, JAMES. *Pages from a Black Radical's Notebook: A James Boggs Reader*. Edited by Stephen M. Ward. Wayne State University Press. 2010. 424 pp. \$27.95. ISBN: 9780814332566. Born in the rural American South, James Boggs lived most of his adult life in Detroit, working in factories and immersing himself in the political struggles of the industrial North. During and after his years in the auto industry, Boggs wrote columns, pamphlets, essays, manifestos and two books. This volume collects a diverse sampling of pieces by Boggs, spanning the entire length of his writing career from the 1950s to the 1990s. It includes the complete text of his first book, *The American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook*.

<http://wsupress.wayne.edu>

BROUGHTON, VIRGINIA E. WALKER. *Virginia Broughton: The Life and Writings of a National Baptist Missionary*. Edited by Tomeiko Ashford Carter. University of Tennessee Press. 2010. 168 pp. \$42. ISBN: 9781572336964. Born into an elite African-American family in Nashville, Broughton became one of the most significant domestic missionaries of the National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., as well as an accomplished writer. This annotated collection of her writings is the first scholarly work devoted exclusively to Broughton and shows how she anticipated the concerns of many feminist and womanist theologians.

<http://utpress.org>

BURNS, ARTHUR. *Inside the Nixon Administration: The Secret Diary of Arthur Burns, 1969–1974*. Edited by Robert H. Ferrell. University of Kansas Press. 2010. 144 pp. \$24.95. ISBN: 9780700617302. This annotated diary tracks Burns's career as an economic adviser to Richard Nixon and then as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Notable for its barbed insights into the inner workings of Nixon's administration, it contains portraits of Nixon's chief advisers as well as insights into the era's economy.

<http://www.kansaspress.ku.edu>

CANNON, JOHN. *The Chronicles of John Cannon, Excise Officer and Writing Master, Part 2: 1734–43 (Somerset)*. Edited by John Money. Oxford University

Press. 2010. 520 pp. \$99. ISBN: 9780197264553. Known sometimes as “the poor man’s Pepys,” John Cannon kept an account of his life for nearly 60 years. Although partially drawn upon in other studies, his journal receives its first full scale study in this edition. His chronicles are crowded with people of all ranks of English society during a crucial time of social change.

<http://www.oup.com/us>

CARROLL, LEWIS. *The Pamphlets of Lewis Carroll, Volume 4: The Logic Pamphlets of Lewis Carroll and Related Pieces*. Edited by Francine F. Abeles. University of Virginia Press. 2010. 291 pp. \$75. ISBN: 9780930326258. This fourth volume focuses on the writings on logic of Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, better known as Lewis Carroll. It includes pamphlets and sheets privately printed by Dodgson, unpublished manuscript sheets, rare previously published documents, and early versions of published works. These are collected together for the first time, organized by subject, and presented with suitable commentary so that the reader can fully appreciate Dodgson’s contributions to the logic of his time and of ours.

<http://www.upress.virginia.edu>

CHAMPLAIN, SAMUEL DE. *Samuel de Champlain before 1604: Des Sauvages and Other Documents Related to the Period*. Edited by Conrad E. Heidenreich and K. Janet Ritch. McGill-Queen’s University Press. 2010. 656 pp. \$75. ISBN: 9780773537576. This volume is the definitive edition of the early documents by or about Champlain, correcting numerous errors contained in previous publications. Providing the documents in both English translation and the original French or Spanish, this fastidiously researched work includes a comprehensive introduction that provides biographical information, details about Champlain’s early career, his connections at court, the military and political context underlying French imperialism, and the royal policies that encouraged trade and colonization in the Americas.

<http://www.champlainsociety.ca>

CHEROKEES. *The Payne-Butrick Papers*. 2 Volumes. Edited by William L. Anderson, Jane L. Brown, and Anne F. Rogers. University of Nebraska Press. 2010. 928 pp. \$150. ISBN: 9780803228436. Perhaps the most detailed collection of material about the Cherokee nation during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Payne-Butrick Papers are composed of material collected from aging Cherokees in the 1830s by John Howard Payne and Daniel S. Butrick. The repository includes correspondence of Cherokee leaders and covers nearly all aspects of pre-removal Cherokee culture and history.

<http://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu>

CIVIL WAR. *Memoirs of the Stuart Horse Artillery Battalion, Volume 2: Breathed's and McGregor's Batteries*. Edited by Robert J. Trout. University of Tennessee Press. 2010. 368 pp. \$49.95. ISBN: 9781572337060. The second and final installment of the *Memoirs* brings together three veteran reminiscences, two of which were originally published in newspapers and the other previously unpublished. All provide insights into the Confederate horse artillery, a key component of the success of J. E. B. Stuart, and into the experiences faced by common soldiers during the Civil War.

CIVIL WAR. *See also* DUBOSE, WILLIAM PORCHER; GERMAN IMMIGRANTS; MCCLENDON, WILLIAM A.

COBDEN, RICHARD. *The Letters of Richard Cobden, Volume 2: 1848–1853*. Edited by Anthony Howe. Oxford University Press. 2010. 650 pp. \$225. ISBN: 9780199211968. The second of a projected four-volume collection, this volume corresponds to the time during which Cobden became the dominant Radical leader on the British political scene. Cobden's efforts revolved around an interconnected series of movements designed to reduce aristocratic power: reform of Parliament, landownership, government finances, and the empire, as well as the introduction of state education. At the same time he increasingly became an international figure, playing a pivotal role in the global peace movement and in critiques of British foreign policy.

<http://www.oup.com/us>

CONSTITUTION. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution, Volume 23, Ratification by the States: New York, No. 5*. Edited by John P. Kaminski, Gaspare J. Saladino, Richard Leffler, and Charles H. Schoenleber. Wisconsin Historical Society Press. 2009. 679 pp. \$75. ISBN: 9780870204395. The final volume documenting New York's ratification convention, No. 5 includes an index for the set. It brings together the convention *Journal* and *Debates*, the correspondence and notes of delegates, the notes of the secretary of the convention, and contemporary newspaper accounts, providing rich insights into New York's successful ratification, in spite of a convention dominated by a two-thirds majority of Antifederalists.

<http://www.wisconsinhistory.org>

COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE. *The Water-Witch; or, The Skimmer of the Seas*. Edited by Thomas Philbrick and Marianne Philbrick. AMS Press. 645 pp. \$195. ISBN: 9780404644666. In *The Water-Witch*, Cooper drew upon his previous successful innovations in fictionalizing the revolutionary period and in narrating nautical adventure. Focusing on Dutch and American sailors evading British

customs officials, the novel highlighted some of the issues that would lead to the American Revolution, while capitalizing on Cooper's own experiences navigating the waters of New York.

<http://www.wjfc.org/>

DARWIN, CHARLES. *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin, Volume 18: 1870*. Edited by Frederick Burkhardt. Cambridge University Press. 2010. 658 pp. \$145. ISBN: 9780521768894. Throughout 1870, Darwin made final preparations for the publication of *The Descent of Man*, the culmination of three decades of research into human ancestry. Because of the work's scope, Darwin decided to publish it in two volumes, the second of which appeared two years later as *Expression of the Emotions*. During the period the volume covers, Darwin's application of his theory of natural selection to humanity came under increasing attack. This volume also includes a supplement of earlier letters identified too late for inclusion in previous volumes.

<http://www.cambridge.org>

DESJARDINS, SIMON AND PIERRE PHAROUX. *Castorland Journal: An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of New York State by French Émigrés in the Years 1793 to 1797*. Edited and Translated by John A. Galluci. Cornell University Press. 2010. 480 pp. \$65. ISBN: 9780801446269. Representatives of the New York Company, a French effort to settle an area of northwestern New York, Desjardins and Pharoux compiled this narrative of their travels and personal experiences speculating on the frontier. Galluci's edition is the first modern scholarly translation of the journal, which details encounters with Indians, the authors' process of surveying the Black River, contacts with important personages of the era, and the frustrations of disease and natural obstacles.

<http://cornellpress.cornell.edu>

DOUGLASS, FREDERICK. *The Papers of Frederick Douglass. Series Three, Correspondence, Volume 1: 1842–1852*. Edited by John R. McKivigan. Yale University Press. 2009. 728 pp. \$125. ISBN: 9780300135602. The first of a projected four-volume series, the volume acquaints readers with Douglass's many roles—politician, abolitionist, diplomat, runaway slave, women's rights advocate, and family man—and includes many previously unpublished letters between Douglass and members of his family. Douglass stood at the epicenter of the political, social, intellectual, and cultural issues of antebellum America. This collection of Douglass's early correspondence illuminates not only his growth as an activist and writer, but the abolition movement and the larger world of the times as well.

<http://yalepress.yale.edu>

DREISER, THEODORE. *Political Writings*. Edited by Jude Davies. University of Illinois Press. 2010. 336 pp. \$50. ISBN: 9780252035852. Spanning a period from the Progressive Era to the advent of the Cold War, this volume collects Dreiser's most important political writings from his journalism, speeches, broadsides, and private papers. The writings capture Dreiser's candor and his fiery condemnations of corruption and his championing of those he considered defenseless.

<http://www.press.illinois.edu>

DUBOSE, WILLIAM PORCHER. *Faith, Valor, and Devotion: The Civil War Letters of William Porcher DuBose*. Edited by W. Eric Emerson and Karen Stokes. University of South Carolina Press. 2010. 392 pp. \$49.95. ISBN: 9781570039126. DuBose, one of the foremost Episcopal theologians in the postbellum South, served as a Confederate officer in the Holcombe Legion and then as chaplain of Kershaw's Brigade. Never before published, his letters offer insights into his evolving religious ideals and his actions at battles in Virginia and North Carolina. Also included are courtship letters to his fiancée Anne Perroneau.

<http://www.sc.edu/uscpress>

EMERSON, RALPH WALDO. *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Volume VIII: Letters and Social Aims*. Edited by Ronald A. Bosco, Glen M. Johnson and Joel Myerson. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2010. 670 pp. \$95.00. ISBN: 9780674035607. Published in 1875, *Letters and Social Aims* featured essays Emerson first published early in the 1840s, as well as several late-in-life essay collaborations with his daughter Ellen Tucker Emerson and his literary executor James Elliot Cabot. The volume takes up topics such as "Poetry and Imagination," "Eloquence," "The Comic," "Progress of Culture," and, appropriately for Emerson's last published book, "Immortality." The volume's historical introduction by Bosco demonstrates for the first time the dramatic decline in Emerson's creative powers after 1866 and how Emerson's daughter and Cabot worked together to enable Emerson to complete the book; its textual introduction by Myerson traces this collaborative process through each of the eleven essays in the volume and provides new information about the genesis of the volume as a response to a proposed unauthorized British edition of Emerson's works.

<http://www.hup.harvard.edu>

FARRELL, J. G. *J. G. Farrell in His Own Words: Selected Letters and Diaries*. Edited by Lavinia Greacen. Cork University Press. 2009. 480 pp. \$55. ISBN: 9781859184288. The previously unpublished letters of Irish novelist J. G. Farrell

trace his life from childhood to his death in 1979. Most are to friends, many to lovers whom the commitment-wary novelist ultimately wronged. All capture his deft humor and anxious, ambitious efforts to achieve literary greatness.

<http://www.corkuniversitypress.com>

FEDRIC, FRANCIS. *Slave Life in Virginia and Kentucky: A Narrative by Francis Fedric, Escaped Slave*. Edited by C. L. Innes. Louisiana State University Press. 2010. 176 pp. \$45. ISBN: 9780807136836. Francis Fedric escaped from slavery to Canada in 1854 and eventually became an abolitionist lecturer in Great Britain and published two versions of his story: a condensed tale of his escape, and a longer narrative of his over 50 years as an enslaved person. Both out of print for nearly 150 years, they are now published in a single volume, with modern editing and annotation.

<http://www.lsu.edu/lusupress>

GERMAN IMMIGRANTS. *A German Hurrah!: Civil War Letters of Friedrich Bertsch and Wilhelm Stängel, 9th Ohio Infantry*. Translated and Edited by Joseph R. Reinhart. Kent State University Press. 2010. 416 pp. \$59. ISBN: 9781606350386. Bertsch and Stängel were German immigrants imbued with democratic and egalitarian ideals and disappointed by the imperfections they found in American society, as well as by temperance laws and Sunday restrictions. They volunteered in the all-German 9th Ohio Infantry regiment, Bertsch as a lieutenant and Stängel as chaplain, in part to raise the status of Germans in American society. Published initially in German-language American newspapers, their letters are now available in English for the first time.

<http://upress.kent.edu>

GOMPERS, SAMUEL. *The Samuel Gompers Papers, Volume 12: The Last Years, 1922–24*. Edited by Peter J. Albert and Grace Palladino. University of Illinois Press. 2010. 616 pp. \$125. ISBN: 9780252035357. Gompers faced many challenges during his last years as president of the American Federation of Labor: divisions within organized labor, continuing unemployment, and hostility from ascendant Republicans. Continuing his efforts to end child labor and fight labor injunctions, Gompers pushed non-partisan efforts, launched a campaign to organize women workers, and strengthened the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

<http://www.history.umd.edu/gompers>

GRANT, ULYSSES S. *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant, Volume 31: January 1, 1883–July 23, 1885*. Edited by John Y. Simon, Aaron M. Lise, and Cheryl R. Ragar. Southern Illinois University Press. 2009. 568 pp. \$100. ISBN: 9780809328796.

As 1883 began, Grant was serving as president of the Mexican Southern Railroad and was dispatched by President Chester A. Arthur to negotiate a commercial treaty with Mexico. The U.S. Senate rejected the treaty, however, amidst accusations that Grant had crafted provisions intended to benefit his moribund railroad. It was the first of many disasters, both physical and economic, that Grant suffered. Buoyed by loans from friends, Grant turned to writing, first a series of Civil War narratives for magazines, and then his *Memoirs*. Diagnosed with cancer in February 1885, he finished the two-volume work a month before his death in July.

<http://www.siupress.com>

HARGRAVE, JAMES. *Letters from Rupert's Land, 1826–1840: James Hargrave of the Hudson's Bay Company*. Edited by Helen Ross. McGill-Queen's University Press. 2009. 416 pp. \$49.95. ISBN: 9780773535732. Hargrave emigrated from Scotland in 1819 and spent most of the next 40 years in the fur trade at York Factory on the shores of Hudson Bay. He corresponded frequently with family members in Canada and Scotland, and his letters provide rich source material for readers interested in migration literature, social history, religious studies, women's studies, and the history of the fur trade.

<http://mqup.mcgill.ca>

HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL. *The Business of Reflection: Hawthorne in His Notebooks*. Edited by Robert Milder and Randall Fuller. Ohio State University Press. 2009. 268 pp. \$98.95. ISBN: 9780814204764. *The Business of Reflection* is an annotated selection culled from notebooks that Nathaniel Hawthorne kept during his career and that were previously published in the *Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*. Intended for both students and teachers of American literature and general readers, the selections clarify Hawthorne's intellectual and artistic development.

<http://www.ohiostatepress.org>

HICHBORN, PHILIP. *Cruise of the Dashing Wave: Rounding Cape Horn in 1860*. Edited by William H. Thiesen. University Press of Florida. 2010. 144 pp. \$24.95. ISBN: 9780813034379. This work recounts a harrowing clipper ship passage from Boston to San Francisco, as recorded in the journal of the ship's carpenter, Philip Hichborn, who went on to a distinguished naval career. As carpenter, Hichborn did not have to stand watch at night, giving him unique opportunities to observe his fellow crew members and record his thoughts on the social and professional interactions of a team of strangers stressed to the point of mutiny.

<http://www.upf.com>

JAY, JOHN. *The Selected Papers of John Jay, Volume 1: 1760–1779*. Edited by Elizabeth M. Nuxoll, Mary A. Y. Gallagher, and Jennifer E. Steenshorne. University of Virginia Press. 2010. 912 pp. \$85. ISBN: 9780813928043. This volume launches a new annotated seven-volume edition of selected correspondence of John Jay. The work consists of a wide-ranging selection of the most significant and interesting public and private documents and letters, written or received by Jay. Among the topics covered in the volume are Jay's education and training as a lawyer, his marriage to Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, and his emergence as a moderate leader of the American Revolutionary cause.

<http://www.upress.virginia.edu>

JEFFERSON, THOMAS. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Volume 36: 1 December 1801 to 3 March 1802*. Edited by Barbara B. Oberg, James P. McClure, Elaine Weber Pascu, Martha J. King, Tom Downey, and Amy Speckart. Princeton University Press. 2009. 824 pp. \$99.50. ISBN: 9780691137742. This volume covers the final months of Jefferson's first year as president. Among the subjects covered are his first annual address to Congress, conferences with two different delegations of Indian nations, and the arrival of a "Mammoth Cheese" from Cheshire, Massachusetts, which was delivered along with a message from the Baptists of Danbury, Connecticut. Jefferson's famous response to the Danbury Baptists also appears.

<http://press.princeton.edu>

JEFFERSON, THOMAS. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series, Volume 6: 11 March to 27 November 1813*. Edited by J. Jefferson Looney, Robert F. Haggard, Julie L. Lautenschlager, and Deborah Beckel. Princeton University Press. 2009. 768 pp. \$99.50 ISBN: 9780691137728. Although free from the cares of government, Jefferson cannot disassociate himself from politics entirely, offering recommendations on the handling of the War of 1812 and on fiscal policy. His correspondence shows no signs of abating—he writes to John Waldo and John Wilson to discuss the improvement of English orthography, addresses Isaac McPherson as part of a plea for limits on government-sanctioned intellectual-property rights, and provides a study of Meriwether Lewis for Nicholas Biddle's *History of the Expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark*. Finally, this volume records the most intense period of correspondence between Jefferson and John Adams during their retirement. In an exchange of thirty-one letters, the two men reveal their hopes and fears for the nation.

<http://press.princeton.edu>

LEGARE, JOHN GIRARDEAU. *The Darien Journal of John Girardeau Legare, Ricegrower*. Edited by Buddy Sullivan. University of Georgia Press. 2010. 168 pp. \$39.95. ISBN: 9780820335605. Legare managed several rice plantations near

Darien, Georgia, and served for many years as clerk of the city of Darien. His journal offers a window into the decline of the rice-growing industry in tidewater Georgia and of Darien's development as a center for timber exports. Legare's observations and the editorial notes also include rich material on African-American history in the area.

<http://www.uga.org>

LOMAX, ALAN. *Alan Lomax, Assistant in Charge: The Library of Congress Letters, 1935–1945*. Edited by Ronald D. Cohen. University Press of Mississippi. 2010. 480 pp. \$50. ISBN: 9781604738001. Lomax began working for the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress in 1936, the following year becoming the permanent Assistant in Charge. From then until his resignation in 1942, he spearheaded efforts to record songs by the likes of Woody Guthrie, Jelly Roll Morton, and Aunt Molly Jackson. His letters from the period reveal much about his public and private life, as well as his interest in commercial recordings.

<http://www.upress.state.ms.us>

MADISON, JAMES. *Papers of James Madison, Retirement Series, Volume 1: 4 March 1817–31 January 1820*. Edited by David B. Mattern, J. C. A. Stagg, Mary Parke Johnson, and Anne Mandeville Colony. University of Virginia Press. 2009. 680 pp. \$85. ISBN: 9780813928494. Relieved by the completion of his public duties, Madison returned to his estate Montpelier, determined to make it a profitable enterprise. Although disappointed in this goal, Madison conducted an active retirement, pursuing scientific agriculture, hosting company, advising on political and constitutional matters, and organizing his voluminous collection of papers. At the request of Thomas Jefferson, he also became a visitor of the Central College, the forerunner of the University of Virginia.

<http://www.upress.virginia.edu>

MAXIMILIAN OF WIED. *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied, Volume 2: April–September 1833*. Edited by Stephen S. Witte and Marsha V. Gallagher. Translated by William J. Orr, Paul Schlach, and Dieter Karch. University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. 612 pp. \$85. ISBN: 9780806139234. This volume follows the German explorer and naturalist on his journey from St. Louis to the upper Missouri River in present-day Montana. Featuring Maximilian's own illustrations, the journal also contains his memorable descriptions of the topography and people he encountered.

<http://www.oupress.com>

MCCLENDON, WILLIAM A. *Recollections of War Times, by an Old Veteran While under Stonewall Jackson and Lieutenant General James Longstreet*. Introduction by Keith S. Bohannon. University of Alabama Press. 2010. 296 pp. \$22.50. ISBN: 9780817355869. Previously printed in 1909, this memoir has been among the rarest books by any veteran of the Army of Northern Virginia. Bohannon's introduction provides much new information on McClendon as well as newly published photographs. An index also makes the memoir more accessible and useful for scholars.

<http://www.uapress.ua.edu>

MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR. OSWANDEL, J. JACOB. *Notes of the Mexican War, 1846–1848*. Edited by Timothy D. Johnson and Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr. University of Tennessee Press. 2010. 378 pp. \$54.95. ISBN: 9781572337036. A rural Pennsylvanian, Oswandel enlisted in December 1846 and served for the next 20 months during the war between the United States and Mexico. He kept a daily record of events, providing scholars with an eyewitness account of key battles at Vera Cruz and in the Mexican heartland and with a window into the expansionist impulse that drove many young American males to enlist and fight.

<http://utpress.org>

MITCHELL, CLARENCE, JR. *The Papers of Clarence Mitchell, Jr., Volume 3: 1946–1950*. Edited by Denton L. Watson, Edward Austin Bradley, and Reginald H. Pitts. Ohio University Press. 2010. 476 pp. \$49.95. ISBN: 9780821416624. During the period covered by this volume, Mitchell was serving as the NAACP's labor secretary and helped direct the NAACP's efforts to desegregate the armed services and to eliminate Jim Crow practices in other areas of the federal government. The volume also sheds light on the NAACP's use of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an umbrella group that coordinated efforts of the NAACP's branches and formed a coalition with other civil rights groups. The Leadership Conference emerged as the fulcrum of the NAACP's legislative efforts.

<http://www.ohioswallow.com>

MITCHELL, CLARENCE, JR. *The Papers of Clarence Mitchell, Jr., Volume 4: 1950–1954*. Edited by Denton L. Watson. Ohio University Press. 2010. 768 pp. \$69.95. ISBN: 9780821419359. Having become director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, Mitchell served as the organization's chief lobbyist. This volume includes Mitchell's efforts to convince presidents Harry S. Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower to issue executive orders extending and strengthening

the federal government's non-discrimination policy to private contractors. Also covered in the volume is the NAACP's legislative strategy, which developed out of the organization's successful litigation of *Brown v. Board of Education*.

<http://www.ohioswallow.com>

MONROE, JAMES. *Papers of James Monroe: Selected Correspondence and Papers, Volume 3: 1794–1796*. Edited by Daniel Preston and Marlena C. DeLong. Greenwood Press. 2009. 656 pp. \$95. ISBN: 9780313319808. This volume covers the start of James Monroe's tenure as U.S. minister to France, commencing with his appointment in May 1794 and running through March 1796, a year before his return home. Consisting mainly of Monroe's correspondence with the U.S. and French governments, and with fellow American diplomats, the documents in this volume shed much light on the controversy surrounding the Jay Treaty and on Monroe's efforts to secure the release of two famous prisoners—Thomas Paine, author of *Common Sense*, and Madame Lafayette, wife of the American Revolutionary War hero. While most of the letters relate to official business, Monroe's correspondence with his uncle, Joseph Jones, and with James Madison, often relate to personal matters.

<http://www.abc-clio.com>

MORAVIANS. *Records of the Moravians Among the Cherokees, Volume 1: Early Contact and the Establishment of the First Mission, 1752–1802*. Edited by C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck. University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. 426 pp. \$50. ISBN: 9780982690703. *Volume 2: Beginnings of the Mission and Establishment of the School, 1802–1805*. Edited by C. Daniel Crews and Richard W. Starbuck. University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. 426 pp. \$50. ISBN: 978098269071. Bringing together such sources as reports and minutes, diaries, and correspondence, these volumes offer a firsthand account of daily life among the Cherokees during the latter half of the eighteenth century, as they faced increasing encroachments on their land and culture from white settlers. Documented also is the formation of a Moravian-run school in northern Georgia.

<http://www.oupres.com>

MORMONS. *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text*. Edited by Royal Skousen. Yale University Press. 2009. 848 pp. \$35. ISBN: 9780300142181. This edition, based on Skousen's identification of more than 2,000 textual errors in the first edition of the Book of Mormon (1830), contains about 600 corrections that have appeared in no other editions. About 250 of these corrections affect the text's meaning.

MORMONS. CANNON, HUGH J. *To the Peripheries of Mormondom: The Apostolic Around-the-World Journey of David O. McKay, 1920–1921*. Edited by Reid L. Nelson. University of Utah Press. 2010. 350 pp. \$29.95. ISBN: 978160781010. Although the contemporary LDS Church has become a global presence, the early decades of the last century found missionaries struggling to gain converts abroad. Cannon's vivid account of his and McKay's journey explores the roots of Mormon globalization, making it one of the more significant texts in global Mormon studies. Ancillary material, including transcripts of Cannon's letters and the complete text of his journals, will be available digitally.

<http://www.uofupress.com>

NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY. *See* BERENS, WILLIAM; CHEROKEES; MORAVIANS; PAWNEES.

NAVAL HISTORY. *Anglo-American Naval Relations, 1919–1939*. Edited by Michael Simpson. Navy Records Society. 2010. 256 pp. \$134.95. The second in a projected five-volume set, this volume publishes documents from a period dominated by a series of naval arms limitation and disarmament conferences.

<http://www.ashgate.com>

NAVAL HISTORY. *Naval Courts Martial, 1793–1815*. Edited by John Byrn. Naval Records Society. 2009. 816 pp. \$134.95. ISBN: 9780754667810. This collection of naval court martial transcripts and related documents during the time of Great Britain's almost ceaseless war with France highlights the military jurisprudence of the era, as well as the social conditions and behavior aboard British naval vessels.

<http://www.ashgate.com>

NEW NETHERLANDS. *Fort Orange Records, 1654–1679*. Translated and edited by Charles T. Gehring and Janny Venema. Syracuse University Press. 2009. 609 pp. \$90. ISBN: 9780815632320. The records presented in this volume are among the oldest surviving archival papers of the Dutch community that eventually became Albany. Previously administered by Dutch officials in Manhattan, the community assumed local governance in 1652. This volume presents in English the second part of the surviving records kept by the Albany municipal archives.

<http://www.syracuseuniversitypress.syr.edu>

NIXON, RICHARD. *Richard Nixon: Speeches, Writings, Documents*. Edited by Rick Perlstein. Princeton University Press. 2008. 364 pp. \$19.95. ISBN: 9780691136998. The first book to present America's most controversial president

in his own words across his entire career, this unique collection of Richard Nixon's most important writings dramatically demonstrates why he has had such a profound impact on American life. This volume gathers everything from schoolboy letters to geostrategic manifestos and Oval Office transcripts. It includes Nixon's "Checkers" speech (1952), his "Last Press Conference" (1962), the "Silent Majority" speech (1969), and the White House farewell. These texts are joined by campaign documents—including the infamous "Pink Sheet" from the 1950 Senate race—that give stark evidence of Nixon's slashing political style.

<http://press.princeton.edu>

PAWNEES. *The Pawnee Mission Letters, 1834–1851*. Edited by Richard E. Jensen. University of Nebraska Press. 2010. 712 pp. \$60. ISBN: 9780803229877. Intending to establish a mission to Indians beyond the Rocky Mountains, two New England missionaries, John Dunbar and Samuel Allis, instead encountered the Pawnees in what is now Nebraska. They eventually established a permanent community among the Pawnees that attracted other missionaries. This volume collects the letters written by and to the missionaries, as well as their journal entries. Recorded are the culture and habits of the Pawnees and the ideological differences that led to the collapse of the community.

<http://www.nebraskapress.unl.edu>

PUGIN, A. W. N. *The Collected Letters of A. W. N. Pugin, Volume 3: 1846–1848*. Edited by Margaret Belcher. Oxford University Press. 2009. 672 pp. \$240. ISBN: 9780199229161. A leading British architect and designer of furniture, textiles, stained glass, metalwork, and ceramics, Pugin is best known for his role in the Gothic Revival. This volume, the third of five, spans years during which he completed his two most significant churches and opened the first part of the House of Lords. His correspondence also sheds light on the religious life of the time, particularly ecclesiastical politics.

<http://www.oup.com/us>

PURITANS. *The Digital Bay Psalm Book: A Virtual Reconstruction of the New World's First English-Language Book*. Edited by Ian Christie-Miller. University of Alabama Press. 2010. 350 pp. \$27.50 (e-book). ISBN: 9780817384005. A translation of the Psalms into meter so that they might be sung to hymns of the day, what has become known as the *Bay Psalm Book* was first published in 1640 and has offered generations of theologians and scholars insights into the culture and beliefs of the Puritans. This electronic-only publication offers digitally rendered photographs of one of the editions owned by Thomas Prince, minister of Boston's Old South Church from 1718 to 1758. Users can inspect the quality

of the paper and printing, marginalia, and notes, gaining insights into how the book was used over time.

<http://www.uapress.edu>

QUAQUE, PHILIP. *The Life and Letters of Philip Quaque, the First African Anglican Missionary*. Edited by Vincent Carretta and Ty M. Reese. University of Georgia Press. 2010. 240 pp. \$39.95. ISBN: 9780820333199. Born about 1740 on the Cape Coast (present-day Ghana), Quaque was brought to England by an Anglican missionary society and became the first African ordained as an Anglican priest. He returned to Africa as a missionary and as chaplain to the merchants company at Cape Coast Castle, a principal slave-trading site. Quaque reported his successes and failures in more than fifty letters to London and North America and became a well-known figure. The letters trace the development of his abolitionist sentiments.

<http://www.ugapress.org>

QUINCY, JOSIAH. *Portrait of a Patriot: The Major Political and Legal Papers of Josiah Quincy Junior: The First Law Reports of the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Volume 4: 1761–1765*. Edited by Daniel Coquillette. Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2009. 418 pp. \$40. ISBN: 9780979466243. *Volume 5: 1765–1772*. Edited by Daniel Coquillette. 543 pp. \$40. ISBN: 9780979466267. Working from transcriptions of Quincy's manuscript legal reports of the forerunner of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts by Quincy's great-grandson Samuel Miller Quincy, these annotated volumes underscore the colony's central role in the American Revolutionary cause. Quincy's great-grandson's transcriptions, corrected when necessary, appear alongside the editor's careful elaborations of the relevant case law involved and the historical and biographical context.

<http://www.upress.virginia.edu>

SANGER, MARGARET. *The Selected Letters of Margaret Sanger, Volume 3: The Politics of Planned Parenthood, 1939–1969*. Edited by Esther Katz, Cathy Moran Hajo, Peter C. Engelman. University of Illinois Press. 2010. 592 pp. \$80. ISBN: 9780252033728. The letters in this volume unfold the story of Sanger's collaboration with philanthropist Katharine Dexter McCormick and their direction of medical researchers and birth-control bureaucrats toward production of the birth-control pill. They also include information on Sanger's efforts to promote family planning during World War II and her controversial attempts to expand birth control services to African Americans in the rural South and to incorporate contraceptive care into government public health programs.

<http://www.press.illinois.edu>

SANSOM, HANNAH CALLENDER. *The Diary of Hannah Callender Sansom: Sense and Sensibility in the Age of the American Revolution*. Edited by Susan E. Klepp and Karin Wulf. Cornell University Press. 2010. 376 pp. \$75. 9780801447846. A well-educated member of the Philadelphia Quaker elite, Sansom kept a diary from 1758 to 1788, one of the earliest, fullest documents written by an American woman. It covers Sansom's contact with traditional emphases on duty, subjection, and hierarchy, as these were altered by the emergence of radical new ideas. She risked her standing among Quakers to ensure that her daughter did not, like her, have to endure an unhappy marriage.

<http://cornellpress.cornell.edu>

SCORESBY, WILLIAM. *The Arctic Whaling Journals of William Scoresby the Younger (1798–1857), Volume 3: The Voyages of 1817, 1818, and 1820*. Edited by Ian Jackson. Hakluyt Society. 2009. 288 pp. \$99.95. ISBN: 9780904180954. The final volume of the set contains Scoresby's previously unpublished narratives of three voyages. Jackson's introduction reappraises Scoresby's role, and an appendix explains the technological advances that enabled wooden whaling ships to navigate through ice as far north as the 80th parallel.

<http://www.ashgate.com>

SCOTT, WALTER. *Woodstock*. Edited by Tony Inglis, J. H. Alexander, David Hewitt, and Alison Lumsden. Edinburgh University Press. 2010. 670 pp. \$70. ISBN: 9780748605835. Written during the financial crisis that led to Scott's insolvency, *Woodstock* opens as farce but becomes Scott's darkest novel. Set in England in 1651, it focuses on the efforts of Parliamentary forces to hunt the fugitive Charles Lewis. This edition is based on Scott's first, but emended to reflect readings of the manuscript and proofs that were misread.

<http://www.cup.columbia.edu>

SCOTT, WALTER. *The Betrothed*. Edited by J. B. Ellis, J. H. Alexander, and David Hewitt. Edinburgh University Press. 2010. 448 pp. \$70. ISBN: 9780748605811. Set during the Third Crusade, *The Betrothed* was the first of Scott's Tales of the Crusaders. It focuses on Eveline, daughter of a Norman noble, whose intended husband departs for three years to fight in the war, leaving her vulnerable to becoming the prize of other men. Scott's manuscript received rough treatment from his publisher and printer, who disliked it. The changes he was forced to make come to light in this critical edition.

<http://www.cup.columbia.edu>

SLAVE NARRATIVES. *See* FEDRIC, FRANCIS.

STACKPOLE, PIERPONT L. *In the Company of Generals: The World War I Diary of Pierpont L. Stackpole*. Edited by Robert H. Ferrell. University of Missouri Press. 2009. 208 pp. \$34.95. ISBN: 9780826218704. A Boston lawyer, Stackpole became aide to Lt. General Hunter Liggett, commander of the first American corps in France during World War I. His diary offers an eyewitness account of Liggett's commands in the trying and confusing situation on the Western Front and of the reorganizing that led to the successful fourth American attack at the Meuse-Argonne, which paved the way to the armistice.

<http://press.umsystem.edu>

SUMMERALL, CHARLES PELOT. *The Way of Duty, Honor, Country: The Memoir of Charles Pelot Summerall*. Edited by Timothy K. Nenner. University Press of Kentucky. 2010. 300 pp. \$35. ISBN: 9780813126180. After graduating from West Point in 1892, Summerall saw action in the Philippines and in China during the Boxer Rebellion. He rose to become a brigade, division, and corps commander during World War I, chief of staff of the U.S. army from 1926 to 1930, and eventually served as president of the The Citadel. Previously only available in the Citadel archives, his memoir documents critical moments in American military history, as well as Summerall's rise from an impoverished childhood in Florida.

<http://www.kentuckypress.com>

TAYLOR, ANNA HEYWARD. *Selected Letters of Anna Heyward Taylor: South Carolina Artist and World Traveler*. Edited by Edmund R. Taylor and Alexander Moore. University of South Carolina Press. 2010. 360 pp. \$39.95. ISBN: 9781570039454. This illustrated volume captures the globe-trotting adventures of Taylor, a leading light of the Charleston Renaissance. Taylor trained as an artist in New York and New England, but also studied in such far-flung places as Japan and Mexico. In addition, she worked as a Red Cross nurse in France during World War I and served as a scientific illustrator on a trip to British Guiana.

<http://www.sc.edu/uscpress>

THACKERAY, WILLIAM MAKEPEACE. *The Adventures of Philip, On His Way through the World Shewing Who Robbed Him, Who Helped Him, and Who Passed Him by*. Edited by Judith Law Fisher. University of Michigan Press. 2010. 814 pp. \$125. ISBN: 9780472117239. Thackeray's last completed novel, *The Adventures of Philip*, tells the story of Philip Firmin, a blustering but good-hearted young man. Included in this edition are lists of manuscript alterations and emendations and a collation of historical variants.

<http://www.press.umich.edu>

THURMAN, HOWARD WASHINGTON. *The Papers of Howard Washington Thurman, Volume 1: My People Need Me, June 1918–March 1936*. Edited by Walter Earl Fluker. University of South Carolina Press. 2010. 464 pp. \$59.95. ISBN: 9781570038044. The first of a four-volume edition spanning the career of religious leader and professor Howard Washington Thurman, this volume documents his early years in his native Daytona, Florida, his formal education and leadership in the student movement, and his years at Howard University, where he was professor of philosophy and religion and dean of the chapel. It also includes his historic trip to India, where he met with Mahatma Gandhi.

[www.uscpress.com](http://www.uscpress.com)

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE. *Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont in America: Their Friendship and Their Travels*. Edited by Olivier Zunz, translated by Arthur Goldhammer. University of Virginia Press. 2010. 784 pp. \$60. ISBN: 9780813930626. This authoritative volume reproduces the journey of these two friends. Zunz and Goldhammer present most of the surviving letters, notebooks, and other texts that Tocqueville and Beaumont wrote during their decisive American journey of 1831–32, as well as their reflections and correspondence on America following their return to France. Also reproduced here are most of the sketches from the two sketchbooks Beaumont filled during their travels.

<http://www.upress.virginia.edu>

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE. *Letters from America*. Edited and Translated by Frederick Brown. Yale University Press. 2010. 304 pp. \$28. ISBN: 9780300153828. This volume presents the first translation of the complete letters Tocqueville wrote to friends and family in France during his journey through the United States in 1831 and 1832. They contain many of the impressions and ideas that served as preliminary sketches for *Democracy in America*.

<http://yalepress.yale.edu>

TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE. *Tocqueville on America after 1840: Letters and Other Writings*. Edited and Translated by Aurelian Craiutu and Jeremy Jennings. Cambridge University Press. 2009. 560 pp. \$99.99. ISBN: 9780521859554. Did Alexis de Tocqueville change his views on America outlined in the two volumes of *Democracy in America* published in 1835 and 1840? If so, which of his views changed and why? The texts translated in this volume answer these questions and offer English-speaking readers the possibility of familiarizing themselves with an unduly neglected part of Tocqueville's work. The book points out a clear shift in emphasis especially after 1852 and documents Tocqueville's growing

disenchantment with America, triggered by such issues as political corruption, slavery, expansionism and the encroachment of the economic sphere upon the political.

<http://www.cambridge.org>

TRANSLATED WORKS. *See* CHAMPLAIN, SAMUEL DE; DESJARDINS, SIMON; GERMAN IMMIGRANTS; MORAVIANS; TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS DE

TRAVEL NARRATIVES. *See* DESJARDINS, SIMON; MAXIMILIAN OF WIED; SCORESBY, WILLIAM.

TWAIN, MARK. *Autobiography of Mark Twain: The Complete and Authoritative Edition, Volume 1*. Edited by Harriet Elinor Smith. University of California Press. 2010. 743 pp. \$34.95. ISBN: 9780520267190. Mark Twain laid out his ideas regarding his autobiography in a 1904 letter to a friend. His innovative notion—to “talk only about the thing which interests you for the moment”—meant that his thoughts could range freely. The strict instruction that many of these texts remain unpublished for 100 years meant that when they came out, he would be “dead, and unaware, and indifferent,” and that he was therefore free to speak his “whole frank mind.” The year 2010 marks the 100th anniversary of Twain’s death and the publication of the first of three volumes.

<http://www.ucpress.edu>

VAUDEVILLE. Ed Lowry, *My Life in Vaudeville: The Autobiography of Ed Lowry*. Edited by Paul M. Levitt. Southern Illinois Press. 2010. 256 pp. \$45. ISBN: 9780809330164. Lowry joined the vaudeville circuit at the age of fourteen in 1910, and his life in show business coincided with the peak and gradual decline of vaudeville as a key component of American popular culture. Lowry’s account brings to life the experiences of a working actor, musician, and comedian and places the vaudeville scene within larger narratives of American popular entertainment.

<http://www.siupress.com>

WASHINGTON, GEORGE. *The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series, Volume 15: 1 January–30 April 1794*. Edited by Christine Sternberg Patrick. University of Virginia Press. 2009. 741 pp. \$85. ISBN: 9780813928463. During the first four months of 1794, Washington and his administration continued their efforts to avoid entanglement in the ongoing war between France and Great Britain. Other topics of interest include frontier defense; a program of monetary relief for refugees from the revolution in Saint Domingue;

Washington's long-distance management of Mount Vernon and his continuing interest in the Federal City; and negotiations with Spain over boundaries in the southwest and navigation of the Mississippi. A resolve to settle disputes with Great Britain and forge a more favorable trade agreement encouraged Washington to appoint John Jay as envoy extraordinary to that country.

*<http://www.upress.virginia.edu>*

WASHINGTON, GEORGE. *The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series, Volume 19: 15 January–7 April 1779*. Edited by Philander D. Chase and William M. Ferraro. University of Virginia Press. 2009. 835 pp. \$85. ISBN: 9780813929613. After urging members of a congressional committee to improve the compensation and benefits of officers in the Continental Army, Washington resumed direct command of the army's winter encampment in Middlebrook, New Jersey. There, he conducted a voluminous correspondence on such matters as promotions, the management of British and Hessian prisoners of war, and intelligence on the British encampment on Staten Island and on potential troop deployments in the South. He also planned an attack on Indian and loyalist forces along the Pennsylvania-New York frontier.

*<http://www.upress.virginia.edu>*

WASHINGTON, GEORGE. *The Glorious Struggle: George Washington's Revolutionary Letters*. Edited by Edward G. Lengel. University of Virginia Press. 2010. 328 pp. \$19.50. ISBN: 9780813930237. George Washington wrote an astonishing number of letters, both personal and professional. The majority are from his years as commander-in-chief during the Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783. *The Glorious Struggle* presents a selection of Washington's most important and interesting letters from that time, including many that have never before been published.

*<http://www.upress.virginia.edu>*

WHITMAN, WALT. *Democratic Vistas: The Original Edition in Facsimile*. Edited by Ed Folsom. University of Iowa Press. 2010. 214 pp. \$24.95. ISBN: 9781587298707. Written in the aftermath of the American Civil War during the ferment of Reconstruction, Walt Whitman's *Democratic Vistas* remains one of the most penetrating analyses of democracy ever written. Diagnosing democracy's failures as well as laying out its vast possibilities, Whitman offers an unflinching assessment of the ongoing social experiment known as the United States. It is now available for the first time in a facsimile of the original 1870–1871 edition, with an introduction and annotations by Whitman scholar Ed Folsom that illuminate the essay's historical and cultural context.

*<http://www.uiowapress.org>*

WOMEN'S HISTORY. *See* BROUGHTON, VIRGINIA E. WALKER;  
SANGER, MARGARET; SANSOM, HANNAH CALLENDER.

WORLD WAR I. *See* STACKPOLE, PIERPONT L.; SUMMERALL,  
CHARLES PELOT.

**Association for Documentary Editing**  
Business Meeting, 15 October 2010  
Hilton Garden Inn  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

President Ken Price called the meeting to order at 4:07 p.m.

**Motion to approve the minutes of the 2009 Business Meeting passed unanimously.**

Ken Price thanked the conference's sponsors: Princeton University Press, American Philosophical Society, McNeil Center, Jefferson Papers, Stanton-Anthony Papers, Thomas Edison Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia, and the University of Virginia Press. Price also thanked Barbara Oberg for her wonderful conference fund-raising work; those who staffed the registration desk; and the local arrangements committee, co-chaired by Bill Ferraro and Mary Hackett, as well as Tom Downey, Sue Perdue, and Bland Whitley.

**Program Committee**—Sue Perdue thanked the Program Committee—Noelle Baker, Ellen Hickman, Candace Falk, and David Mattern. Next year's program will be arranged by Carol DeBoer-Langworthy, and Perdue encouraged members to pass on their ideas to her.

**President's Report**—Ken Price reviewed Council decisions and long-range-plan progress. He explained that the ADE currently has a pending grant proposal before the NHPRC that would make the ADE responsible for the running of Camp Edit.<sup>1</sup> If it is approved, the annual meeting will move from the fall to summer so that the conference and Camp Edit could be linked. Price then discussed the Publication Committee and Council's approval of a proposal from Andrew Jewell and Amanda Gailey to edit the journal. The new journal will include the traditional content as well as a new feature—small-scale editions—as an open-source, online publication.

**Liaison Committee Report**—Martha King reported that there currently are 21 members who have volunteered to serve as liaisons with a total of 30 other professional organizations/associations, with the purpose of exchanging information and providing conference dates and panel information relative to ADE members. The committee will welcome additional volunteers.

<sup>1</sup> In December 2010, the NHPRC announced that the ADE had received a grant to substantially revise the annual Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents and introduce new professional development programs for the digital era. For more information regarding Camp Edit, see <http://documentaryediting.org/campedit.html>.

King thanked the liaisons for their service and named the organizations we are currently partnering with.

**Membership Committee Report**—Cathy Hajo explained that the committee worked to identify people who should be members of the ADE. The committee sent out 239 emails encouraging people to join and had a fourteen percent success rate. The committee welcomes new members as well as the ideas of those who might be interested in joining. Hajo also asked project heads to encourage their project members to join.

**Secretary's Report**—Jennifer Stertzler reviewed membership numbers: at present there are 300 members. This is up from last year's total of 282.

The results of this year's election are as follows: Carol DeBoer-Langworthy will serve as President-elect; John T. Fierst will continue as Treasurer; Jennifer Stertzler will continue as Secretary; Sharon Ritenour Stevens will continue as Director of Publications; and Ondine LeBlanc will serve as Councilor-at-large. Our Nominating Committee members are: Daniel Stowell, chair; Helen Deese; John Lupton; Jeff Looney; and Vanessa Steinroetter.

Stertzler mentioned that ADE brochures and journals are available at the conference registration table. Stertzler also thanked Martha King and Phil Chase for their work on the brochures.

**Treasurer's Report**—John Fierst reported that the ADE had a net gain of over \$4,000 this year thanks to the generosity of members and the well-planned Springfield conference. Fierst noted that the coming year presents new challenges that will require support from the organization. If the grant proposal before the NHPRC is successful, the ADE will be responsible for contributing \$2,400 to cover a laptop, a projector, and cell phone/service for education director Beth Luey. *Scholarly Editing* will also require the ADE to contribute toward startup expenses, though Fierst expects the first-year cost will come down in the following years. There will, however, be yearly operating expenses similar to those of the print publication of the journal. For FY 1 Sept. 2010–31 August 2011, \$4,200 was budgeted for *Scholarly Editing* and \$6,000 was budgeted for *Documentary Editing*. Generous donations from Michael Stevens and Ken Price will help to offset these expenses. Fierst presented the proposed budget for FY 1 September 2010 to 31 August 2011. Dan Stowell asked whether both the print and electronic journal will be published this year. Fierst responded that there will be one more issue of the print journal.

**Motion to adopt the 2010-2011 budget passed unanimously.**

**Federal Policy Committee Report**—Charlene Bickford briefly reported on the events of last year and explained that a lot of help will be necessary

in the upcoming year. Bickford encouraged everyone to subscribe to SEDIT-L so that they can receive updates and calls to action. Bickford also asked members to reach out to people in their districts and at their host institutions and explain the importance of documentary editing. Bickford reported that the Humanities Advocacy Day was a huge success and thanked all members who participated. Bickford urged the need for even greater representation and involvement from ADE members and expressed the hope that those from other states would be able to participate at next year's HAD on 7 and 8 March 2011.

**Motion to adjourn was passed unanimously at 4:36 pm.**

Minutes taken and respectfully submitted by Jennifer E. Stertzler, Secretary.

# Changes Coming to *Documentary Editing*

Amanda Gailey and Andrew Jewell

This spring the Council of the Association for Documentary Editing (ADE), working with the Publications Committee, accepted our proposal to edit *Documentary Editing*, beginning with the 2012 issue; the Council also approved a change in the journal's title to *Scholarly Editing: The Annual of the Association for Documentary Editing*. Our plan is to continue the fine traditions of the journal—essays about the theory and practice of editing, reviews of editions, and news pertinent to the ADE membership—while simultaneously taking the journal in an exciting new direction. Owing largely to a partnership with the University of Nebraska-Lincoln's Center for Digital Research in the Humanities, the journal will soon be an open-access digital publication, and it will also begin to publish peer-reviewed short editions.

Following is our Call for Editions, which we hope many readers of *Documentary Editing* will have already seen. We also hope that many of you will consider submitting a proposal to us and encourage your colleagues with appropriate projects to do so as well. We are, of course, happy to discuss ideas with editors informally before a full proposal is submitted.

We look forward to working with many of you as we take *Scholarly Editing* in this bold new direction. A temporary website, with the call for submissions, may be found here: <http://www.scholarlyediting.org/>

## **Background:**

Since 1979, *Documentary Editing* has been the premier journal in the field of documentary and textual editing. Beginning with the 2012 issue, the journal, renamed *Scholarly Editing*, will move online and become an open-access digital publication. While retaining the familiar content of the print journal, including peer-reviewed essays about editorial theory and practice, the 2012 issue *Scholarly Editing* will be among the first academic journals to publish peer-reviewed editions.

Even as interest in digital editing grows, potential editors have not found many opportunities to publish editions that fall outside the scope of a large scholarly edition or that do not require the creation of a sophisticated technical

infrastructure. We believe that many scholars have discovered fascinating texts that deserve to be edited and published, and we offer a venue to turn these discoveries into sustainable, peer-reviewed publications that will enrich the digital record of our cultural heritage. If you are interested in preparing a small-scale digital edition of a single document or a collection of documents, we want to hear from you.

### **Call for Editions:**

We invite proposals for rigorously edited digital small-scale editions. Proposals should be approximately 1000 words in length and include the following information:

- A description of content, scope, and approach: Please describe the materials you will edit and how you will approach editing and commenting on them. We anticipate that a well-researched apparatus (an introduction, annotations, etc.) will be key to most successful proposals.
- A statement of significance: Please briefly explain how this edition will contribute to your field.
- Approximate length.
- Indication of technical proficiency: With only rare exceptions, any edition published by *Scholarly Editing* must be in XML (Extensible Markup Language) that complies with TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) Guidelines, which have been widely accepted as the de facto standard for digital textual editing. Please indicate your facility with TEI.
- A brief description of how you imagine the materials should be visually represented: *Scholarly Editing* will provide support to display images and text in an attractive house style. If you wish to create a highly customized display, please describe it and indicate what technologies you plan to use to build it.

All contributors to *Scholarly Editing* are strongly encouraged to be members of the Association for Documentary Editing, an organization dedicated to the theory and practice of documentary and textual editing. To become a member, go to [www.documentaryediting.org](http://www.documentaryediting.org).

Please send proposals as Rich Text Format (RTF), MS Word, or PDF to the co-editors via email ([agailey2@unlnotes.unl.edu](mailto:agailey2@unlnotes.unl.edu), [ajewell@unlnotes.unl.edu](mailto:ajewell@unlnotes.unl.edu)) no later than August 1 of any year for consideration for the following year's issue. Feel free to contact us if you have questions.

**Call for Articles:**

*Scholarly Editing* welcomes submissions of articles discussing any aspect of the theory or practice of editing, print or digital. Please send submissions via email to the co-editors and include the following information in the body of your email:

1. Names, contact information, and institutional affiliations of all authors
2. Title of the article
3. Filename of article

Please omit all identifying information from the article itself. Send proposals as Rich Text Format (RTF), MS Word, or PDF; if you wish to include image files or other addenda, please send all as a single zip archive. For questions of style and citation format, please consult the current edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Submissions must be received by February 1, 2011 for consideration for the 2012 issue. Please, no simultaneous submissions.

Thank you,

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# Julian P. Boyd Award Presented to John P. Kaminski

Barbara Oberg



Rich Leffler presents the Julian P. Boyd Award to John Kaminski. Photo by Ray Smock.

The Julian P. Boyd Award is the highest award presented by the ADE. It was established in 1980 through the contribution of an anonymous donor. The award commemorates Boyd's commitment to excellence and the breadth of his scholarly interests. First presented in 1981, the Boyd Award is now given every three years to a senior scholar in honor of a distinguished contribution to the study of American history and culture.

Barbara Oberg of the Julian P. Boyd Award Committee was unable to attend the banquet to read her remarks on behalf of her colleagues on the Committee (David Chesnutt, chair; Gary Moulton; and Barbara Oberg). Her remarks were read by Richard Leffler:

The recipient of the 2010 Julian P. Boyd Award can come as a surprise to no one in this room tonight, and the Committee was unanimous and wildly enthusiastic in its choice. A member of the documentary editing community

for forty years, an effective and eloquent advocate for the work that editors “do,” and a tireless communicator with other scholars, journalists, secondary and grade school teachers and their students, and the world-at-large of early American history, the newest Boyd award recipient simply has *no equal*. Whether in an interview on National Public Radio earlier this year or in remarks to a public audience on a recent book tour (in Princeton, New Jersey), wisdom, wit, and patience abound. The title of a talk delivered at an ADE meeting in 1989, “Everything and the Kitchen Sink: The ‘Extracurricular Activities’ of Documentary Editors” only begins to describe this year’s winner.

Oh, and did I fail to mention one particular outside audience that this year’s winner has enlightened over the years: legal historians, lawyers, and judges? Surely by now you have realized that I am talking about John P. Kaminski, who has contributed to the scholarly and public study of American history and culture as documentary editor extraordinaire, scholar, teacher, and mentor—“Everything and the Kitchen Sink,” as he said. As a distinguished historian and editor/project director of the *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*, he richly deserves the ADE’s highest award. But John’s contributions to scholarly documentary editing extend far beyond the *Ratification* volumes. His fourteen-page CV also includes numerous related books and articles, educational programs, the founding of the Center for the Study of the American Constitution, and presenting the personalities and character of the Founding Mothers and Fathers to the general public. When I was at Fort Clatsop, Oregon, two weeks ago and was introduced to the head of their gift shop as the Editor of the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, she rushed me over to look at their titles. She handed me a copy of John’s *Quotable Jefferson*, proudly announcing it was one of their “best sellers.” This is a sign of how far his work and fame have spread—across the country and across the great divide between scholars and “others.”

The Association for Documentary Editing has benefited in ways too numerous to mention from John’s boundless knowledge, energy, and devotion to the Association and to the wider historical community. Having trained under one of the “editorial founding fathers,” Merrill Jensen, and having served for the last thirty-three years as a leader and energizer of the NHPRC’s Editing Institute in Madison, Wisconsin, to train and inspire new editors, I like to think of John as the connector between our past, present, and future.

Previous recipient of the ADE’s Distinguished Service Award (1990), the Lyman H. Butterfield Award for the Ratification Project (1993), and the Life Service Award (2007), John Kaminski now adds to his list of deserved honors the 2010 Julian P. Boyd Award. It is with delight and our hearty congratulations that we present this award tonight.

As Richard Leffler concluded his reading of Barbara Oberg’s remarks, he added this comment: “I should note that since John received the Life

Service Award in 2007, he has authored or edited six books, written fourteen encyclopedia articles, delivered fourteen papers, conducted multiple teacher institutes throughout the United States, produced two programs for the University of Wisconsin radio station (with accompanying CDs), conducted numerous judicial seminars and other programs for state and federal judges nationally, and was guest curator for an exhibition on New York's ratification of the Constitution for the New-York Historical Society. So let me just say that the ADE has done itself proud by honoring John Kaminski—one of the great and productive scholars of our time—with the 2010 Julian P. Boyd Award.”

# Helen R. Deese Honored with the 2010 Lyman H. Butterfield Award

Ann D. Gordon



Ron Bosco presents the Lyman H. Butterfield Award to Helen Deese. Photo by Ray Smock.

The Lyman H. Butterfield Award is presented this year to Helen R. Deese. With this award the Association for Documentary Editing recognizes, first and foremost, Professor Deese's achievements as a scholar who works on both sides of our putative divide, producing acclaimed editions of both literary and historical texts. We also recognize her generous service to the Association over many years as a member of its committees and Council, a presenter at annual meetings, an author in *Documentary Editing*, and a thoughtful contributor to our ongoing discussions of editorial theory and practice.

Colleagues who nominated her for the Butterfield Award uniformly underscored, in the words of one, Helen's "enormous influence on the field of American Transcendentalism." She has wielded that influence chiefly through

two large and original enterprises: her massive *Jones Very: The Complete Poems*, published in 1993, and her ongoing edition of the journals of Caroline Healey Dall. A significant measure of Helen's intellectual generosity is that she has been equally successful editing the work of a somewhat mad and mystical poet and that of an astute, if cranky, observer of creative ferment.

Until her retirement, Helen spent two decades teaching at Tennessee Technological University, where she was an award-winning professor. Admittedly, not everyone thinks that teaching in Tennessee provides the best platform for editing topics and texts in Massachusetts! But working as a solo editor, she managed over many years to accomplish that difficult feat.

If you are not familiar with the Transcendentalist Jones Very, a quest for information produces a remarkable list of appositives: prophet, poet, madman, clergyman, classicist, mystic, and essayist. These multiple aspects of his personality presented challenges for an editor, as Helen's colleagues described for the committee. Wrote one:

A brilliant but possibly mad poet who believed that he was the medium through which the Holy Spirit dictated verse, Very utterly disregarded revision and form. Industry and tact were thus essential in preparing Professor Deese's massive volume of his poems.

In masterful understatement, another nominator described the challenge thus:

Prior to Deese's edition, Very's poetry had been highly copyedited because his editors doubted that Very's belief that his writings were inspired and often dictated by Christ, who guided his hand, made for a workable textual policy.

When Helen shifted her attention to another Massachusetts Transcendentalist, Caroline Healey Dall, she faced rather different challenges. So far, this project consists of a well-received popular edition, *Daughter of Boston: The Extraordinary Diary of a Nineteenth-Century Woman*, published in 2005, and the first volume of the *Selected Journals of Caroline Healey Dall, Volume 1: 1838-1855*, published in 2006. Further volumes are expected soon. Scholars and students turning to these books appreciate the elegant touch of Helen's annotation. Editors also prize her fine hand at selection. Dall's journals, continuous for nearly seventy-five years, are an invaluable source on nineteenth-century Boston culture and woman's rights. They look outward, providing through her youthful mind some of the best records of Margaret Fuller's conversations, and they have an unusual private dimension, as when they document the collapse of Dall's marriage.

Through her work on Dall, Helen has contributed to the ways editors think about and explain selectivity in their work. "I am acutely aware," she wrote

in the introduction to *Daughter of Boston*, “that readers are nearly completely at my mercy. Unless they go to the trouble of reading the entire text on microfilm, they can’t judge how fairly I have presented Dall’s text.” She warns readers about the kinds of power she exercised as editor: “determining which parts of the text readers will not see” and recovering passages Dall tried to cancel. With her readers well warned, however, she affirms that selection, like the rest of editing, is an art. “[T]he length of Dall’s complete journals,” she writes, “means that only a handful of scholars will ever read them in their entirety. Surely the solution to reducing their bulk is not to choose entries randomly or to include  $x$  number of pages per month or year.”

Finally, what many of us in this Association know about Helen R. Deese should be clearly stated as our grateful acknowledgement of her contributions to our lives and work. She is very generous with her research, answering the questions of students and editors with details and sources that she has not yet had the chance to publish. Her hand can be seen in other nineteenth-century literary and historical editions, just as her clear mind has been seen contributing to the governance of this Association and the leadership of other professional organizations. And no one can think of Helen without conjuring an image of a particular table in a particular corner of the room at our annual banquets, where she ranks as a senior and beaming member of the “rowdy table.”

**The 2010 Butterfield Award Selection Committee: Ann D. Gordon, chair;  
Ronald A. Bosco, and Mary Hackett.**

# In Memoriam

## Jo Ann Boydston (1924–2011)

Larry A. Hickman

Jo Ann Boydston enjoyed a distinguished career as general editor of the *Collected Works of John Dewey* and director of the Center for Dewey Studies at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. Born in Poteau, Oklahoma, of Choctaw Indian heritage, she graduated summa cum laude from Oklahoma State University in 1944. She received an M.A. from Oklahoma State in 1947, a Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1950, and honorary doctorates from Indiana University (1994) and Southern Illinois University (2004).

In 1961 Boydston joined the staff of a modest research project at Southern Illinois University called “Co-operative Research on Dewey Publications” as assistant to project director, George E. Axtelle. The goal of the project was to produce a concordance of the works of John Dewey. It was soon realized that an adequate concordance would require a standard edition of Dewey’s works. By 1971 Axtelle had left the university, Boydston had become the director of the renamed Center for Dewey Studies, and the first four of the thirty-seven volumes of the *Collected Works* had been published utilizing standards of modern documentary editing. The thirty-seventh volume of the *Collected Works* was published in 1990 and an index volume was published in 1991. Boydston retired as director of the Center in 1993.

In addition to the *Collected Works* volumes, Boydston’s many publications include *John Dewey: A Checklist of Translations, 1900–1967* (with Robert L. Andresen, 1969), *Checklist of Writings about John Dewey* (with Kathleen Poulos, 1974, 1978), and *John Dewey’s Personal and Professional Library: A Checklist* (1982). She took particular delight in the publication of *The Poems of John Dewey* (1977), which, she reported, involved some detective work on her part. In order to authenticate Dewey’s authorship of the poems she compared the typewriter faces that appear on the poetry typescripts with peculiarities that appear in



Dewey's typed correspondence, and she dated many of the poems by examining the typewriter faces—his own and those of others—that Dewey used at various times during his career.

Boydston relished her service in professional organizations. She served as a member of the executive committee of the Society for the Advancement of American Philosophy (1980–82), as member (1987–88) and then chair (1988–92) of the Modern Language Association Committee on Scholarly Editions, as archivist (1975–93), secretary-treasurer (1962–70), and president (1972–74) of the John Dewey Society, and as president of the Association for Documentary Editing (1984–85).

Boydston also served on a number of advisory boards, including the Textual Standards Committee of the Library of America and the editorial boards of the Charles Sanders Peirce Edition, the Library of Living Philosophers, the Jonathan Edwards Edition, the Mark Twain Papers and Correspondence, and after retirement, the Center for Dewey Studies. She served as the Committee on Scholarly Editions' inspector for volumes in the Mark Twain, William James, William Dean Howells, and Washington Irving editions, and as textual consultant for the Frederick Douglass Papers, the Bertrand Russell Edition, and the George Santayana Edition.

When she received an honorary doctorate from Indiana University, the citation read, in part: "Jo Ann Boydston is recognized for her exemplary and innovative work as an acclaimed scholar and textual editor. As the world's foremost authority on John Dewey, her academic scholarship ranks unparalleled. As a human being, her generous spirit graciously manifests in the time, advice and encouragement she shares with others. Indiana University salutes Jo Ann Boydston as a rare human being, who has contributed significantly to scholarly learning."

Jo Ann Boydston will be missed.

## Contributors

**James M. Cornelius** is Curator of the Lincoln Collection at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, in Springfield, Illinois. He has written a few books and dozens of articles and book reviews about architecture, baseball, literature, and, most of all, American and British history.

**Richard Deming** teaches in the English Department at Yale University. He is the author of *Listening on All Sides: Toward an Emersonian Ethics of Reading* (Stanford University Press, 2008).

**Amanda Gailey** is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and a Fellow at the Center for Digital Research in the Humanities; she specializes in digital editing and nineteenth-century American literature. She is Vice-President of Digital Americanists ([digitalamericanists.org](http://digitalamericanists.org)), co-editor of the Americanist Board of NINES (Networked Infrastructure for Nineteenth-Century Electronic Scholarship), and co-chair of the special interest group on manuscript encoding for the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI). Currently, she is creating an archive of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century children's literature that explores how materials marketed to juvenile audiences shaped notions of racial difference. Professor Gailey's publications include articles on digital editorial theory and editing Whitman and Dickinson; she is working on a book that will study how the genre of the collected edition has helped shape the canon of American literature from the eighteenth century to the digital age.

**Larry A. Hickman** is Professor of Philosophy and director of the Center for Dewey Studies at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. He is the general editor of *The Correspondence of John Dewey* and *The Class Lectures of John Dewey*. His most recent book is *Pragmatism as Post-postmodernism: Lessons from John Dewey* (Fordham University Press, 2007).

**John P. Kaminski** is the director of the Center for the Study of the American Constitution in the History Department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is director and co-editor of *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*. In addition to the twenty-one *Ratification* volumes, he has published twenty other volumes, the last of which are *The Founders on the Founders: Word Portraits from the American Revolutionary Era* (University of Virginia Press, 2008), *The Quotable Abigail Adams* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), and *The Great Virginia Triumvirate: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison in the Eyes of Their Contemporaries* (University of Virginia Press, 2010). He is the recipient of the 2010 Julian P. Boyd Award.

**Elizabeth Lorang** is a postdoctoral research associate in the Department of English at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, where she is project manager and senior assistant editor of the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org) and project manager of *Civil War Washington* (civilwardc.org). She was awarded a 2009–2010 Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellowship for “American Poetry and the Daily Newspaper from the Rise of the Penny Press to the New Journalism” and is currently writing a book about newspaper poetry in the nineteenth century. Her work has appeared in the *Mickle Street Review*, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, and *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*.

**Beth Luey** is the founding director emerita of the Scholarly Publishing Program at Arizona State University and an assistant editor at the Adams Papers, at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

**John F. Marszalek** is the Executive Director and Managing Editor of the Ulysses S. Grant Association, housed in the Mitchell Memorial Library, Mississippi State University. He is Giles Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History at Mississippi State and has authored or edited thirteen books including biographies of Civil War generals William T. Sherman and Henry W. Halleck and monographs in the Jacksonian Period and Race Relations. While working on the supplementary volume of *The Papers of Ulysses S. Grant* and preparing a scholarly edition of the Grant *Memoirs*, he is researching a book on Abraham Lincoln and the Military.

**Kenneth M. Price** is Hillegass University Professor of American Literature at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln. His scholarship focuses on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American literature, American periodicals, and digital humanities. He co-directs two scholarly projects, the *Walt Whitman Archive* and *Civil War Washington*, and he also co-directs Nebraska’s Center for Digital Research in the Humanities.

**Wesley Raabe** is an Assistant Professor of Textual Editing and American Literature at Kent State University. His current project is entitled “*Uncle Tom’s Cabin: A Digital Critical Edition.*”

**Nancee Reeves** is a fourth-year Ph.D. candidate at Purdue University, where she is currently working on her dissertation, “Compassionate Killing Machines: Modes of Kindly Death in Victorian England.”

**Gary Scharnhorst** is Distinguished Professor of English at the University of New Mexico, the editor of *American Literary Realism*, and the editor in alternating years of the research annual *American Literary Scholarship*. He is also the author of biographies of Horatio Alger, Jr., Bret Harte, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Kate Field, and the editor of collected interviews with Oscar Wilde and Mark Twain. The recipient of five Fulbright fellowships to Germany, he is presently at work on a biography of Julian Hawthorne.

**Ryan P. Semmes** is the Assistant Archivist for the Congressional and Political Research Center at the Mississippi State University Libraries. An article he composed entitled “From Pea Ridge to the Potomac, The Civil War Correspondence of Lemon G. Hine” will appear in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*. His interests include the organization of 20th century political collections and Reconstruction era politics.

**Mary Lamb Shelden** is an Assistant Professor who teaches the freshman seminar and American Literature at Virginia Commonwealth University. Her dissertation, *Novel Habits for a New World*, is a survey of cross-dressing in nineteenth-century American novels. Other scholarly projects include a recent article on “Health and the Body” for *The Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism*, the entry on Annie Proulx for the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, and entries about gender and cross-dressing in Greenwood Press’s *The Louisa May Alcott Encyclopedia* and *An Encyclopedia of African-American Literature*. She also has a collaborative article pending about service-learning classes in the freshman seminar at VCU. She and her service-learning students are currently at work on taking oral histories concerning the Holley School for Freedmen and readying them for Internet publication. Professor Shelden hopes to publish the Holley School letters in a critical edition.

**Patricia Dunlavy Valenti** is Professor Emerita in the Department of English and Theatre at the University of North Carolina at Pembroke where she was Director of the Graduate Program in English and Chair of Strategic Planning and Resources. She has published in the areas of Women’s Studies, Nineteenth-century American literature, Life-Writing, and English Education. Her publications include *To Myself a Stranger: A Biography of Rose Hawthorne Lathrop* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991) and *Sophia Peabody Hawthorne a Life, Volume I, 1809–1847* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2004). The second volume of this biography is in process.

**Bland Whitley** is an assistant editor with the Papers of Thomas Jefferson in Princeton. He received a Ph.D. in history from the University Florida and previously worked as an assistant editor for the *Dictionary of Virginia Biography* and as an editor of the *Journal of Southern Religion*.



