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A SHORT HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE

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UNIVERSITY OF TOLEDO

WITH SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTERS BY

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MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

The following analytic history and narrative outline necessitates a word as to purpose, scope, and form. It aims at tracing in one volume the advance of American literature, in its historical and social development, with special emphasis upon the period from 1760, when the first stirrings of national ambition were felt, to the close of the World War. Such a proposal is not new, for surveys of our national letters have been plentiful; and I have no desire merely to add another volume to the increasing list of fairly comprehensive histories. But of those now on the market, many are either too expensive for ordinary class purposes, too narrowly devoted to one part of the field, or too fragmentarily outlined. Most accounts are so concerned with the "Black Walnut" group of major authors as to give little notice to the actual literary scene itself or to attempt adequate co-ordination of artistic forms. The *Short History,* without laying claim to broad comprehensiveness, discusses not only leading figures and so-called movements, but the forces from which they sprang, and combines such information with the facts of activities in other fields. So far as the limitations of length permit, it appraises the social significance of national and local writers and singles out dominant centers of interest. It glances at popular favorites from overseas and suggests their influence upon American audiences and writers. It takes cognizance of poetry, the novel, the short story, humor and other non-fictional prose, besides presenting more limited views of drama and periodicals. All these forms it attempts to correlate and to study as parallel channels in the concerted effort to bring about a high literary culture in America. This account, therefore, directed at forces and tendencies, presents a consistent though brief story of the developments in several fields and emphasizes material of social as well as of belletristic significance.

Explanation of the plan of analysis may prove helpful. Obviously America is not old enough for the division of its literary record into centuries; entirely too large a part of publishing activity here has been restricted to the last one hundred years. Nor can the system of grouping prose and poetic items about great figures, so effective in certain handbooks of English literature, have any strong appeal. In a democracy of letters there is no commonly accepted general for literary subalterns, no one giant whose shadow falls upon all his contemporaries. This method, moreover, has the limitation of unduly submerging potential rivals for fame on the theory that there is room for only one or two outstanding figures in the literary gallery. Besides, such labeling of an age by a major figure demands a unit of forty years, and has value only as authors have receded far into the past. There is more justification for the study of American letters through great movements, such as the theological, the romantic, and the realistic; but even such procedure is artificial, and the terms so controversial as to make the historian seem more interested in categorical concepts than in the correlation of literature and life.

The descriptive phrase in the title makes clear, of course, that this book is organized upon an unconventional plan. In the chapter divisions I have considered periods ten years in length, and studied within such limits both the literary scene and the development in artistic forms perceptible from unit to unit. Such organization is obviously arbitrary; but as Western man is captive to his own formulation of the rhythm of change, a decade seems as convenient a unit as any. It is recognized that, in employing such an organizing label, there is nothing thaumaturgic in the term: a ten-year period is a calendar designation with nothing logical about it save its convenience. Terminals in such a scheme may or may not be important. If 1760 stands for the beginning of real controversies with England, and therefore offers a convenient date for the beginning of the analysis, 1920, which closes the last decade division, certainly signifies little to us as we view the artistic careers of those then writing. It may reasonably be objected that literature is organic and continuous, not detached and disintegrated, and that the recurrent ten-year periods break it up arbitrarily. But I hope by such structure to signalize the

appearance of new figures of importance, to chart carefully their literary reputations, to record the important tendencies, both as they appear today and in isometric perspective, and to indicate the changes in the literary spirit as the nineteenth century progressed. Such procedure guards against the ever-present danger of making novelty rather than reading habits and literary tradition the aim of the historian.

There are additional factors to commend it. Decade organization forces answers to the question as to what material, literary or sub-literary, was being read and talked about in any ten-year period; it requires recognition of the driving power and soul of a particular time; it notes the persistence of former favorites into later periods. The units under this organization are short enough to permit a correlation of events and literary products and a parallel presentation of varied forms. They permit labels to be applied without their loose extension to years beyond their appropriateness. And while other ways of organization are no more arbitrary, it may be stimulative as well as instructive to apply this method (used by Pattee) for the first time to the whole of American literature. Besides, the analytic arrangement combines with this system of short units to give a compendious effect desirable in a one-volume history.

The limits may also be explained. Obviously the decade division cannot be employed for periods, such as the seventeenth century, too barren in literary products to warrant special units or the devotion of a time division to them. It has been thought unwise to extend the treatment to recent publications for the opposite reason, for here the complexity of the matter is so great, and the shifts in literary judgment so pronounced, that anything like classification becomes a purely temporary expedient. For the early period, therefore, M. L. Williams, of the University of Michigan, has contributed an introductory essay on Colonial Culture, and for the years after 1920 W. L. Werner, of Pennsylvania State College, has supplied a supplementary section.

This book is definitely not planned as a cram book. It aims to supplement and not take the place of classroom notes and classroom remarks. Items which are important for the understanding of a period are found here, but detailed analyses of literary figures are not given. Such omission is studied: the plan precludes extended essays of appreciation, thorough studies of sources, and lengthy evaluations. Attempting to correlate the work of authors for each decade, to keep the various genres sufficiently in mind that they may be studied concurrently, it prevents the impression so frequently conveyed by the usual short text, that authors work in isolation, as veritable literary Melchisedecs. It tries to indicate in limited space the literary fare of other generations.

In exposition of these matters, an overminuteness has been sedulously avoided, and details reduced to those possessing at least marginal interest to a present-day reader. Reference to older material has not been purely antiquarian: forgotten reputations have been re-examined only when necessary to bring back the temper of a period or to avoid the impression that any one decade was totally sterile in literary activity as well as in literary masterpieces. Because of the outline organization, no jungle of brief estimates will be found, and few unannotated lists of authors and their works. Such cautions are a departure from the practice of syllabi now current. The outline form has been used to reduce the space ordinarily devoted to organizational matters—no inconsiderable portion of the usual history—to show relationships at a glance, and to provide parallel treatment of concurrent forms without the hasty attempts at synchronization required in other plans.

In the face of the tendency of the modern anthology to present numerous aids to the study of the biography and interpretation of authors, this *Short History* attempts to fill an ever-growing need for background work that will integrate material and enable the student to see individual figures in relation to their time, literary and social movements, and outstanding literary forms.

G. Harrison Orians

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CHAPTER I

PREVAILING PATTERNS IN COLONIAL THOUGHT AND CULTURE

I. A Point of View.

Ask the average student about his concept of American colonial literature and he will mumble a few names and dates in reply: *Bay Psalm Book, Day of Doom, Woolman's Journal,* 1620, 1763—associating them with monstrously antiquated notions, crabbed and sour spirits, mean natures, and intolerably dry prose. Scholars, too, look upon colonial literature as the lumber which has accumulated in the attic of our cultural mansion; it is of interest only to those who, because the weather is always rainy, perpetually putter among the antiquated relics of their forefathers. Textbooks and anthologies, with a few noteworthy exceptions, have reflected and fostered these notions.

Colonial literature is neglected in direct proportion to the lack of knowledge and understanding of its ideological and cultural framework. It is true that its subject matter is controversial, sententious, and often bigoted. Its style is heavy, involved, and sometimes incomprehensible. To many readers the colonial mind seems aesthetically sterile. Nevertheless, this "barren" period is fascinatingly alive with memorable personalities, intense emotional controversies, and keen though ponderous polemics. The problems that stirred the colonial American's mind were the world's problems; the cultural patterns which were established then have long endured.

The English contemporaries of the colonists make up a dazzling galaxy. The religious poets and preachers, Quarles, Marvell, Fuller; the Puritan masters, Milton and Bunyan; the Puritan critic, Butler; the learned anatomist, Burton; the classicists, Dryden, Pope, Steele, Addison; the Restoration dramatists, Congreve and Wycherley; the middle-class spokesman, Defoe; the immortal Pepys—these were the men with whom colonial writers have had to compete. With the exception of the outstanding figures, colonial America produced individuals who place good seconds to their English brethren. America had no Milton in verse, but in controversial writing, in ecclesiastical argument, it is doubtful whether the pamphlet war between John Cotton and Roger Williams is any less important than the debate between Milton and Smectymnus. Certainly Ann Bradstreet's mournful lyrics rise to a level equal to those of Sylvester and Quarles. Sermon literature is likely to be boring—the sermons of Increase Mather no more so than those of Thomas Fuller. The incomparable learning of Burton and Browne is almost matched in the mazes of Cotton Mather's erudition. The transports and ecstasies of Edward Johnson may not have taken the naïve allegorical form of those of the English tinker, yet they are eminently respectable. The same zeal that filled Bunyan's soul inspired Wigglesworth to perpetrate his angular poem. Defoe's spirit of adventure was actively reproduced in Thomas Morton. Nathaniel Ward's vitriolic satire and invective were a match for Butler's, and prying Samuel Sewall lets us into the secrets of colonial life with almost as much abandon as the prying Pepys. Enough of apologetics! What must be realized is that those who crossed the Atlantic were whole men, not parts of men; that their interests were those of normal Englishmen; that their moods and styles were those of Stuart England.

Another element in the formation of a point of view is chronology. Colonial

America cannot be forced into a single period, 1609–1760, nor into two periods, "first" and "second" colonial. The first generation of colonists were transplanted Englishmen who, either as exiles or as adventurous entrepreneurs, were engaged in transferring seventeenth-century England to America. Edward Eggleston's title, *The Transit of Civilization,* aptly states the situation. The second and third generations looked both backward and forward. They were neither exiles nor colonists, and their culture was static or transitional. By 1720 the resident in America had found himself and had defined his problems in terms of the new environment. Thenceforth, greater emphasis was placed on the indigenous elements in thought and civilization; the America of Edwards, Franklin, and Crèvecœur is not the same as that of Winthrop and Bradford, nor that of Mather and Byrd. The student must recognize this change in pattern or go sadly astray in his judgments.

II. The Earthly Paradise.

It is not enough to say that the colonists sought freedom of worship and new fortunes in the lands washed by the Atlantic's western tides. The mainsprings of the colonial migration were far more powerful than those. Spengler was not the first to lament the decline of the Western world; dozens of commentators in the late Renaissance and in the Reformation days were obsessed with the idea that the Old World was in a state of decay. Generations of depraved men had sprung from its soil; each generation had further tainted and corrupted the earth which bore it. Long and costly conflicts had impoverished all nations of Europe; despair and misery were increasing rather than decreasing; power of men was slackening; the providential interference of God was less frequent; the forces of Satan were everywhere rampant. What more natural than the vision, the dream of "Earth's onely Paradise," as Michael Drayton phrased it, to bring fresh hope to weary men, exhausted by years of toil and depression!

Whatever the economic and imperialistic motives that lay beneath the voyages of the new Argonauts, Raleigh, Hawkins, Drake, Frobisher, Baffin, Hall, Gilbert, and the rest, whatever the nationalistic fervor that fostered the compiling of Hakluyt's *Principal Voyages* and Purchas's *Pilgrimes,* there was a yet deeper force that led Europeans ever on toward O Brasil, El Dorado, the New Atlantis, Arcadia, or the Earthly Paradise, that *new world* where, in unspotted innocence, a new society of men might be erected. Did not each traveler bring back glowing accounts of the Eden-like fruitfulness of a land whose soil produced a vegetation like that no mortal man had yet seen, whose rivers of milk and honey flowed over sands of gold, whose waters teemed with fishes and wild fowl? Surely such a land was providentially destined. America, a land of plenty and comfort, appealed alike to bourgeois and to oppressed. There the will of God should finally be fulfilled.

The "American dream," thus early developed, finds graphic expression in the work of Captain John Smith, George Percy, Alexander Whitaker, and John Pory; in William Bradford, Thomas Morton, and John Winthrop. In tidewater Virginia and rockbound New England, colonists, like Tennyson's Merlin, followed the gleam.

III. The Transfer of the Renaissance Spirit.

It cannot be too often stressed that colonial America, especially seventeenth-century America with its individualistic, ebullient psychology, was peculiarly Renaissance in its character.

The Renaissance spirit is manifest in the cultural equipment, the zeal for learning, the display of erudition of the seventeenth-century colonists. Nowhere in modern history is there a record of a more educated or a more educable body of people who have gone out from the mother country to found new kingdoms. Every ship brought its quota of divines and learned men—many of whom had been trained in English universities; every returning vessel carried an order for more books. And

what books! Calvin's *Institutes,* Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity,* Greek and Hebrew texts, commentaries on the Bible, theological speculations, Bacon's *Advancement of Learning,* the classics, the Church Fathers. Heterogeneous, of course—but the hunger for knowledge satisfied itself on any fare. The assimilation of the world's learning was the chief talent of such Englishmen as Browne, Fuller, and Burton. In the Mather dynasty the same display of erudition is apparent. Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) is a gigantic storehouse filled with the world's wisdom presented in the involved, quaint, circumlocutory style of the time. The marvels of Homer and the Greek historians, the subtleties of the learned Hebrews and the Christian patristic writers, the findings of the Royal Society—all are grist for Cotton's capacious mind.

The Renaissance spirit is further evidenced in the exercise of a lusty curiosity. The realms of the mind, the body, the spirit, and the devil were vast domains to be explored. Increase Mather's *Remarkable Providences* and Cotton Mather's *Magnalia,* the accounts of the travelers, the intimate diaries and journals, record a breadth of interest that puts the modern specialists to shame. Coupled with the "infinite credulity" of these writers is their concern for scientific truth. That the stern theologians should have given ear to the ideas of Newton, should have carried on a lengthy correspondence with members of the Royal Society, is proof of the fact that, like other Renaissance thinkers, they were receptive to new and revolutionary ideas about the world in which they lived.

IV. Historiography—a Social Instrument

Not the least of the characteristics of the colonial mind was the concern for history. The colonists felt keenly the nature of the history-making adventure they had undertaken. Theirs was a passion for recording, for describing controversies in detail, for setting down the minutiae of daily existence. And it is done with such seriousness that there can be no doubt that their eyes were fixed on the future: the origins of that future must not lie in dark obscurity; William Bradford began his history, "And first of the occasion and inducements to Plymouth Plantation; the which that I may truly unfold, I must begin at the very root and rise of the same." Edward Winslow's *Good News from New England* (1624), John Winthrop's *History of New England* (1630–1648), Thomas Morton's *New England's Canaan* (1637), Edward Johnson's *The Wonder-Working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England* (1654), Robert Beverley's *History of Virginia* (1795), John Lawson's *History of North Carolina* (1709), and William Smith's *History of New York* (1757) are but a few of the dozens of fascinating accounts of colonial life and politics.

The most plausible explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in the sense of separation from Europe which the colonists felt. They knew that precedents and established records had been left behind; new ones had to be supplied. Through history it is easy to build up a tradition; and tradition is necessary if institutions are to be preserved from change. The instinct of the citizen who seeks peace and stability through a new order is to channelize the new as quickly as possible. Hence historiography.

V. The Puritan State—a Theocratic Commonwealth.

One of the baffling aspects of colonial thought is Puritanism with its attendant doctrines. Like romanticism or individualism, Puritanism is a word to conjure with; it means all things to all men. For some interpreters Puritanism is the driving force behind American progress and personality; for others it is the retarding factor in our cultural and spiritual development. It is variously an economic doctrine, a theory of state, a theological creed, and a code of ethics. Either of the first two conceives of Puritanism primarily in terms of church polity (the government of the church), while the latter two treat Puritanism as a body of doctrine. Only by considering all

these aspects can one come to anything like a whole concept of the Puritan commonwealth and its significance.

A. Theocracy versus democracy.

In the very first years of the Massachusetts Bay Colony dissension over jurisdiction and autonomy of churches led to serious controversy. Congregationalism ostensibly left each church free to determine its own government and its own beliefs. But, as only church members were free men (by the order of 1631), the theocrats—a body of pious, middle-class men who administered both the state and the church—inevitably achieved power. These stewards of the Lord, the Puritan saints and magistrates, espoused a "mixed" government wherein power resided in the delegates (the best men) of the people, i.e., the church members. Under the leadership of John Winthrop the democratic character of congregationalism was destroyed. In 1636 the theocratic group made it a law that both the elders and the magistrates should approve the establishment of a new church; in 1637 but one form of religion was permitted; and in 1638 the ministry was put on the payroll of the state. The Cambridge Platform (1646) was imposed upon all the Congregational churches in Massachusetts, and individual church autonomy was gone. "If any church . . . shall walk incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way . . . the magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require." The cause of all these enactments was the continued threat of the non-Congregationalists—members of other sects and the unregenerate—to the established order. The attack was the more dangerous because it came from both front and flank: it argued against "persecution for the cause of conscience" and it argued for the separation of church and state, for the social compact, for popular democratic government. Spearheads in the movement against theocracy were Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, and John Wise. Chief protagonists of theocracy were John Cotton, John Winthrop, Increase Mather, Cotton Mather, and Samuel Mather. Theirs was the task, as the agents of God in New England, of keeping the refractory and impressionable members of society in line with the principles of law and order—principles designed and determined by the ruling class. Theocracy failed because it could not hold the spirit of independency in check. Royal revocation of the Massachusetts charter in 1692 broke the temporal power of the self-determining oligarchy.

B. High priests of theocracy.

Increase Mather and Cotton Mather. Representative of the theocratic leadership of the early century were the Boston divines, father and son, Increase and Cotton Mather. Their spiritual leadership had great influence in the daily lives and conduct of Boston citizens. The practical, pragmatic religious position of Cotton and the temperate but logical work of Increase were felt not only by the congregation but also by the community of Boston, in which they moved amid the reverence accorded them because of their position.

Nowhere can one find better expression of the conservative New England mind than in the works of these two men. The father will long be better known for his collection of "tall tales" of the supernatural—*Remarkable Providences*—than for the really significant contributions which he made to conservative apologetics and to the cause of science. Cotton Mather (*vide infra*) lacks the "terse, sinewy style" of his illustrious parent. He was given to bitter and violent denunciation; the whole intolerance of his nature speaks eloquently in such phrases as these: ". . . what may be done for the service of Religion and the Churches, throughout the land, that the poison of Wise's cursed Libel may have an Antidote?" Whatever else the *Magnalia* may be, it is the master work of Puritan theocracy. In it are set forth in dazzling splendor the beauties of that very government by God's elect which foolish, libelous men were trying to overthrow.

C. Democratic spokesmen.

Roger Williams. This thorn-in-the-flesh of the theocratic party began as early as

1635 to demand the separation of church and state, to insist on private instead of public worship, freedom of conscience, and other heretical beliefs. Banished from Bay Colony in 1636, he founded a colony at Providence where he continued his attacks upon theocracy and provided a haven for the distressed and persecuted. *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* (1643–1644) was addressed to John Cotton, who immediately replied in a vindictive manner. Williams returned to the attack with a trenchant defense of the principle of popular government: *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody* (1652). Diffuse, disproportionate, and involved, his work is yet endowed with a vigor and passion that make many of the dead pages kindle into flame as they are read.

John Wise. While village preacher, Wise spent three weeks in jail for denying the right of Andros and his council to tax the colony's towns at will. Although active in the ill-fated Quebec expedition, he found his true forte in verbal battles with the scheming Mathers. When the theocracy sought to regain ground lost in 1692 by creating a central, federated union of churches (1705), Wise prepared a careful denunciation of the proposals. *The Churches Quarrel Espoused* (1710) and his later work *Vindication of the Government of the New-England Churches* (1717) championed the cause of freedom as represented in untainted, democratic congregationalism. His ideas were so thoroughly grounded in civil as well as church polity that revolutionary successors used his arguments fifty years later. Words like these were stock in trade in 1775: "a democracy in church or state is a very honorable and regular government according to the dictates of right reason . . . justified and defended by the law and light of nature."

VI. Puritanism—the Orthodoxy.

With the decline and fall of the theocratic state, the attention of the Puritan priest was directed to other objects, chiefly the maintenance of a sound doctrine and the defense of the established creed. The premises upon which the logical superstructure of Puritanism was erected are well known: absolute sovereignty of God, predestination, total depravity, election, damnation of the unregenerate. Added to these were other views equally dogmatic: the infallibility of the Bible, the physical manifestation of God's presence in natural phenomena (lightning, tempest, etc.), trinitarianism. These premises granted, it was easy to build a system of theology as rigorous and inflexible as that which characterized the New England orthodoxy. It was a theology theocentric, dogmatic, coercive, ascetic, and, above all, practical for the class-conscious group it was intended to serve.

The keeper of the Puritan conscience became by 1725 the keeper of the Puritan creed. Doctrinal problems that had merely vexed the seventeenth century proved matters of life and death to the eighteenth. Serious schisms developed which threatened orthodoxy even as democracy had destroyed theocracy. And, as in the former struggle, the doctrinal heresies appeared early and found able champions and ready listeners.

Mistress Anne Hutchinson, a clever blueblood of old Boston, gathered about her a group of women to whom she explained the hard sermons they were regularly expected to assimilate. Soon, however, Mistress Anne's Antinomianism began to taint the minds of her little circle. Antinomianism was unquestionably subversive; in plain language it meant that God so loves all men that one needs only to have faith in Him and His infinite mercy and wisdom to be saved. At least two of the orthodox premises were challenged by such a belief. When she was asked how she knew the things she preached, she replied that she learned them by direct revelation, by an inner light—the abominated doctrine of the Friends. Anne Hutchinson, charged with eighty-nine departures from the true creed, fled to Rhode Island.

Solomon Stoddard, grandfather of Jonathan Edwards, attacked the rigorous requirements for baptism and communion so effectively that Stoddardeanism became a

term, in theological jargon, for the popular "halfway" measures in conversion—the Half-Way Covenant. **Lemuel Briant** spoke persuasively of the inherent personal righteousness of all men (Arminianism), and **Jonathan Mayhew** preached universal salvation (Universalism) and the nondivinity of Christ (Arianism). **Charles Chauncy** denied the doctrines of original sin. Truly, the forces of Satan had entered the new Zion, and all means had to be used to expel them.

Michael Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom* (1662) represents the attempt to propagate the doctrines of the Puritan *collegium* without any flinching from their horrible and inevitable consequences. In honesty to his memory it must be admitted that he flinched once—when he gave the unbaptized infants the "easiest room in hell." **Cotton Mather** lashed out at the weak-kneed substitutes for piety and reverence, as did his son, **Samuel Mather,** after him. Individuals like **Samuel Willard** wrote compendious volumes (*A Complete Body of Divinity,* 1726) calculated to check defections among young men training for the ministry.

Greatest and most clear-headed of those who defended the Calvinist system was **Jonathan Edwards.** A spiritual blight had fallen upon the godly when young Edwards went out to his grandfather's parish at Northampton. The purity and extreme piousness of an earlier day were gone. As new generations grew up and began the *less difficult* task of wresting a livelihood from the earth by what were clearly their own unaided efforts, as the young men turned their attention to more diverse labors, there was an inevitable decrease in the spirit of piety. Conversion was no longer the intense psychological cataclysm it once had been. Emotional convulsions representing the work of the Holy Spirit were less frequent. "Spiritual indifference" or "deadness of soul" was the cry of the Puritan Jeremiahs. Men had forgotten their duty to God in their increasing concern about their duty to themselves and their success.

It is in this decline of godliness, of piety, that the true estimate of Jonathan Edwards as a philosopher and theologian must be sought. Edwards found men who had unconsciously hardened their hearts and souls toward things of the spirit, and throughout his rather harried pastoral life he tried to turn them from dry, formal, and increasingly rational forms of worship to a religion of the heart. They must be convinced of their sinful nature, of their helplessness in the face of terrifying doom, of their subordinate place in the scale of being, of the great power of the eternal God. Those forces which were dulling men's consciousness of God—Arminianism and deism, both homocentric—must be expelled from the community. Hence he labored to bring men back to God by both emotional and intellectual means. The first half of this formula was brought home to him in the work of the traveling Methodist, George Whitefield, and in an early revival occurring in his own parish. Thereafter, even though the result was his dismissal, he was a firm defender of the "revival" as a legitimate device for quickening the spiritual nature that God might more readily gain entrance thereto (*A Narrative of the Surprising Works of God*). And, since true piety requires the complete submission of the human being to God, Edwards accepted the determinism of Calvin and brought all the great power of his mind to the defense of Calvinism in his master work, *On the Freedom of the Will* (1754). If his premises are granted—that with the "fall" the light of God was withdrawn from man, that man's will is subject to his "natural" desires, that his desires impel him irresistibly toward evil—the logic is inescapable: Man's will is not free. In the light of this purpose and these methods, the sermons for which Edwards has been so universally maligned (e.g., "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," "God's Sovereignty," "The Eternity of Hell's Torments," "The Day of Judgement") appear not the outpourings of a sadistic fanatic but the reasoned and humanitarian efforts of a man

who loved his fellow men—even though they were sinful.

Edwards was not a frustrated philosopher nor a thwarted scientific genius; rather, he was a keen, logical thinker who devoted his tremendous energies and erudition to the regeneration of a theological system. To achieve that regeneration it was necessary to reorder and remodel the old system which, in the hands of a dominant minority, was engendering an antagonism to clericalism or an indifference to religious matters. Edwards's way was to propose drastic changes in the polity of the church (admission to membership through revival conversion), and to secure new arguments in support of the doctrines of the church.

VII. Mercantilism and Agrarianism.

The factors which made America "sectional" had their origins in colonial America and are fully expressed in the thought of the day. Ideas that reached maturity in the minds of Hamilton and Jefferson—even ideas that find expression in the neo-agrarianism of our contemporary regionalists—were flourishing before the outbreak of the Revolution. Two ways of life have always been in conflict in the American scene: the middle-class mercantile (later industrial) way, and the way of the small farmer and plantation owner—the way of the soil.

It was the sons and grandsons of tradesmen who constituted the solid, respectable portion of the Atlantic seaboard colonies. In their little communities they set about, through sober, thrifty, shrewd activities, building a mercantile society thoroughly grounded in trade, profit, and expansion. Jealous of their power and fearful of the rapid filling up of the backcountry, they sought by every means to discredit and belittle the rural areas. Massachusetts mercantilists, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey tradesmen sought to constrain the growing strength of the rural classes. As early as 1694 the Bay Colony towns tried to prevent by ordinance the establishment of new settlements—refuges for the underprivileged classes. Rude, semicivilized farmer types were the butt of ridicule and scorn even in 1704. **Madam Sarah Knight,** Boston schoolmistress, recorded in her *Journal of a Journey from Boston to New York* that people in Connecticut were "a little too much Independent in their principalls" and set down many a harsh portrait of the country lout. **William Byrd** of Westover, a patrician plantation owner by courtesy of history, though actually an urban real-estate promoter and entrepreneur in the infant iron industry, added to the general middle-class interpretation of "lubber land" (*A History of the Dividing Line*). To Colonel Byrd the small yeoman farmers were a lazy crew totally lacking the virtues of thrift and industry and too much inclined to do "just what seems good in [their] own eyes."

On a certain day in 1702 worthy **Judge Samuel Sewall** set down in his *Diary* that he had "much adoe to persuade [Reverend] Mr. Willard to dine with me." Judge Sewall had been given, along with other civil magistrates, precedence over the clergy in the procession celebrating the accession of Queen Anne to the throne. From that time on the merchant class of Boston maintained authority over its civil destinies, and Samuel Sewall well deserves to represent his class—the first Rotarian to achieve literary distinction. Stable government, hard money, currency, respectable and God-fearing private life—these were his concepts of the good society and the good life. The prudential virtues constituted his ethic; the merchant-citizen was his ideal man. One cannot read the detailed record of his daily life without feeling that the urban, bourgeois spirit had in him its first and best spokesman. Others might follow who were more profound, more brilliant, more dynamic—Franklin, Hamilton, Carnegie—but none were more wholesomely simple than he.

Despite efforts to subordinate the agrarian populace, the constant influx of the disinherited of the Old World and the constant westward migration of the dispossessed in the New World kept the two sections in a

state of discord. Into the piedmont or into the region above the fall line poured the impoverished and the unfortunate classes. Tens of thousands of Scotch-Irish, a hundred thousand Palatinate Germans before 1775, thousands of day laborers from the coast cities became the backbone of America's social system: the free, independent, home-owning American farmer who thriftily employed his time and that of his children in developing a farmstead where all the graces and virtues of "the American home" as an institution flourished and prospered. He planted and harvested his crops, tended his herds, hunted and nutted in the appropriate seasons; his wife was dairymaid, soapmaker, dryer of fruits and vegetables, weaver of homespuns (occasionally she found time to make a patchwork quilt or a hooked rug); his progeny worked and played as children of nature. Such is the American idyl of song and story, and of history.

These sturdy farmers were and have always been the active promoters of democracy, giving it more than the lip-service rendered by their more prosperous urban cousins. They have looked with suspicion on the city and its "slick" ways, conceiving of it as unnatural and iniquitous. Such attitudes are due, in their origins at least, to a deeply ingrained belief that God made the country, man the town. An essential primitivism, stressing the equality, nobility, and happiness derivative from the restful state of nature, characterizes the philosophy of the backcountry inhabitants.

Hector St. John de Crèvecœur (*Letters from an American Farmer,* 1782; *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America,* 1925) was the most positive of the pre-Jefferson American Physiocrats. Two short passages suffice to give the tenor of his thought.

> Here [in America] they have no towns of any note, and I am glad of it. How I hate to dwell in these accumulated and crowded cities! They are but the confined theatre of cupidity. . . . I always delighted to live in the country. - Have you never felt at the returning of spring a glow of general pleasure, an indiscernable something that pervades our whole frame, an inward involuntary admiration of everything which surrounds us? 'Tis then the beauties of Nature, everywhere spread, seem to swell every sentiment as she swells every juice. She dissolves herself in universal love and seems to lead us to the same sentiments. . . .
>
> These [farmers] are the men who in future will replenish this huge continent even to its utmost unknown limits, and render this new found part of the world by far the happiest, the most potent as well as the most populous of any. Happy people!

It is this "happy people" that Crèvecœur opposes to the mercantile classes of America, to the serfs and slaves of the old world. They are *American.*

VIII. Rationalism and Idealism.

The mental processes which lay beneath the agrarian-environmental view of man and society were chiefly rationalistic. To an increasingly large number of persons in America the life of reason was the only fit life for intelligent, free men. It is to be expected, then, that those fields of activity most readily amenable to rationalistic ideas—religion and science—should show the impress of rationalism.

Rationalism entered America in three ways: through the works of the English rationalists like Herbert, Collins, and Shaftesbury, whose only authority was reason and whose treatment of Sacred Writ was critical, not to say impious; through Newtonian science, which contributed largely to the spread of "natural religion" and the idea of an efficient first cause operating in the universe through stable, immutable laws; through Lockean psychology, which weighed heavily with the rational party because it stressed sensationalistic epistemology and denied innate ideas. The impact of these beliefs upon existing religious thought was tremendous. Where one party saw the hand of God in the Bible, the other saw it in nature; where one party saw God ordering and disordering the universe at will, the other saw Him as the artificer of an unchanging harmony; where one party set aside nature and accepted the

miraculous intervention of God, the other required that all truth conform to natural law; where one party accepted God on the basis of authority or emotional intuitionalism, the other accepted God on the basis of a rational recognition of the laws of causation.

Nowhere is the reliance on reason more evident than in **Benjamin Franklin.** His religion was essentially deistic; his attitude toward society was optimistic and humane. His acceptance of and curiosity about natural phenomena mark him as one who set aside the supernatural taboos and became a truly urbane and free spirit capable of taking his place anywhere in that international civilization which represents the peak of the eighteenth century's achievements.

Nor was Franklin alone in his scientific and theological rationalism. **John Winthrop,** professor at Harvard College from 1763 to 1779, a mathematician and natural scientist of note, published carefully penned articles on earthquakes, comets, and other phenomena, which show unmistakable evidence of the growing acceptance of natural interpretations of physical disturbances. The Bartrams, father (John) and son (William), similarly espoused the "naturalism" of the eighteenth century. **John Bartram** won a certain sort of immortality when Linnaeus called him the "greatest natural botanist in the world." Simple, terse, yet effective language characterizes his "travel diaries," accounts of his expeditions north and south in search of botanical data. **William Bartram** founded no botanic garden like his father's, but his untiring energies maintained the one his father began.

Early in the eighteenth century opposition to the absolute authority of reason and the world of appearances developed. Locke's philosophy was denied, and idealism was offered in its stead. **Bishop Berkeley** sojourned for a time in America (Rhode Island), and his idealism found an apt apostle in young Samuel Johnson, later president of King's College. But nine years before Berkeley came to America **Jonathan Edwards,** who like Berkeley had been reading Locke with decided distaste, was writing: "Certainly it [the Universe] exists only in the mind. . . . Those beings which have knowledge and consciousness are the only proper, and real, and substantial beings; inasmuch as the being of other things is only by these. From hence we may see the gross mistake of those who think material things the most substantial beings, and spirits more like a shadow; whereas spirits only are properly substance" ("On Being"). It is this aspect of Edwards's thought that links him definitely with the mystics. His sense of divine glory, his feeling for the "indwellingness" of Christ, his willingness to be "wrapt and swallowed up in God," his transports of joy, are evidences of his communion, intuitively, with the Divine Idea—the mystical experience. No doubt this intuitionalism of Edwards reminds one of the "inner light" of the Quakers. Had Edwards not been forced to put an end to his own mental development by the necessity of saving his church he might have evolved a philosophy of Puritan idealism which would have antedated transcendentalism.

The Quakers produced one outstanding mystic whose work deserves high praise. **John Woolman's** soul was thoroughly illumined by the inner light. His chief concern was to harmonize his life and conduct with the spirit of Divine Love. Inevitably, he was forced to speak frankly against slavery, injustice (especially to the Indians), and unfair dealings between men. Woolman became increasingly radical as the logic of his mystical-humanitarian position forced him leftward, and he eventually incurred the disfavor of his liberal contemporaries through the advocacy of "relief" legislation, better wages, and shorter hours.

IX. Colonial Culture.

In concluding this brief summary of colonial literature we should give some attention to the media for the transmission of culture. Colonial literature is often apologized for because conditions were unfavorable; the mark of hardship and "backwoodsiness" is too much in evidence. Here are some interesting facts. There was a

larger proportion of educated men in the American colonies than in any other colonies founded by the English. In Massachusetts there was at least one Oxford or Cambridge trained man for every 250 persons. In accord with middle-class standards and ideals education was made an immediate concern in all the colonies. Even in "backward" Virginia fewer than 25 per cent of the property-holding white inhabitants were illiterate. A college was planned in Virginia in the 1620's. Harvard was founded in 1637, William and Mary in 1693, Yale in 1701. By 1776 there were ten colleges functioning in America.

Libraries, booksellers, and printers supplied the reading public with adequate sources of knowledge and entertainment. The theocracy was served by the college library and by the private (but available) collections of the ministers; the plantation aristocracy was served by the private library and by the Episcopal parish libraries (William Byrd owned more than four thousand volumes); the merchant princes (and their employees) were served by association libraries—e.g., Franklin's Library Company, (1732), Charleston Library Society (1748), New York Society Library (1754). Thomas Bray established thirty libraries in the colonies by 1700. Before 1700 there were twenty booksellers in New England alone. The first printing press in English-speaking America was set up in 1638. There was a press in Virginia in 1682 (suppressed in 1729), one in Philadelphia in 1686, and one in New York in 1693. They were seldom idle.

Magazines and newspapers, though handicapped by poor subscription lists and bad transportation service, did much to foster expression of ideas and exchange of opinion. There were thirty-seven newspapers in 1775: e.g., *The Boston News Letter* (1704), *Boston Gazette* (1719), *The New England Courant* (1721). Franklin's *General Magazine* and Andrew Bradford's *American Magazine,* rival publications in Philadelphia, were begun within three days of each other in February 1741. To the literary aspirants of the day these vehicles offered a place to publish verse, history, and paraphrases and imitations of Addison.

Though no work of great literary merit appeared in colonial America, that literature which did appear contributed significantly to the cultural and intellectual patterns of the times. There were both expression and communication—no more was necessary in those pragmatic days.

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY DECADE (1760–1770)

I. The Historical Scene.

At the opening of the decade the Seven Years' War was still in progress. In American areas, however, affairs were largely quieted by the fall of Ticonderoga and Quebec in 1759, and of Montreal in 1760. In 1762 came an attack upon Havana, a thrust at Spain who had come to the aid of France. By 1763 England was everywhere victorious, and the Treaty of Paris signed in that year granted her all the French possessions to the east of the Mississippi. This was of tremendous effect upon America in two ways. It gave world victory to the power that had ideas of constitutional liberty, thus permitting expansion of the colonies westward; in releasing the colonists from fear of the French, it gave them a feeling of security and independence. Beginning in 1763 the British ministry, in the attempt to liquidate some of the heavy debt incurred during the war, tried to raise new revenues, and the series of measures which followed—the Revenue Act of 1764, the Stamp Act, and the Townshend Acts—speedily aroused the more disaffected elements in the colonies. In 1765 the Stamp Act Congress was held, and it adopted fourteen resolutions, the first unified expression by a body inter-colonial in character.

II. Leading Works of the Decade.

1762 Godfrey, *The Court of Fancy.*
1763 Jonathan Mayhew, *Sermons.*
1764 First volume of Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts.*
1765 Rogers, *Concise Account;* Godfrey, *Prince of Parthia.*
1766 Jonathan Mayhew, *The Snare Broken.*
1768 Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania;* Arthur Lee, *Monitor.*

III. Non-Revolutionary Prose.

A. Religious writings.

The mid-century change in American thought was foreshadowed by a shift from high Calvinism to a more liberal interpretation of religion: the dread of hell-fire was replaced by optimism, the doctrine of "irresistible grace," by rationalism. Such men as John Woolman refused to recognize the limits of sectarian belief, and extended their faith to all mankind; others for a time were swept into Deism or toward other mild forms of religious belief.

1. **Charles Chauncy** had in 1743 published a sermon on *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England,* written in opposition to revivalists; later sermons made further protest against the jaundiced view of those who held up "eternal damnation" as a means of scaring sinners into salvation. In place of this and kindred doctrines of inscrutable deity, Chauncy advanced divine benevolence (a doctrine in harmony with the

spirit of the age) as assuring man of a rational place in a world of free choice. Thus the controversy between new and old lights seemingly began with him.

2. **Jonathan Mayhew** was liberal in theological matters; although best known for his cold scrutiny of the Tory doctrine of passive obedience, he opposed the five points of Calvinism (especially the belief in man's depravity), rejected certain tenets of Trinitarians, and protested against the terms of the Westminster Confession. In 1763 he published two sermons *On the Nature, Extent, and Perfection of the Divine Goodness,* in which he recoiled from the Old Testament concept of deity as a God of anger and terrific but arbitrary power.
3. **John Woolman** (see below) emphasized duties rather than doctrines, and his gentle, kindly writings are a relief from the bitter controversies of this period. In 1768 he published *Considerations on Pure Wisdom and Human Policy: on Labour: on Schools: and on the Right Use of the Lord's Outward Gifts.*
4. **Joseph Bellamy** published *Four Dialogues between a Minister and his Parishioner concerning the Half-Way Covenant* (1769).

B. Histories and descriptive writings.

The travel sketches revealed not only an interest in the phenomena of the New World but also an "appreciation" of nature colored by French sentimentality.

1. **Major Robert Rogers's** Journals (largely devoted to the French and Indian War) and his *Concise Account of North America* (1765) were interesting though not great literary works.
2. Largely a military journal was **Bouquet's** account of the expedition (1764) against the Ohio Indians.
3. Ecclesiastical histories by **Isaac Backus** and **Morgan Edwards** filled in little-known facts about eighteenth-century life and culture.
4. The first and second volumes of the *History of Massachusetts* (1764–1767) by **Hutchinson** were produced under adverse circumstances.
5. Local history fragments were written by Stephen Hopkins, Amos Adams, and Nathan Fiske.
6. **Samuel Smith** published in 1765 a ponderous history of New Jersey.

IV. Polemic Prose.

A. The patriot party.

The Treaty of Paris in 1763 not only removed the menace of the French in America but gave the British government time to review the general problems of colonial administration. Soon London had embarked upon the program of George Grenville which, blunderingly handled, aroused a group of implacable opponents to all London policies. The transitional character of the political thought was reflected in the great mass of polemic and forensic literature. The passage of the Stamp Act marked a shift from conciliatory to aggressive methods of dealing with Great Britain; before it, the colonists had attempted to justify their position by an appeal to the British constitution. After 1765, however, they appealed to the doctrine of natural rights.

1. **Samuel Adams** of Massachusetts seldom published anything under his own name, but he drafted many state papers such as, in 1764 and 1765, the instructions of the town of Boston to its representatives in the assembly, the assembly's petition to the king in 1768, the letter of instructions to its agent in London, and the remonstrance of the representatives to the governor in 1769. He also wrote an "Appeal to the World," sent forth by the town meeting of Boston. Many similar papers followed in the next decade. Between 1754 and 1770 he was the most vigilant and most effective of American writers. Through letters and newspaper columns, as well as in private conference, he made his running attack against what he regarded as the British attempt to tyrannize over America. As early as 1758 he made the appeal to natural right: "Whoever acquaints us that we have no right to examine into the conduct of those who, though they derive their power from us to serve the common interests, make use of it to impoverish and ruin us, is, in a degree, a rebel to the undoubted rights and liberties of the people." Next to Thomas Paine, he was the ablest propagandist in the colonies.
2. **Benjamin Franklin** also did important work. His famous "Examination" before the House of Commons on the attitude of the colonies toward the collection of new taxes has been termed "one of the most interesting and impressive pieces of dramatic dialogue produced in the eighteenth century."

   In 1764 he worked with the Pennsylvania Assembly, which was seeking to have the proprietary of the province replaced through the agency of a royal charter, and as part of this work published *Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of Our Public Affairs* and *Preface to the Speech of Joseph Galloway.*
3. **Jonathan Mayhew** was one of the first spokesmen against the encroachments of the British government, and the ablest theorist upon the subject of civil liberty. As early as 1750, in his *Discourse Concerning Unlimited Submission,* he contributed to the moral force which brought on the American Revolution: "Britons will not be slaves . . . all corrupt councillors and ministers [by the fate of Charles I are warned not to] go too far in advising to arbitrary despotic measures." In 1765 he wrote to a friend: "No people are under a religious obligation to be slaves, if they are able to set themselves at liberty." His last sermon, *The Snare Broken: A Thanksgiving Discourse* (1766), was occasioned by the repeal of the Stamp Act.
4. **James Otis,** a young lawyer, was the most important orator of the period. His first speech, made in February 1761, against a writ of assistance to customs officers, was distinctive because it showed the sensitiveness and pride of the colonial mind and established Otis as a leader of public opinion. John Adams declared of him: "Otis was a flame of fire! . . . he hurried away everything before him. American independence was then and there born; the seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown." In *Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives,*

an essay published in 1762, he enunciated the principles of the preamble to the Declaration of Independence and the grounds for the bill of grievances that followed.

Otis also established a reputation as a serious political writer and thinker in *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved* (1764). This was the gravest and most elaborate of his writings; he was sincere in his protestations of loyalty, and desired to avert a revolution. A year later he published two papers directed against the Halifax gentleman with whom he carried on a pamphlet debate: *Vindication of the British Colonies Against the Aspersions of the Halifax Gentleman* and *Brief Remarks on the Defence of the Halifax Libel on the British-American-Colonies* (1765). After 1771 he took no part in public affairs, though he lived until 1783.

5. **Oxenbridge Thacher,** a lawyer of ability, wrote *The Sentiments of a British American* in 1764. This was a cogent, well-intentioned, manly argument against the new measures of the imperial government, and contained the essence of the best American thought, political and legal, in the first stage of dissent.
6. **John Adams** of Massachusetts was intelligent, colorful, bold, and active; his writing had a stimulating quality. In August 1765 he began a series of four essays, prompted by the Stamp Act and published in the *Boston Gazette,* which were later produced as *A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law* (1768). He saw the colonists' struggle as but one aspect of the world conflict between corporate authority (vested in ecclesiastical and civil power) and individualism.
7. **Stephen Johnson,** a Congregational pastor in Connecticut, in 1765 wrote a series of five essays, *To the Freemen of the Colony of Connecticut.* Cogently urged and pungent in style, they protested against Parliamentary taxation: "The American colonies can't be enslaved and ruined but by their own folly, consent, or inactivity."
8. **Daniel Dulany,** the foremost lawyer of Maryland, showed a high degree of legal learning and literary power in *Considerations on the Propriety of Imposing Taxes in the British Colonies, for the Purpose of Raising a Revenue by Act of Parliament* (1765). He advocated, as a plan of American opposition, a persistent refusal to admit the principle of Parliamentary taxation. He refuted the analogy between British non-electors and American colonists and urged a manly stand against the action of the ministry, but constitutional opposition was the only kind of resistance which his convictions would permit.
9. **John Dickinson,** the so-called "penman of the American Revolution," protested Parliamentary taxation and defended the principle of self-taxation. His first pamphlet was published in December 1765, and a year later he advanced before the public with a bolder one: *Considerations upon the Rights of the Colonists to the Privileges of British Subjects.* He is best known for his "Letters from a Pennsylvania Farmer," published in periodicals in the winter of 1767–68 in direct response to the 1767 attack upon colonial rights.

As a lawyer he was true to the best tradition of the English law and the British constitution; he conceded to the government the matter of trade regulation and, moreover, professed a faith in the English king; but he did protest the right of Parliament, an overseas body, to tax colonies, an act which he called an imposition and not a tax. It was in the name of Whig principles and with no incendiary purpose that Dickinson raised his voice against the procedure of Parliament; and the object of his protest was that corrective measures might be taken before feelings were too severely aroused and rebellion fomented.

10. Coupled with the "Farmer" letters, at least in the feelings of Virginians in the late sixties, were the "Monitor" letters (1768) of **Arthur Lee,** who sent from London messages inciting Americans to boycott overseas goods.

B. Tory authors and sentiments.

1. **Martin Howard,** "The Gentleman at Halifax," rested his opposition to colonial procedure upon a sound basis in constitutional law and upon reinterpretation of the meaning of representation. He was temperate in thought, "firm, patriotic, moderate, and gentlemanlike." In 1765 he wrote a *Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax to his Friend in Rhode Island* (a reply to Stephen Hopkins) and, two months later, a second retort entitled *A Defence of the Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax to his Friend in Rhode Island,* in which he censured colonial disregard for the mother country. In general his opposition was to the heresy of colonial nullification.
2. **Jonathan Boucher** presented the Tory side in his sermons. An Anglican priest of Virginia and Maryland, he advanced views so authoritarian and aristocratic that at times he found it necessary to preach with a pair of loaded pistols lying before him. He believed in the divine origin and divine authority of government, and that the colonies should obtain redress in an orderly fashion. His first sermon on this subject was delivered in 1765.

V. VERSE.

A. Pre-war songs and ballads.

Popular balladry was almost exclusively concerned with national and political themes. Most of the songs were versions of "Hearts of Oak," a David Garrick production which had been sung in public in a pantomime of 1759, and of which the first American version appeared in 1766, dedicated to "Loyalty and Liberty," and sometimes called "Virginian Hearts of Oak." It was a domestication of the sentiment of the original song. By 1768 a sequence of three versions had appeared, including two partisan parodies and a Tory reply. Most famous was Dickinson's version, given the title of "Liberty Song."

B. Verses by the poet friends of the sixties.

Godfrey and Evans were, as William Smith noted, "intimate in life and in death not long divided. . . . Both courted the muses from their infancy; and both were called from the world as they were but entering into their

state of manhood. On Godfrey's death, Evans collected his pieces in a small volume, and soon afterwards left his own pieces to the like friendly care of others." In an elegy to Godfrey, Evans wrote, "Alas! how blasted in thy glorious prime!"—a remark which may fairly be uttered of its maker.

1. **Thomas Godfrey** produced nothing that moderns care to cherish, but in such work as *The Court of Fancy* (1762) he displayed an imaginative faculty not common during the period.
2. **Nathaniel Evans** (though not collected until 1772) showed that he was the child of the mid-century by Pindaric odes, elegies, pastorals, and a fragment on solitude. He warrants inclusion here because the best of his poems, published in newssheets, were prompted by the French and Indian War: "Panegyric Ode to the Memory of General Wolfe," "Ode on the Prospect of Peace," "Heroic Stanzas," and "Dialogue on the Occasion of the Peace" (1763).

C. Dramatic verse.

1. The first American tragedy to be performed upon the professional stage was Godfrey's *The Prince of Parthia,* published after the author's death by his friend Evans (1765) and produced on April 24, 1767. Quinn remarks of it: "The play shows clearly the influence of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* and also of Dryden's *Maid's Tragedy* but the blank verse is flexible and dignified." For the decade in which it was produced and for an author who had been handicapped by environment and utilitarian demands, the work is a remarkable production, although considered in the light of permanent achievement, it is crude and imitative, lacking in the note of reality. Had the poet lived beyond his twenty-seven years, he might have gone on to produce work of greater distinction.
2. Other dramas of the period, not produced, included a dramatic argument *The Paxton Boys* (1764)—an anonymous piece displaying the conflicting attitudes toward frontier Indians; a tragedy by Major Robert Rogers, *Ponteach: or the Savages of America* (1766)—presenting the bloodthirstiness of white warriors and the primitive grandeur of the great Pontiac in his defeat; and a comic opera, *The Disappointment* (1767)—not performed, as a later advertisement made clear, because of the tenor of certain "personal reflections."

CHAPTER III

THE INDEPENDENCE DECADE

I. The Rising Tide of Revolutionary Thought and Events.

The Declaration of Independence was preceded by a decade and a half of agitation. Sermons and speeches on public occasions and public pamphlets, chapbooks, and handbills afforded the chief means for the propagation of revolutionary doctrine and for knitting together the colonists in one united cause. But propaganda engenders counter-propaganda, and soon loyalist presses and pulpits were busy combating the "fallacies" of the revolutionaries. Controversy flared anew after the passage of the five coercive acts in 1774, and the First Continental Congress followed. The first clash of arms occurred on April 19, 1775; eight years were to elapse before a formal proclamation of peace. The Second Continental Congress was held in 1775. In 1777 the Articles of Confederation were drawn up; and less than three months after the surrender of Burgoyne in late 1777, France made a treaty of alliance and commerce which meant war between France and England. Thereafter the outcome of affairs in America, where the rebel resources were almost at an end, awaited the outcome of the European conflict, though there was much fighting in the South, from Charleston to Yorktown. In 1778 occurred the Wyoming massacre, and in February 1779 George Rogers Clark took Vincennes.

II. Leading Works.

1772 Freneau and Brackenridge, *The Rising Glory of America.*
1773 John Trumbull, *The Progress of Dullness.*
1774 Francis Hopkinson, *A Pretty Story;* John Woolman, *Journal.*
1775 John Trumbull, *McFingal.*
1776 Declaration of Independence; Thomas Paine, *Common Sense.*
1778 Jonathan Carver, *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America.*
1779 Francis Hopkinson, "Battle of the Kegs."
1780 Chalmers, *Political Annals of the United States.*

III. Non-Revolutionary Works of the Decade.

The sharp controversies of the Revolution disturbed the calm of all potential writers and deflected them from their normal course. But had the partisan struggles not developed, there is every reason to believe that there would have been a fairly large number of conventional eighteenth-century pieces written in America. Even so, there was no slight output of such material.

A. Prose.

1. Informal essays.

Considering the feverish state of the times, the appearance of purely informal essays is somewhat surprising, though when we recall that those of Franklin were written in France, and that the rest were largely academic, the quantity is perhaps not to be wondered at.

a. **Franklin's** bagatelles (1778–1785) were largely the products of fancy and wit. For the amusement of his friends Franklin set up a private printing press at Passy. From this came light and trivial, but graceful, letters to Mme Brillon, Mme Helvétius, and others. These bagatelles included: "The Ephemera," "Morals of Chess," "The Whistle," "Dialogue between Franklin and the Gout," and "An Economical Project."

b. **John Trumbull,** whose earliest literary productions were essays (one series of ten, "The Meddler," was concluded in January 1770), continued the manner of Steele and Addison in his sprightly, satiric prose pieces on current topics published serially as "The Correspondent." The total number ran to thirty-eight. Of these Trumbull wrote at least three-fourths, including essays on medical quackery, common beggary, and obituary notices.

c. **Francis Hopkinson** was one of the most active in the essay. His "An Extraordinary Dream" (1775), an allegorical piece, was significant because, for its author, it was an experiment in the field of allegory after the pattern set by "The Vision of Mirza." The "Old Bachelor" series (1775), written by Hopkinson, Paine, and others and published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine,* gave a defense of single life. Also worthy of mention were "Affectation," "The Ambiguity of the English Language" (1775), and "The Use and Abuse of Mottoes" (1775). Most of these were harmless, gay trifles. Hopkinson's repeated commendations of Addison indicate the definite influence of the *Spectator* upon him as upon his generation. Like his prototype in the essay, Hopkinson aimed to blend "the *utile* with the *dulce.*"

d. Sole essay collection of the decade was *Observations on a Variety of Subjects* (1774), attributed to **Jacob Duché.** Though five of the essays were subtly concerned with the rightness of the colonial views in the dispute with the mother country, the remaining fifteen were full of religious and educational sentiments. The use of the foreign-visitor device, the Shaftesburyan attitude toward human nature, and the notes of sensibility and piety made the work harmonious with the spirit of the age.

2. Travel.

Jonathan Carver's *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768* (published in 1778) was a journal account of Carver's tour of the Great Lakes and Upper Mississippi areas, supplemented (as edited by a learned assistant) by bulky materials on natural history and on Indian "manners, customs, religion, and language." The volume had a fairly wide vogue and stimulated the imagination of many readers.

3. Journal.

Nothing published in 1774 could have been more remote from the consuming passion of the times than the simple, pious journal of **John Woolman,** a peace-loving Quaker. Social in outlook, the journal makes clear

that Woolman was the literary representative in America of the great humanitarian movement of the eighteenth century. His concern over slavery on his southern tour, his protests against the treatment of the Indian (who was plied with firewater and then robbed of his land), and his troubled picture of the physical squalor and adverse influences under which the ordinary sailor lived are marks of his sensitive social conscience.

The journal may also be termed a document in mysticism, for it records the spirit of quietude and dependence on the "inner light" which is peculiar to Quaker belief. Whittier, a member of the same sect, called the journal "the classic of the inner life." This designation is appropriate, for it is a full record of Woolman's religious experience and integrity, and in it one perceives the mystic's faith in the divine and his attempt to bring his own life into harmony with that faith.

Stylistically the work was a clear illustration of the dictum, the style is the man. It is without literary artifice or rhetorical devices and is a reflection of the author's outlook, feelings, and innermost character. William Ellery Channing remarked of it: "The secret of Woolman's purity of style is that his eye was single, and the conscience dictated his words."

B. Poetry.

1. **John Trumbull** was one of the poets who began poetical careers with academic verse. Early he indulged in "collegiate exercises" with paraphrases of Greek and Latin classics, particularly the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, and poetical redactions of biblical stories, such as "The Prophecy" and "The Destruction of Babylon." These have little value today other than to give evidence of his precocity and of his youthful desire to achieve literary distinction. His first meritorious production was *The Progress of Dullness* (1772–1773), a social satire which Parrington characterized as the cleverest bit of academic verse produced in America before the close of the eighteenth century. The influence of Pope, however, is apparent: it bears, says Cogan, "the unmistakable ear-marks, in its philosophizing content, in its heroic couplet measure, in its striving for antithetical expression and parallel construction, in its word-hoard drawn from the eighteenth-century vocabulary, in its characters with the same mark of trade, and in its occasional catalogue method."
2. Antebellum **Freneau** had, like Trumbull, what Tyler called a "vocation for disinterested literature." Jointly with **Brackenridge** he was the author of poetic dialogue in "The Rising Glory of America," a poem illustrative more of aesthetic than of patriotic purpose though displaying national self-consciousness.
3. **Hopkinson** was also the author of a fair amount of poetry during the first half of the decade, but most of what he produced is undistinguished.

IV. Political Prose.

The life of the period became increasingly political; soon revolutionary interests held a place in all public affairs. There were, of course, enough dissenters from

the partisan views to make the Revolution virtually a civil war, and many of these could not keep their silence; accordingly, the writings of the time, for and against independence, were so numerous and so dominantly polemic that no one could escape them and some infusion of their precepts. Even works normally belletristic became colored with political principles; and men who would not ordinarily be viewed as literary came to be regarded as powerful writers, though their real roles were those of orators, statesmen, and propagandists. Because the issues were important ones, and the age produced great minds to match the principles involved, the literary product tended to reach the level of true literature.

A. Political oratory of Patrick Henry.

In March 1775, **Patrick Henry,** who had the year before taken a radical stand in the Continental Congress, seized upon what he regarded as a parlous situation to advocate that Virginia put itself in a state of defense. His famous speech, unpreserved by copy, was somewhat rhetorically reconstructed by William Wirt in his biography of Henry in 1817.

B. Franklin's Revolutionary satires.

Franklin contributed his share in the American expression of dissatisfaction over the policies of the mother country. Before the actual outbreak of hostilities—while in London as an agent for Pennsylvania—Franklin published *An Edict of the King of Prussia* (1773), *Rules by which a Great Empire may be Reduced to a Small One* (1773), and *On the Rise and Progress of the Difference Between Great Britain and her American Colonies* (1774), in all of which he ridiculed the stupidity of British policy.

C. Paine's pamphleteering activity.

1. The state of political confusion prevailing in 1770–1776 gave **Thomas Paine** his great opportunity, for the country was astir with a bellicose spirit but without any clearer objective than rebellious protest. *Common Sense,* the pamphlet which brought him fame, appeared in January 1776, and some 120,000 copies were sold within three months. Paine cut through all the more complex arguments of the time, dismissed many as mere legal or philosophical subtleties, spoke with an air of authority (as one possessing much more knowledge of history than he actually possessed), and hammered away at ideas that seemed to him logically clear. Basically, the work was a straightforward argument on the grounds of economics and expediency for American independence. Monarchy and hereditary succession, Paine averred, were the causes of many of the ills to which mankind had been subject. Reconciliation was a fallacious dream, he further argued, and distance a natural barrier to the firm relationship between the two countries. Let a government of our own, which is our natural and national right, be set up, in which law would be king. Thus to him independence was the only real solution to the problems of the present and future. Paine's use of the term "common sense" had a magic power. It was the equivalent of the ideas he advanced, and it accordingly took on a revolutionary glamor. By blunt Anglo-Saxon he robbed the talismanic glory from divine right of

kings. To a problem involving the technicality and complexity of constitutional law, he brought a simple, direct, yet fiery style.

2. Paine's second contribution to revolutionary thought was *The Crisis,* a series of papers, sixteen in number, which Paine published at crucial moments in American affairs from 1776 to 1783. In December 1776, after Washington's retreat across New Jersey, American hope was ebbing; despair and gloom were everywhere. At this moment came the first number of "The Crisis" in the *Pennsylvania Journal,* and its effect was great. Subsequently fifteen were issued, each prompted by a specific necessity. Without doubt these wartime pamphlets were the most important of their period.

D. Francis Hopkinson's Revolutionary prose.

The most cultivated and accomplished of those who joined the partisans in their word battle was **Francis Hopkinson.** His *A Pretty Story* (1774) was a witty political allegory expressing the contemporary Whig sentiment in the colonies.

In a *Letter written by a Foreigner on the Character of the English Nation* (1777), Hopkinson had a cultured foreigner write from England and describe satirically the English people and their ill-treatment of the colonists. Other prose pieces followed, such as *Two Letters* (1776) and *A Letter to Lord Howe* (1777).

E. The Declaration of Independence.

Almost all the text, as it stands, was penned by **Thomas Jefferson,** and he wrote it, admittedly, without recourse to external aid. It was the statement of specific grievances of the colonies and of the philosophy which animated the partisan revolutionists. The preamble set forth the grounds for severance of bonds with England; the two sections of the main body set forth respectively the general political philosophy of the document, namely the justification of revolution, and the grounds which the colonials had for such rebellion. The conclusion summarized the functions of government which the state of independence called for.

The theory of the Declaration went back to the political thinking of John Locke and his seventeenth-century contemporaries. Jefferson was not striving for originality, however; his main purpose was to sum up the beliefs current among those who struggled for a new nation. Thus he admitted that he drew ideas from the reading that had formed his own intellectual background, whether this was found originally "in conversation, in letters, printed essays or the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc."

The work as such was a *war* document and had all the excessive rhetoric we associate with wartime psychology.

F. Revolutionary periodical battles.

In 1774 after the meeting of the First Continental Congress and again in 1776, when the popular debate over independence flared up, periodical columns became the medium for the argument over revolutionary doctrines. In Isaiah Thomas's *Massachusetts Spy* (after 1770), the *Boston*

Gazette, and elsewhere the battle went on. For this journalistic contest many a contributor borrowed a classical designation to hide his real identity. These included: Constitutionalis, Senex, Pacificus, Caesariensis, Vindex, Candidus, Cato, Scipio, Leonidas, Amicus Publico, Cunctator, etc.

G. Tory pamphleteers.

Ablest among these were **Joseph Galloway,** a Pennsylvania lawyer who upheld the conservative point of view, and the **Rev. Jonathan Boucher,** also active and vigorous, who was forced into permanent exile in England. **Daniel Leonard,** a prominent Boston lawyer, writing under the pen name "Massachusettensis," attacked the constitutional arguments of the patriots and their revolutionary opposition to the British Parliament. **Samuel Seabury,** better known than the rest, issued a series of pamphlets signed "A Westchester Farmer," which so aroused the opposition that he was thrown into jail. His "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress" described the misfortunes that would ensue from the self-imposed embargo and non-consumption agreements, and "The Congress Canvassed," addressed to the merchant class, exposed the fallacies in the reasoning of the American republicans as to parliamentary sovereignty and pointed to the practical limitations of the measures proposed. In Boston, **Hutchinson** held stanchly for the rights of established government and inspired pamphlet retorts to revolutionary publications. *The Censor,* edited by Ezekiel Russell (some of the essays were contributed by Andrew Oliver), gave strong support to the governor.

V. Patriotic Verse of the Revolution.

The political poetry in America up to 1775 was mainly an outcry of American protest, evoked by frequent parliamentary infringement of American liberties. From the British side there were frequent replies, chiefly in parody form, to the verses that emanated from the disaffected patriots. But the tenor of these earlier verses was for the most part gentlemanly. Not until 1775 was the voice of bitterness and hostility heard. Practically all this verse, sung to popular British tunes, is anonymous, though later satirical ballads can be traced to well-known authors.

A. Ballads and songs.

In the popular verse one gets closest to the real confusion and emotion of the time. Songs, ballads, satires, and hymns carried the day, arousing popular opposition against aggression. Popular verses were broadcast by chapbooks or broadsides and were used on public occasions as well as for private enjoyment; their purpose was to evoke partisan sentiment or stir laughter against the opposition. In this they served well. The diction was generally blunt and slashing, with such terms as "liberty" or "tyranny" employed as shibboleths of dissatisfaction among the colonists; it occasionally lapsed into a vocabulary of more vituperative character. At such times there were hurled about such scurrilities as despots, rascals, scourges, banditti, and bunters.

1. It is difficult to single out for special consideration any of these songs and ballads, but they include "Virginia Banishing Tea," "The Boston Tea

Party," "The Dance," "Nathan Hale," "The Yankee's Return from Camp," and "The American Hero."

2. It must be recognized that most of the ballads of the time were simply adaptations of old tunes to new words. "Lords of the Main" and "Here's to the Maiden" had varied fortunes as both patriotic and Tory songs. A great many other songs, sung to tunes common in the late eighteenth century, were employed as vehicles for the conveyance of sentiments of loyalty and liberty. The tune of "Yankee Doodle" (a poem ascribed to a Harvard sophomore) saw duty with the words of "The Fate of John Burgoyne," and the Loyalists celebrated "Yankee Doodle's Expedition to Rhode Island" in the same strains. The tune also served for "May Day, or Miss in her Teens." "Derry Down" was used for the "Satire of the Liberty Pole" (1779), the "Epilogue" (1778), and a number of less-known pieces.

B. Political satire: *M'Fingal.*

The early controversies of the Revolutionary period found little echo in the work of **Trumbull,** and it was not until 1775 that he turned his attention to the struggle, attention to which was then almost inescapable. The first part of *M'Fingal* appeared in 1775; its great success encouraged the author to labor over it for seven years, at the end of which period he brought out the completed performance in four cantos.

It is a clever imitation of Butler, with some perceptible influence by Churchill, chiefly in verse form and in subject matter. In spirit, it is free from fierce partisanship; Trumbull is always scholarly and always the gentleman, always minds his manners, is rarely vigorous, and almost never rebelliously acrimonious. The vulgarity of his literary forebears he escapes. His effect he achieves by rollicking burlesque, by gayety.

In its final form the weakness of the work is apparent. It is too long and involved. Trumbull's characters, like Butler's, are merely pegs upon which to hang his ideas, about which to cluster his epigrammatic sentences, his pointed apothegms.

M'Fingal was the source of Trumbull's contemporary and present reputation. In his own day more than thirty pirated editions appeared.

C. Poetical activity of Hopkinson.

Hopkinson came from a class that generally produced loyalists, the stratum of refined society. This fact probably accounted for the difference in temper that he displayed as compared with his fellow satirist of the period, Freneau. The air that surrounded his compositions was one of playfulness instead of vehemence and bitterness. Among his numerous wartime ballads may be cited: "Camp Ballad" (1777), in which he sought to lift the hearts of his countrymen; "Date Obolum Belisaria" (1777), humorously depicting Britain as a wretched beggar woman; "The Birds, the Beasts, and the Bat" (among the writer's most successful sallies, but worthless as literature); and "Battle of the Kegs" (1778). In the latter poem Hopkinson treated facetiously the incident in which the British were supposed to have fired at kegs charged with powder which the colonists sent down the river to

annoy British shipping at Philadelphia. Although it was the best-known of his works in his own day and is frequently reprinted today, it has slight literary value.

D. Freneau as Revolutionary satirist.

1. Satires and patriotic verse constituted **Freneau's** first Revolutionary period (1775–'76). During the year 1775 he resided in New York and there polished for pamphlet publication several satires prompted by the current turn in political affairs. "American Liberty," the first important production, was a kind of poetical stocktaking in 1775, and a vision of final victory and freedom. "A Political Litany" was a satiric plea for deliverance from political foes and a frontal attack upon all the abominations of Britishers. Freneau embarked upon a program of rough, tumbling satire with "General Gage's Soliloquy," in which he pilloried Gage for his incompetency and his policy of force. "The Midnight Consultation" (October 1775) humorously burlesqued the British staff, summoned into council to plan midnight forays for cattle and sheep. It also satirized the pride and rancor of the British officers and Gage's inertness. "To the Americans" (August 1775) was a summons to arms of all freedom-loving souls.
2. Satires of the later Revolutionary period, 1779–1780, were anticipated by one of Freneau's best pieces, "America Independent" (1778), a poem full of vitriolic scorn of King George and the British generals in America—Burgoyne, Gates—and celebrative of the French alliance. Only in American victory can peace be achieved, was his message. "George the Third's Soliloquy" (1779) continued his caustic verses against the monarch, and lampoons upon British notables followed: Cornwallis, Clinton, Carleton, and others. Best poem of the period was "The British Prison-Ship" (1780), prompted by Freneau's bitter resentment of the treatment accorded him after his capture. The three cantos of this poem include some of his best lines.
3. Naval lyrics, though chiefly products of Freneau's next decade, he occasionally penned during his trading voyages to the Bermudas between 1775 and 1779. Freneau was particularly effective in his descriptions of naval combat, and in imparting to sea battles a fire and dash that stir the reader with patriotism and a thrill of pride. "Stanzas on the New American Frigate Alliance" and the first canto of "The British Prison-Ship" gave some of his most effective expressions of naval ardor. Other inspiring poems on this theme came after 1780.

VI. Loyalist Verse.

A. The outstanding satirical versifiers in the Loyalist ranks were **Joseph Stansbury** and **Jonathan Odell. Stansbury** was a Philadelphia crockery merchant who wrote political songs and playful satires. It is perhaps needless to add that it was not long before his songs were written and published behind the British lines. His poems were for the most part light and mirthful, seldom sinking into bitterness. Stansbury possessed the minor kind of competence necessary for the production of occasional poetry.

Among his better-known poems were "A Welcome to Howe" (1776), "Tradesman's Song," "The Carpet Knight" (revealing into what disesteem Howe fell during his occupation of Philadelphia), "The Kitten Song" (nursery doggerel but interesting), "A Fable," "On the Downfall of Legal Paper Money," and "A Pasquinade."

B. **Odell,** an Anglican clergyman in New Jersey, afforded the best example of Loyalist satire. In the biting character of his lines against Washington and other patriot leaders he matched the beserk rage of Freneau. More stern and vindictive than Stansbury, he greatly strengthened the Loyalist cause. Six poems constituted his work of importance in this field, works attacking vehemently the patriot cause and its leaders. They included "The Word of Congress" (1779), "Congratulations" (1779)—satirizing American optimism and laughing at the failure of Estaing's fleet to do anything, "The Feu de Joie" (1779)—prompted by the British success in Savannah, and "The American Times" (1780). The king's birthday, June 4, provided annually, for Odell and other Loyalist writers, the occasion for the setting forth of proper reflections.

VII. The Drama of the Revolution.

Stage productions were almost nonexistent during the Revolution for two reasons: (1) the major cities were held by the British; (2) Congress prohibited public amusements as an economy measure. Dramas, as literary pieces, were written, however, sometimes by partisan groups and sometimes by collegians. Because of the conflict, the dramatic product was uniformly satirical.

A. Among the Whig dramatists **Mrs. Mercy Warren** was the best. She was, through General James Warren, her husband, closely associated with the main political leaders, and because of such connections was in a position to satirize the political foibles of the time. In 1773, the events of the Boston Massacre were utilized in *Adulateurs,* a term she applied to the Tories. It was less satirical in spirit than her later productions. In *Upper Servia* [sub-title] there paraded under a thin disguise well-known patriotic leaders: James Otis, the two Adamses, and John Hancock. Her next dramatic poem was *The Group* (1775), perhaps the most influential of her productions. It dealt with the governing group of the Massachusetts Colony (including Hutchinson), many of whom she had introduced into her first play.

B. *The Blockheads* (1776) and *The Motley Assembly; a Farce* (1779) are two productions doubtfully ascribed to Mrs. Warren. The former is a coarse prose piece that satirized the British invaders and Boston Tories. The latter ridiculed the social group of Boston who feared for the security of their social status if they supported the Revolution.

C. **Hugh Brackenridge** utilized the first events of the war as themes for oratorical productions: *The Battle of Bunker's Hill* (1776) and *The Death of General Montgomery* (1777).

D. **John Leacock,** like Mrs. Warren, directed his satire against the political system of the time with thinly disguised characterizations of real persons. *The Fall of British Tyranny* (1776) was a chronicle play covering the period from the battle of Lexington to the evacuation of Boston.

E. The plays of the Loyalist group were the only dramatic writings to see production during the war. Written by British soldiers or Loyalists, they openly ridiculed American officials. **General Burgoyne** contributed two plays, of which *The Blockade of Boston* (1776) was the most popular.
Most of the Tory plays were anonymous: *The Battle of Brooklyn* (produced in New York, 1776), *The Americans Roused in a Cure for the Spleen* (1775), *A Dialogue between a Southern Delegate and his Spouse on his Return from the Grand Continental Congress* (1774).

F. The pacifist groups were also heard from in several dramatic pieces. **Robert Munford** of Virginia wrote *The Candidates* (probably written in 1770 and published in 1778) and *The Patriots* (1776). *The Candidates* was a satire on the methods employed by the assembly in the holding of elections. *The Patriots* was more important as a literary work. Though Munford became a soldier in the Revolutionary army, he was not blind to the limitations of mobs and groundlings with their braggadocio, ignorance, and intolerance.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHAOTIC EIGHTIES

I. The Literary Milieu.

A. The treaty of peace which concluded the Revolutionary War was not signed until 1783 and was a document which recognized, in reality, only the conclusion of the war. The chaos which follows all wars became especially severe in the years immediately following Yorktown. The Articles of Confederation proved a loose bond, of service during the struggle and promotive of some commerce between the states, but a basis for a very imperfect union. The outlook for national affairs, and accordingly for a national literature, was not very bright. Americans regarded themselves as citizens of respective states rather than as citizens of a United States. There was no great cohesive principle which during the early years of the decade could capture their imagination. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first ten years after the conclusion of peace saw few literary efforts. In general, people were too busy trying to re-establish their lives and their customary modes of existence to concern themselves with prose and verse. Such literary activity as was indulged in proved utilitarian; it was to record the problems of an unended revolution. To restore order, to re-establish standards, to place life on an even keel were the important tasks.

B. To increase further the problems of would-be authors, there was no protection of literary property. No copyright laws, even in the individual states, existed until the indefatigable Noah Webster made his way up and down the seaboard seeking such protection. John Trumbull, leading bard of the period, procured no returns from the various editions of *M'Fingal* during the decade. The work, he said, was "the prey of every bookseller and printer who chose to appropriate it to his own benefit" and the "property of newsmongers, hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen."

II. Leading Works of the Decade.

1782 Trumbull, *M'Fingal.*
1783 Treaty of peace.
1784 Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke.*
1785 Webster, *Grammatical Institute.*
1786 Freneau, *Poems.*
1786 Ramsay, *History of South Carolina.*
1787 *The Federalist.*
1787 Barlow, *The Vision of Columbus.*
1787 Hopkinson, *The New Roof.*
1788 Freneau, *Miscellaneous Works.*
1788 Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia* (American edition).

1788 Dwight, *Conquest of Canaan.*
1789 Webster, *Dissertations on the English Language.*

III. POETRY.

A. Post-Revolutionary products.

Many of the works produced in the excitement of the Revolution were to make their way into enlarged or more permanent form after the cessation of hostilities.

1. Such was the case of **Trumbull's** *M'Fingal.* As written during the Revolution, it was a satire on the Tory arguments and an attempt to ridicule Tory leadership out of countenance. The first version had left the story inconclusive, with an adjournment for midday food. The arguments of both sides had been presented, but hint of the afternoon's doings came only from the author's partisanship. In 1782, however, there was published an enlarged edition of the poem, with all the mock-epic equipment that the eighteenth century knew, not only the descent from the sublime to the ridiculous, the cumulative allusion, the genealogical record, but also in Canto III the mock-epic combat, and in Canto IV a Tory parallel to the picture of Satan in Pandemonium from Book II of *Paradise Lost.* The poem gained in form from such revision but lost something of its original force. In the end, M'Fingal, who had been endowed with second sight, gloomily predicted the final triumph of the patriot cause.

   The poem was quite popular in the 1780's. A pirated edition was published in 1782; there was a Boston edition in 1785, a Philadelphia edition in 1787; extracted passages were printed in 1786, and Carey reprinted the entire poem in the *American Museum* in 1787.

2. **Freneau's** poems were reprinted in 1786. This edition, which the poet did not supervise, unfortunately included most of his martial pieces and thus helped to fix his fame as a war poet and to bury his early lyric pieces under a mass of satire. The bitterness of the Revolutionary struggle had not sufficiently abated in 1786, however, to give an air of strangeness to his most famous wartime poems. Nor is his reputation for revolutionary satire surprising in the light of his output from 1780 to 1783, when he poured out lampoons upon the British generals and Royalist printers and satirized the activities of the British forces. Most famous of the satires of the three years were "The British Prison-Ship" and "The Political Balance." His greatest achievement was in his naval lyrics, which remain unrivaled in American letters. Outstanding among these, for their fire and virility, their vividness and their spirit of loyalty are "The Memorable Victory of Paul Jones" (1781), "On the Death of Captain Nicholas Biddle" (1781), and "Captain Barney's Victory" (1782).

B. Didacticism.

1. **Timothy Dwight's** *Triumph of Infidelity* was the bulkiest poem of this type. In the American states of the 1780's there were all shades of orthodoxy and heterodoxy, especially in the larger towns. Immediately after the war, sympathy for France led to a kinder acceptance of things French, including French Catholicism, deism, and rationalism. Soon, however,

there came a recoiling, at least on the part of authority, against such theological liberalism. Relaxation bred relaxation, a tendency quickly perceived and decried, and soon the leaders of the New England churches were in full cry. Timothy Dwight, convinced that infidelity and liberalism went hand in hand, produced the outstanding document in defense of the orthodox and in opposition to French ideas. His *Triumph of Infidelity*—by which term he meant agnosticism, atheism, or any form of religious practice foreign to what he termed true worship—was a diatribe against Voltaire, Shaftesbury, Priestley, Hume, and others, and the longest didactic poem the period produced. In Dwight's work there persisted the old fear of the seventeenth century, that Satan and his hosts had particular animosity against this choice community of godly worship, and that against it he sent his legions.

2. **Colonel David Humphrey's** *On the Happiness of Americans* (1780) was the first important poem of one of the minor Connecticut Wits who was to write more actively in succeeding years. Though this poem went into ten editions, modern readers are content to assume its contents from the title.

C. Epics and embryo epics.

1. The first American epic was written by **Timothy Dwight** in a "dubious exploitation of Biblical themes." This was *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785), a heavy metrical version of the wars of Joshua. A poem written in the pulpit, it provided an exhibition of good old-fashioned "pulpit-thumping." It was vigorous in manner, as the author belabored those whose doctrines he abominated; but it was more effective in proving the author's own orthodoxy than in assailing vital doctrines. There were so many thunderstorms in its lines that Trumbull suggested the poem should be equipped with lightning rods.
2. In 1787 **Barlow's** *Vision of Columbus,* a poem toiled over for eight years, was ready. In the introduction the poet remarked concerning its structure: "He rejected the idea of a regular Epic form, and has confined his plan to the strain of events which might be represented to the hero in vision. This form he considers as the best that the nature of the subject would admit; and the regularity of the parts will appear by observing, that there is a single poetical design constantly in view, which is to gratify and soothe the desponding mind of the hero; it being the greatest possible reward of his services, and the only one that his situation would permit him to enjoy, to convince him that his labors had not been bestowed in vain, and that he was the author of such extensive happiness to the human race." The final fulfillment of the discoverer's vision was the development of the American state with its heritage of freedom and promise. This was the ideal that Barlow heralded.
3. In the years 1786–87 the chaos of the times led to the production of a fragmentary mock-epic known as the *Anarchiad* (see E, below). The classification is difficult, though a convenient model was found by the authors in the English *Criticisms on the Rolliad.* Professing to have

discovered an ancient epic, the poets gave from time to time, with appropriate modern comment, purported sections from this faked document, imaginary passages with applicability to times of chaos. The poem was directed against the opponents of a true American federation and against the continental-scrip malcontents. The authors seemed to argue in their indirect way for a rational money policy and for a sounder union between the states. The series came out in twelve numbers and was stern, even brutal, in attack. Of the authors Parrington remarked: "they conveniently associated the economic unrest of post-war days . . . with the contamination of French atheism, charged all unrest to the account of democracy, and hastened to put it down in the name of law and righteousness."

D. Lyric poetry.

1. In the years 1786 and 1788 the *Miscellaneous Works of Freneau* were published. In these volumes some of his most memorable poems appeared, such as "To the Memory of the Brave Americans," "Arnold's Departure," "The Hurricane," "The Wild Honeysuckle," "The Indian Burying Ground," etc. Earlier poems of Freneau's, written during his voyages to Bermuda and the West Indies from 1776 to 1779, were here printed, and included "The House of Night" (obvious product of the graveyard school) and "The Beauties of Santa Cruz" (product of delight in exotic beauty expressed in concrete language).

   Freneau's non-Revolutionary interests of the decade were threefold. His employment of the tropic seas and harbors for imagery and setting, and for nostalgic reference was the first. (Witness "The Hurricane," which records his own miraculous escape on a merchantman; "Hatteras," with the challenging line, "In Fathoms five, the anchor gone"; and "Written at Port Royal, in the Island of Jamaica.") Second came verse in an abstract vein upon the transitoriness of things and uttering lament for cherished things that pass away—*vide* "The Vanity of Existence" (1781), "To an Old Man" (1782), "Ruins of a Country Inn" (1782), "On the Vicissitudes of Things" (1785), and "Man of Ninety." His most beautiful poem, "The Wild Honeysuckle" (1786), is not, as critics have averred, a pure nature lyric, but a meditation on the brevity of life. Freneau's connection with the graveyard tradition was also demonstrated by a famous elegy from which Scott, Campbell, and others borrowed, "Eutaw Springs" (1781). His third interest was the Indian. The poet's deistic principle of the natural goodness of man led him to view the savage in the light of his potential goodness. Three aspects appear in his view of the Indians: a noble race doomed to disappear before the white man's advance; a race exponential of stoicism and fortitude; and a race of simple nature lovers.

   Freneau's priority in much of what he wrote needs to be noted, for though the influences upon him can be traced, nevertheless he anticipates most of the themes of W. C. Bryant; and before Wordsworth and at least as early as Burns he was moved by natural beauty and humanitarian impulses.

2. Eight of **Hopkinson's** songs, with music by the author, appeared in 1788, and made their way into the *American Songster, The Columbian Songster, The Packet,* and the periodicals, *The American Museum* and *The Columbian Magazine.*

E. Satire.

Much of the verse of the time was satirical. Humphreys, Barlow, Trumbull, and Hopkins pilloried New England demagogues in the *Anarchiad* and satirized currency inflation, quackery, and the mendacity of foreign visitors. Conventional satire of urban manners appeared in Peter Markoe's *The Times* (1788); his *Miscellaneous Poems* were published one year earlier.

IV. Prose.

A. Non-political prose.

1. Informal treatise.

Probably the work from the decade that will be longest remembered is **Jefferson's** *Notes on Virginia.* Purporting to answer questions about the state of affairs in Virginia—its population, educational and religious institutions, its natural and manufactured products, its physiography and natural wonders—it affords much that is of wider interest, such as Jefferson's sympathetic treatment of the Indians, the reproduction of the famous speech of Logan, a discussion of the constitution and laws of the state, and spirited answers to Count de Buffon and Abbé Raynal. John Davis, British traveler and novelist, said that these *Notes* first taught him to think.

2. Early essays.

a. **Freneau's** "Philosopher of the Forest" was a series of essays which grappled little with the immediate issues of the day. The idea of Nature's nobleman—just, benevolent, upright, honest—and the future importance of North America here found full expression. His philosopher was the professed lover of democracy and of solitude. "Towns and palaces," he remarked, "are my abhorrence." Engaged on a work on the "nature, origin, and design of man," he was chiefly concerned with human attributes, and in particular with man's pride. He spoke of the inexplicable fondness of mankind for fame and extensive reputation; he recorded a dream showing mankind the sport of endless deceptions. He found pride at the root of most religions and expounded upon the folly of seeking through the world for that felicity that is to be found, if at all, in man's own bosom. War, "which constantly vitiates the morals of mankind," he interpreted as caused by regal pride or the pride of nations. "Monarchs are the children of discord, and to humour their ambition the world is forever in a state of distraction."

"The Essays of 'Robert Slender,'" included in the 1788 edition of Freneau, are free from woodenness of definition: they manifest freedom in the form, employ concrete illustrations and cases, and are written with simplicity and ease. They are tales rather than essays. One series is made up largely of what we might call characters,

though largely narrative in style and substance, such as "The Inexorable Captain," "The Market Man," "The Man in Business," "The Man Out of Business," "The Debtor," "The Private Tutor," "The City Poet," "The Antiquarian," etc. A second series, which consists of essays, tales, and poems, includes "The Power of Novelty," "The Sick Author," "The Academy of Death," "Visit to a Modern Great Man" (formality and pretense ridiculed), "Light Summer Reading," etc.

b. **Francis Hopkinson** produced in June 1785, his famous "Essay on White-Washing," a document in the essay tradition and in American humor.

c. In 1786 **Joseph Lathrop** published his *Miscellaneous Collection of Original Pieces,* which he characterized as "political, moral, and entertaining." The volume contained essays on Patriotism, Affectation, Piety, Idleness, Female Honor, Profanity, Civil Government, Superstition, etc. The hortatory tone was employed throughout as the titles of two series, "The Censor" and "The Reformer," serve to indicate.

d. Other series helped swell the periodical columns: "The Trifler," "The Retailer," "The Rhapsodist" (C. B. Brown), in the *Columbian Magazine;* "The Dreamer," "The General Observer," "The Philanthropist," in the *Massachusetts Magazine;* and "Tom Taciturn" in the *Worcester Magazine* (Edward Bangs?). Best known of such series were "The Friend" by Timothy Dwight in the *New Haven Gazette,* "The American Spectator" (Lathrop, Dwight, and others?) in *The American Museum,* and "American Essays" (by E. C.) in the *Gazette of the United States.* Another was "The Tablet" (also in the *Gazette*) which consisted of 104 essays on political and social subjects. The authors' method (Noah Webster and others) was to select a saying or aphorism which was expounded, illustrated, or dissented from. Within the limits set, the subjects were varied, ranging from "Abuse of Reading" to "Smuggling," and from "Prejudice of Travelers" to "An Ignorant People Cannot Long Preserve Freedom."

3. History and travel.

John Filson, *The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucke* (1784). Added as an appendix is an account of *The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boon.*

B. Political writings in the 1780's.

Many things contributed to a demand for a strengthened union. The economic unrest of postwar days led to many inquiries into money, government, and social organization. It led also to strange progeny in New England: mobs in Massachusetts, chaos in Connecticut and New Hampshire, a farcical legislature in Rhode Island which refused to levy taxes for the support of the national government. There were tumultuous elections in the South and everywhere currency difficulties. Gradually the problems of reconstruction became so great that there was a demand for a convention to strengthen the central government. The issue in 1787 and 1788 was the question of states *versus* union, whether the states should or should not

federate in a stronger union. Almost all had felt the total insufficiency of the old confederation for the successful management of the common concerns of thirteen states. But the new Constitution aroused varied responses. It created friends and foes and was defended or assailed in the newspapers and from the platform with an eloquence worthy of the great occasion. There were those who felt that the state governments, as constituted, were the chief safeguard of their liberties, and argued for a preservation of state powers undiminished. On the other hand were those who agreed that a stronger union was imperative in the name of commerce, of finance, of peace and common defense, and in the name of future greatness.

1. The opposition was maintained by such men as Patrick Henry, George Mason, George Clinton, Samuel Chase, Elbridge Gerry, Albert Gallatin, and James Monroe. Some of their utterances have been gathered by Paul Leicester Ford in a volume called *Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States,* which contains among others Gerry's "Observations on the New Constitution," Lee's "Observation of the System of Government proposed by the Late Convention," and Mason's "Objections to the Federal Constitution."
2. One of the first to praise the document was **Noah Webster,** with a pamphlet called *An Examination into the Leading Principles of the Federal Constitution* (1787). Webster had long been an ardent advocate of a stronger union, as is apparent in his *Sketches of American Policy,* a pamphlet widely publicized in the early years of the decade.
3. Webster was soon followed by others: John Dickinson, John Jay, John Adams, Melanchthon Smith, Alexander Hanson, Tench Coxe, James Wilson, David Ramsay, etc.
4. Widely copied early in 1788 was Hopkinson's *New Roof,* prompted by the desire to defend the new Constitution from thrusts by satirical enemies.
5. The political essays of the decade which emerged above all the others were the *Federalist* papers; they might be pronounced the outstanding result of the interesting debate on the Constitution. The *Federalist* consisted of eighty-five essays, submitted to the public over the signature of "Publius." As to its style, one may say that it is clearly written and contains many passages of beauty and eloquence. Conway writes: "They were American statesmen and stood shoulder to shoulder with the world's foremost thinkers and writers, as is manifested in a style marked by a rhythmical balance, and a purity and polish matching that of the best English writers, but at the same time exhibiting the positiveness and directness which characterizes all our great constitutional documents as American."

C. History.

1. The foremost history of the United States in the decade was that of **William Gordon.** He was a zealous collector of historical materials and animated with the desire for the truth: "I shall endeavor that what I write shall be not only the truth, but the truth truly represented; for you may tell

the truth so as to make a lie of it in the apprehensions of him who reads or hears the tale." The book came out in 1788 in four volumes, much toned down, with a hundred pages of matter deleted in order to procure a publisher and to prevent libel suits. It bore the title *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America.*

2. Ramsay's *History of South Carolina* (1786) aroused opposition for a time, the sale of the volume in England having been prohibited.

V. Early Demands for Literary Independence and Views of the Literary Scene.

A. The national self-consciousness was apparent in the prologue and in the plot of Tyler's *The Contrast* (performed in 1787):

> Our author pictures not from foreign climes
> The fashions, or the follies of the times . . .

B. **Philip Freneau,** in "Literary Importation," inveighed against a reliance upon English intellectual standards and old-world scholarship. His "Advice to Authors" appealed for a truly native literature.

C. The most active individual in fostering nationalism was **Noah Webster.**

1. In Part IV of his *Sketches of American Policy* (1785) he argued for a national character, and remarked: "nothing can be more ridiculous than a servile imitation of the manners, the language, and the vices of foreigners."

2. In his advertisement for the lectures on English grammar and language he announced that one object, among others, was to "draw the outlines of a system better adapted to our forms of government and to detach Americans from that fatal dependence on foreign opinions and manners, which is fatal to efforts of genius in this country."

3. He sought also to differentiate the language of republican America from that of royalist England. In his *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789) he said: "we have . . . the fairest opportunity of establishing a national language and of giving it uniformity and perspicuity, in North America, that ever presented itself to mankind. Now is the time to begin the plan. The minds of the Americans are roused by the events of a revolution; the necessity of organizing the political body and of forming constitutions of government that shall secure freedom and property, has called all the faculties of the mind into exertion; and the danger of losing the benefits of independence, has disposed every man to embrace any scheme that shall tend, in its future operation to reconcile the people of America to each other, and weaken the prejudices which oppose a cordial union." And again: "Customs, habits, and *language,* as well as government should be national. . . . To copy foreign manners implicitly is to reverse the order of things, and begin our political existence with the corruptions and vices which have marked the declining glories of other republics."

D. The first important list of books about America was Rede's (?) *Bibliotheca Americana* (1789), in which Barlow, Smith, and Ray were singled out as the leading American poets. Of the reading public this English

editor remarked: "there are few publications that cannot be purchased here." And further: "It is scarcely possible to conceive the number of readers with which even every little town abounds."

VI. MAGAZINES IN THE DECADE.

A. **Mathew Carey's** *American Museum* was a journal of clippings and borrowings. It ran from 1787 to 1792 and was brought to a close because the editor finally despaired of its unflattering financial prospects. In its pages were to be found the outstanding works of preceding years, for the editor was unhampered by the operation of any copyright laws. Boynton thus described the magazine: "The Constitution was greeted with a salvo of applause and followed with contributions on American history. Then in the middle of 1788, sighs replaced huzzas in the pages of *The Museum.* The political section started on its way toward the appendix. A sentimental approach to womanhood and women readers was made by 'The Visitant' and by the author of 'Hints for Married Women,' both heavily moralistic counselors. After a year and a half of hesitation on the springboard a bold leap was taken into the pool of fiction, a leap which came during the first celebrity of the first formal American novel, 'The Power of Sympathy.'" In the files of this magazine can be found Daniel Boone's "Autobiography" and the Constitution.

B. *The Columbian Magazine* was another *omnium gatherum.* Begun by Mathew Carey in October 1786, with five partners, including Jeremy Belknap, Hopkinson, and Dr. Rush, it ran a flourishing course for a time, though Carey soon withdrew. In this magazine Fitch explained the workings of his steamboat.

C. *The New Haven Gazette and the Connecticut Magazine* was established by Josiah Meigs.

D. The *American Magazine,* established by **Noah Webster,** maintained itself one year. "It was a learned magazine, crammed with ideas, information, and argument."—Warfel.

E. The first periodical to make a definite appeal to feminine readers was *The Gentleman and Lady's Town and Country Magazine* (Boston, 1784). Isaiah Thomas, in his *Worcester Magazine* (Worcester, 1786), printed the Northwest Ordinance. Children did not have a magazine intended solely for them until *The Children's Magazine* (Hartford, 1789).

CHAPTER V

THE FEDERALIST DECADE (1790-1800)

I. The Political Background.

A. In Europe the French Revolution was in full flame. What happened in France between the years 1789 and 1795 was far-reaching in its influence throughout the world; and while few could foresee the century-long effects that were to ensue from that conflict, in America at least there was a realization of the significance of the principles involved. Here, where there was no concern for "antiquated privilege," many felt enthusiastic about the changes in progress. Everywhere nerves were taut with wonder. The French Revolution seemed at first but an extension of the principles of freedom that had been enunciated in the States, and France's struggle but a natural sequence of the American Revolution. Its fires had been kindled in America. The first sanguine expectations, however, were soon chilled, and with the mounting lists of victims of the guillotine in 1794 even the toughest American liberal began to have doubts as to the sincerity of French leaders. Yet hope did not die; at least in certain sections of America French republicanism continued to be the shibboleth of party. The decade was marked, therefore, by American reaction to the Jacobin movement—from enthusiasm in 1793 to almost open hostility in 1798, as signalized by the XYZ affair.

B. At home other events engrossed the attention. From 1790 to 1794 war with the Indians was waged, concluded with Wayne's victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Three states, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee, were admitted to the Union. The new government was feeling its way, and around it political speculation swirled. The Federalist controversy speedily developed, especially in the national capital where the journals flared with party jealousies. Within the Federalist party itself the antagonism between the monarchical principles of Hamilton and the aristocratic democracy of Adams headed toward a rift.

II. Leading Works.

1791 William Bartram, *Travels Through North Carolina;* Paine, *Rights of Man.*

1792 Barlow, *Advice to the Privileged Orders;* Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry;* F. Hopkinson, *Miscellaneous Essays.*

1793 Barlow, *Hasty Pudding;* Washington, "Second Inaugural."

1794 Dwight, *Greenfield Hill;* Paine, *The Age of Reason.*

1795 Freneau, *Poems.*

1797 Burk, *Bunker Hill;* Hannah Webster Foster, *The Coquette.*

1798 Charles Brockden Brown, *Wieland.*

1799 Brown, *Edgar Huntly;* Tyler, *The Algerine Captive.*
1800 Brown, *Arthur Mervyn;* Weems, *Life of Washington.*

III. The Literary Scene: Polemic and Practical Writing.

A. The tendency of the entire decade may be characterized as utilitarian. In a period when even the novels were directed against illuminatism, Wertherism, and other alleged dangers, one may expect to find ordinary prose highly pointed for specific objectives. Freneau was the only outstanding writer to produce "pure" literature alongside "applied" or utilitarian work. All branches of literary art were affected by the earnestness with which Americans of the time approached literary efforts: novels were assailed when they afforded too little instructional content; drama was disguised as moral lectures; essays were used chiefly for partisan controversy; pure literary efforts were crowded to the wall by the press of practical writings. Large sections of America were little more than frontier, and less than five per cent of the population lived in large towns; practically all were under the necessity of working. A pioneer society, chiefly concerned with the establishment of homes in a wilderness or of making life more comfortable, is of necessity practical-minded, little sympathetic with activities that are solely the product of leisure. Even in England the eighteenth century had been a period of didacticism and common sense, and literary arbiters were not infrequently hostile to pure *belles lettres.* It need not surprise us, in consequence, that like manifestations were even more pronounced in America.

B. Controversies of the Jacobin period, the magnitude of political events, the uncertainties of government under the new Constitution, and the concern of all Americans with making a living fostered the development of the newspaper as an organ for the dissemination of reading that all had time for. It promoted partisanship and argued out current issues; it was the kind of prose that even a busy man might take in his stride. Miller's *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* thus described its place and explained its rise:

> "Our own country . . . has exhibited a spectacle, . . . of the great body of the people, even a large portion of that class of the community which is destined to daily labor, having free and constant access to public prints, receiving regular information of every occurrence, attending to the course of political affairs, discussing public measures, and having thus presented to them constant excitements to the acquisition of knowledge, and continual means of obtaining it. Never, it may be safely asserted, was the number of political journals so great in proportion to the population of a country as at present in ours. Never were they, all things considered, so cheap, so universally diffused, and so easy of access. And never were they actually perused by so large a majority of all classes since the art of printing was discovered."

Considering the fact that journals of that day were not primarily commercial ventures pandering to popular or depraved taste, and that they dealt with the problems of American democracy, the rise of the partisan journal becomes a fact of significance in literary history.

IV. POETRY.

Although poetry in the decade did not rise to a very high level, some pieces were deserving of perpetuation. The atmosphere of the times was partisan, and in such an atmosphere it was difficult for true artistry to thrive. Great literature was lost in a jungle of rant: everywhere satires, discourses, polemics, replies, retorts, "Rolliads," "the caustic cayenne of lampoons." Most poets were too concerned with the political controversies to be good bards, and echoes of the revolutionary doctrines of the Jacobins were to be heard on every side.

A. National collections.

The new nationalism led early in the decade to anthologies of village singers whose compilers sought to silence skeptical opinion at home and abroad as to American literary prospects. In stout volumes the claims of native bards were advanced. The following collections were published: Mathew Carey, editor, *Select Poems, Chiefly American* (1790); *Beauties of Poetry, British and American,* 1791 (19 native authors); Dr. Elihu H. Smith, editor, *American Poems, Selected and Original* (Litchfield, 1793); *The Columbian Muse* (1794)—selections from Alsop, Hopkins, Humphreys, Dwight, Trumbull, Barlow.

B. Poetic echoes of the French Revolution in major writers.

1. **Philip Freneau** shared the enthusiasm of Jefferson for the French cause, thinking of the Revolution as kindled by America, "a flame . . . gone forth to astonish the world and enlighten mankind." He did much in his journalism and poetry to give a French coloring to the political philosophy of the times, believing that in the fate of the French cause was gathered up the destinies of elective republics everywhere. The doctrines of French radicalism—liberty, fraternity, equality —he sought accordingly to popularize. His office became the gathering-place for French enthusiasts, and he was selected to translate the French "Ode to Liberty" for the Genêt banquet in 1793. This translation was preceded and followed by original poems expressive of Freneau's political enthusiasms: "On the Prospect of a Revolution in France" (1790); "On the Fourteenth of July" (1792) ("Bright Day, that did to France restore What priests and Kings had seiz'd away . . ."); "On the Demolition of the French Monarchy" (1792)—italicizing Equal Rights, Paine, Freedom's Tree, Reason's Day, and Rights of Man; "On the French Republicans" (1795); "On Mr. Paine's Rights of Man" (1795)—concluded with an apostrophe to Columbia; "Ode" (1795) ("God Save the Rights of Man!"); "On The Anniversary of the Storming of the Bastille, at Paris." (1793, 1795)
2. **Joel Barlow** in *The Conspiracy of Kings* (1792), a poem directed against the enemies of France, virulently attacked the doctrines of aristocratic governments, the divine right of kings, and, in particular, the orator Burke, whose "wild genius" did not keep Barlow from calling him the "sordid sovereign of the letter'd world."

3. *Hail, Columbia* was written, as the author **Joseph Hopkinson** says, "in the summer of 1798 when war with France was thought to be inevitable, Congress being then in session in Philadelphia deliberating upon that important subject." The author sought "to get up an American spirit which would be independent of and above the interest, passions, and policy of both belligerents."

C. Museum of controversial invective.

Party strife was high and political controversy and agitation, consequent upon the French Revolution, gave particular value to mock-heroic satires and Hudibrastic burlesques. Because of the sharp partisanship of the decade many poets with cerulean souls engaged in conflict. Abuse begot abuse, and those who had sought ivory towers came down and joined the fray. Such combatants could not long retain their poise; epic poets descended to non-epic combat. Ranting satire was the result.

1. Federalist bias: Conservative poems were the product of New England where the Yale poets, diverted from proper study of the muse by the partisanship of the day, poured out rhymed abuse.
   - 1790 Brockholst Livingston's *Democracy* burlesqued democratic machinery, speeches, parliamentary sessions, etc.
   - 1795 Lemuel Hopkins's *Democratiad,* a bitter retaliatory poem addressed to Benjamin Franklin Bache, held democrats up to ridicule.
   - 1796 *The Guillotina or a Democratic Dirge* (another Hopkins outburst) attacked the anti-Federalists, Bache and Mason, and the spirit of speculation, and also defended John Jay and his treaty.
   - 1799 *The Political Green-house,* the joint work of Richard Alsop, Theodore Dwight, and Lemuel Hopkins, contained attacks on Jacobins, Joel Barlow, Jefferson and his party. Hudibrastic form and rattling lines were employed.
   - 1791–1805 "The Echo," published serially in *The American Mercury,* had as its initial purpose a trenchant attack upon current literary style, notably the journalese, but it soon turned to political tirade, Federalist in bias, with direct hits at the "infidelity of the French Revolution." As a satire it surpassed in lightness and cleverness its more famed predecessor, the *Anarchiad.* It was largely the work of Alsop and Dwight.
2. Democratic tone:
   - 1795 The anonymous *Aristocracy,* a reply to the slashing Federalist abuse of democratic principles, was modeled after the *Anarchiad* and purported to be two books of an alleged epic.
   - 1795 William Cliffton's *The Group* was written in mock-heroic style as a "satire on Jay's Treaty and the men who hid during the Revolution and later claimed a patriot's reward."
   - 1796 St. George Tucker's *Probationary Odes* were propagandic poems directed against Hamilton, Adams, and other Federalists.

1799 Mathew Carey's *Porcupiniad,* a Hudibrastic poem in three cantos, was an attack upon William Cobbett and his monarchical principles.

1799 *The Demos in Council,* an anonymous satire, pilloried John Adams.

3. Nonpartisan but satirical:

1791 *The Anarchiad* (a mock-epic political satire by "Pilgarlic") slashed both Federalists and anti-Federalists in the manner of Pope's *Rape of the Lock.*

1798 The anonymous *Spunkiad* satirized "A Congressional Display of Spit and Cudgel."

1798 William Munford's *The Political Contest* (1798), a humorous satire on partisanship of the day, presented American attitudes toward France and England and the Napoleonic feeling at fever heat in that year.

1800 William Cliffton's "Rhapsody on the Times" (*Poems*) was a satire cautioning against heavy immigration.

D. Non-satirical poetry of the decade.

1. Ossianic Echoes.

Thoughts of the misty nights of a northern land came trooping into America through Ossianic imitations. Fragments from Ossian were versified by William Munford, Josiah Lyndon Arnold, Paul Allen, and Jonathan Sewall. One of the best known was by Richard Alsop, *Versification from Ossian,* a passage from the Fifth Book of *Temora.* "How many enthusiasts wander through the mists and halls of Fingal, who disdain to contemplate the destruction of Tyre, or hear the burden of Moab."
—*The Farmer's Museum.*

2. Della Cruscanism.

It was fashionable during the nineties to imitate the extravagances of the Della Cruscans, a fad in writing which was transplanted from such English periodicals as *The World* and *The Oracle,* and was chiefly characterized by superlative compliments and consolatory lines designed to assuage grief, real or imaginary. The first fruit of such poetical exchange was the Ella-Bertha series. Soon writers of reputation made the practice fashionable. **Robert Treat Paine,** famous for "Ruling Passion," became addicted to Della Cruscan devices, exchanging as "Menander" a series of flowery effusions with **Mrs. Morton** as "Philenia" (*Works,* 1812). Though the fad had its day, these extravagances were quickly parodied by Royall Tyler, Joseph Dennie, and their circle, especially in the *Colon and Spondee* column. Alphabetic, alliterative, foppish, and pastoral love letters were written in verse. Dutchmen and paddies heaved gusty sighs to their lost mistresses.

3. Poems on the Indian.

Prior to this decade the Indian had been given place in "The Returned Captive" (1787) and in newspaper ballads; soon, perhaps largely through

the influence of the Princeton bard, he became a staple in poetry, so much so that the use of the red man as a theme was for a time a mark of inferiority, though not for the better pieces. For evidence of the popularity of such matter see: Royall Tyler's "Death Song of a Cherokee Chief" (published in *The Contrast,* 1790); Mrs. Morton's *Ouabi, or the Virtues of Nature* (1790); Dunlap's *Cololoo—An Indian Tale* (1793); Josiah Arnold's *The Warrior's Death Song* (1797); Thomas Gisborne's *The Dying Indian* (1798). Interest in the Indian continued into the next decade in Lathrop's poem on the Narragansett Indians, *The Speech of Caunonicus* (1802).

4. Poems occasioned by the death of Washington.
   During his lifetime the most famous poem addressed to Washington was a Pindaric ode by Benjamin Prime entitled *Columbia's Glory* and published in 1791. In 1799 and 1800, after his death, a chorus of singers began poetical mourning for him. Elegies both simple and elaborate speedily appeared. The outstanding anthology of such pieces was *Hymns and Odes Composed on the Death of General George Washington* (1800), and individuals who wrote verses upon the occasion included: Charles Love, George Richards, Charles Caldwell, Isaac Ledyard, J. B. Linn, Richard Alsop, John Lovett, Thomas Paine, C. B. Brown, John Searson, Samuel Low, John Williams, John S. Gardner, Mrs. Murray, Mrs. Rowson, Jonathan Allen, and others.
5. More important poetical productions of the decade.
   Poetry at the century's end still displayed a concern (as was natural) with English models: when the heroic couplet was used it was that of Pope or Goldsmith; the blank verse was in the pattern of Thomson or Young. But despite heavy reliance upon overseas favorites, several poets rose to reputations that lasted a generation; and not all literary efforts displayed an imitative trend.
   a. **Francis Hopkinson's** pieces written during the Revolution and the Confederation were published in three volumes in 1792: *The Miscellaneous Essays and Occasional Writings of Francis Hopkinson.* While wielding a versatile pen in many literary fields, Hopkinson was also a noteworthy composer of songs.
   b. **Barlow's** *Hasty Pudding* (1796), a mock-epic poem lacking the satirical animus that marked other poems in this form during the decade, has remained the most popular of his works; J. P. Squire pronounced it "the lightest and cleverest literary skit that had up to that time been produced by an American."
   c. **Robert Treat Paine** was for "ten or fifteen years considered the first poet in the United States"; his works possessed more merit than the generality of his contemporaries, with the exception of the products of the Hartford wits. His two best-known poems were "The Ruling Passion" and "The Invention of Letters," written in the manner of Dryden and Gray. His famous song, *Adams and Liberty* (1798), was everywhere sung and praised.

d. In addition to being a satirist, **William Cliffton** was a fair lyrist, no less than four of his poems having been reprinted in Kettell: "To France," "To a Robin," "A Flight of Fancy," and "Mary Will Smile." His contemporary reputation he gained by a poetical "Epistle to William Gifford," an avenue to fame which today would prove a cul-de-sac.

e. **Timothy Dwight,** who wrote ponderous epics after the fashion of Wilkie, Glover, and Blackstone, is best remembered for *Greenfield Hill* (1794), which celebrates, among other Revolutionary events, the plundering of New Haven and Fairfield. The poem has more didacticism than pure description and makes clear the political and economic predilections of its author. Part I lauds, in the tradition of *Cooper's Hill* and *Windsor Forest,* the happy state of the inhabitants of New England, and seeks to evoke prideful delight in native worthies. In its defense of democracy, its praise of Connecticut, its celebration of homely virtues and industry, it is similar in message to Humphrey's poem of the same year, *A Poem on the Industry of the United States of America.*

V. The Prose of the 1790's.

A. The Post-Independence historians and biographers.

1. State historians: **Jeremy Belknap,** *History of New Hampshire* (completed 1792); **George Minot,** *Historical Essays on Massachusetts* (1793) and *History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (1798); **Robert Proud,** *History of Pennsylvania* (1797–98). This outburst of local history was continued in **Williamson's** *North Carolina* (1812).
2. General: **Ezra Stiles,** *History of the Three Judges of Charles I* (1794); **Jeremy Belknap,** *American Biography* (1794–98).

B. Revolutionary work belatedly printed.

1. Political allegory was the natural product of an era of conflict. **Jeremy Belknap's** allegory of the Revolution, *The Foresters* (published serially in the *Columbian Magazine,* 1792; second edition, 1796), introduced the "John Bull" satire to a wide group of readers. **Francis Hopkinson's** *A Pretty Story,* written during the Revolution as a patriotic piece satirizing the Royalist point of view, was reprinted in *Miscellaneous Writings* (1792).
2. Essays, free from strong polemic purpose, looked realistically at civil conflict. **Crèvecœur's** *Letters from an American Farmer* was not brought out in an American edition until 1793, though it had been printed in London in 1782. Strictly speaking, not this volume but the *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America* (1925) contains his strongest reactions to the Revolution. Crèvecœur loathed on one hand the mob tyranny of the committee-men and on the other the English-incited raids of the Indians. In the advertisement is a revealing note: "He is one of those who dreaded, and has severely felt, the desolating consequences of a rupture between the parent state and her colonies."

C. Nature essays.

1. The rest of **Crèvecœur's** work may properly be classified as essays of nature. *Letters from an American Farmer* contains a variety of essays which make its author a sentimentalist in his enthusiasm for the American scene and in his advancement of the melting-pot myth. They prove him a naturist, interested in the teeming life of his farm and in his bees, which afford him "the most pleasing and extensive themes—their industry, their quarrels, their passions." Celebrated also were the universal vocal choir to be heard at dawn in the Spring, the sublime accents of the thrush, the dazzling, almost invisible flutter of the hummingbird's wing, the ferocity of snakes. A half-dozen essays, descriptive of Nantucket Island and its inhabitants, of Martha's Vineyard and of Charleston, make Crèvecœur a traveler and observer of distinction; but his practice of combining material drawn from others with first-hand observation impairs the authenticity of his sketches. Tyler was certain as to his influence: his "idealized treatment of rural life wrought quite traceable effects upon the imaginations of Coleridge, Byron, Southey, Campbell and furnished not a few materials for such captivating and airy schemes of literary colonization in America as that of 'Pantisocracy.'"
2. In the work of **William Bartram** the naturalistic materials are combined with personal impressions. *Travels through North and South Carolina, etc.* (1791) was avowedly an ornithological and botanical work, though in the first three parts his travels are carefully set forth and sundry adventures recorded. But even in these portions he was much concerned with Indians to whose customs and habits he devoted the fourth part of his volume. The work was the product of an observant eye, a philosophical and enthusiastic mind, and a resilient spirit.

D. Political thought of the Jacobin era.

1. **Thomas Paine,** the clearest writer of the period, was the child of eighteenth-century theories in his *Rights of Man* (Part II, 1795). This work, which sold a million and a half copies in England, has a modern sound, especially with its proposals for universal education, abolition of property, reforms in criminal jurisprudence, old-age pensions, reduction of armaments, etc. Paine was direct in his reasoning, and appealed to homely interests, though his style was sometimes extravagant.
2. **Alexander Hamilton** wrote a series of essays, under the name of "Camillus," in support of the Jay Treaty.
3. **John Adams's** *Discourses of Davila,* influential in the decade, advanced his theory of aristocratic democracy. This philosophy of government, which believed in the administration of affairs by the conservative, capable, and experienced as a protection against impetuous action of headstrong majorities, occasioned Adams no difficulty during the upsurge of Federalism in the mid-nineties, but subjected him to violent antimonarchical attacks on the occasion of his second candidacy.

4. **Freneau** became journalist of the French and Jeffersonian cause. Bache and Freneau defended Citizen Genêt and attacked the policy of neutrality—opposing in a fiery tone the articles which appeared in Fenno's *Gazette* in defense of the principles of Federalism. Early in the decade Freneau edited the *National Gazette,* in the columns of which his anti-Hamilton campaign was waged. He did not do this, as has frequently been charged, under the aegis and dictation of Jefferson; he expressed his own intense convictions. Urging the rights of the natural man, defending the aims of the French Revolution, he carried the banner of liberalism high, and became the oracle for numerous minor journals which copied his editorials. When the enthusiasm for the Revolution ebbed, late in 1793, Freneau lost his position. But in the columns of other journals, especially Bache's *Aurora,* Freneau continued to satirize New England Federalists and voice democratic aspirations and counsel. Some of his political pieces he collected in 1799 in *Letters on Various Interesting and Important Subjects.* Thus the soundness of a critic's judgment upon him: "What Tyrtaeus was to the Spartan was Freneau to the republicans or anti-federalists." Freneau, through the stormy period of the nineties, gained political distinction and produced some bold pieces by which, as Jefferson testified, "he saved the Constitution which was fast galloping into monarchy." He wrote with a fluent, vigorous pen. His lines displayed telling sarcasm and skillful use of lethal claws. While he was involved in purely partisan activities, his controversies were national and not personal in character; thus the poet was justified in turning from precincts to which natural disposition led him to the great struggle for the maintenance of human rights and the protection of democratic machinery.
5. **Barlow** was the most democratic and unconventional thinker of the Connecticut group as well as the most active. Arriving in France when all society was in a state of flux and revolutionary doctrines rampant, he was soon on fire for the French cause. *Advice to the Privileged Orders* (1792) was written to popularize the French cause in England. But it was more than a mere revolutionary document. In his declarations that justice must be rendered, not compelled, and that the "State has no right to punish a man to whom it has given no previous instruction," Barlow revealed his "tender social conscience." Government, he reminded his readers, is the instrument for all society, not for special groups. The public good was the object of his legislative schemes, and around this center revolved also his special theorizing about the relation of the State to the individual, whether it was the rational levying of taxes, the publication of laws, or the administration of justice. The end of society, as Barlow perceived it, was not only to curb vice but to prevent it through proper education. Barlow's *Letter to the Convention* (1792), advancing the doctrines of the rights of man, of natural man as opposed to the privileged orders, was a second statement of his political and social creed. Barlow stood for political equalitarianism.

E. Periodical essays.

Nathan Fiske, writing in 1801, spoke of the periodical essays as being so plentiful and the fabricators of them so numerous a tribe that despite the great increase in the number of journals, no newspaper was without its own essay series as a mark of its literary distinction. From issue to issue readers were supplied with contributions in the essay department, and so extensive was the fashion that the newspaper essay became the most clearly defined literary form of the decade.

1. Minor essayists of the time, now forgotten, once enjoyed considerable prestige.
   a. The **Reverend Nathan Fiske** wrote as "The Neighbor" in the *Massachusetts Spy.*
   b. **Benjamin Rush's** *Essays Literary, Moral, and Philosophical* (1798) were serious and weighty.
   c. **Mathew Carey's** *Miscellaneous Trifles in Prose* (1796), the occasional writings of a Philadelphia publisher, were collected from magazines and newspapers.
   d. The rising magazines of the nineties—weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies—were abundantly supplied with political and social essays. Most of them, however, like **Mrs. Judith Murray's** "Gleaner" essays, are now utterly forgotten. By her contemporaries, however, *The Gleaner* was considered the *chef d'œuvre* in essay writing, and for book publication (1798) she secured over 750 subscribers.
2. Of influence in the political and educational field were **Noah Webster's** *The Prompter* (1791) and *A Collection of Essays and Fugitiv Writings* (1790). *The Prompter* was written in the Franklin style, simple, direct, pithy, full of humor and satire. It went through seven editions in the decade. His *Fugitiv* essays were inspired by important political events, by serious reflection upon the needs of the times, and by the desire to correct popular errors. In the dedication he spoke of the design of aiding the principles of the Revolution, suppressing political discord, and infusing a spirit of inquiry. The work included discussions of such pertinent topics as Education of Youth in America, Principles of Government and Commerce, On Bills of Rights, Paper Money, Test Laws and Oaths of Allegiance, etc.
3. **Freneau's** purely literary essays were largely the product of the mid-decade. He published in the *Jersey Chronicle* a series of papers entitled "Tomo Cheeki, the Creek Indian in Philadelphia," employing a device which harked back to Addison and Goldsmith, the comments of an outlander upon the manners and customs of a people. Shortly thereafter other literary pieces, including the "Hezekiah Salem" letters, made their way into *The Time-Piece,* which Freneau edited in 1797, under such titles as "On the Culture of Pumpkins," "Rules on How to Get Through a Crowd," "A Few Words on Duelling," etc.
4. The most consistent American imitator of Addison, **Joseph Dennie,** who turned to literature after a short law career in Massachusetts, soon pro-

duced the "Farrago Essays" (1792) and "The Eagle" (1793–94). About one-third of the Eagle series was later printed in *The Tablet* (1795). The "Farrago Essays" were never reprinted. During his student days Dennie had been a lay reader in unsupplied churches: this training he utilized in a series of essays contributed to the columns of the *Farmer's Museum* (1795). The next year a selection of about forty of the essays was issued in book form as *The Lay Preacher;* and it was this volume which John Davis, in 1803, pronounced "the most popular work on the American continent." The blend of sprightliness and morality in the essays is hinted by the variety of subject matter: "Wine and New Wine," "Against Democrats," "Idols," "Slothfulness," "Changeableness," "Politics," "Religion," "Criticism of Mrs. Radcliffe," "Gratitude," "Immodesty in Dress and Ornament," "The Demagogue," "The Prosperity of America." Characters constituted a frequent type; and the chief objects of satire were scandal, women's fashions, Jacobinism, and the common, age-old vices. The point of view was, on the average, English rather than American.

F. Orations and eulogies upon the death of Washington.

Washington died on December 14, 1799. By Sunday, December 29, ministers and others had found time to pen dignified sermons upon the event, and the following February 22 became the special occasion for orations, addresses, tributes and eulogies. Many of these were gathered up in such collections as *Washingtoniana* (1800), *Memory of Washington* (1800), and *Eulogies and Orations* (1800). The most famous eulogy was that by **Major General Henry Lee** (containing the phrase "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"), but others slightly less known came from the tongues of John Davis, Fisher Ames, Joseph Story, Joseph Blyth, Samuel Bayard, Gouverneur Morris, Royall Tyler, Abiel Holmes, J. T. Kirkland, Enos Hitchcock, etc. Margaret Stillwell listed 340 eulogies delivered and printed within two and a half months after Washington's death. The texts of all but 38 are extant.

G. The novel.

Born in the vital period of America's literary awakening, the novel quickly branched into several varieties: the sentimental, to point to human activities and moralize thereon; the educational, to define principles of democratic and homespun conduct; the contemporary, to feature sensationally and didactically private and public happenings. Practically, the types were blended: all had a pronounced didactic stress even when sugar-coated with entertainment. All, with the exception of *Modern Chivalry,* were devoid of humor, and all were without professional skill and originality. The plots were simple, consisting of the recombination of old staples: naturally good men led into grave errors by the espousal of false principles; helpless orphans left to the mercy of schemers; naïve girls deluded by consummate villains; young people led into mental torture by the differences of training; true lovers separated by scandal, agency of man, or act of God; the dictates of honor holding up prior claims upon affection and thus creating

a barrier between heaven-knit souls; creatures instinct with natural goodness pouring out their benevolence upon stricken humanity; young ladies allured by the front of quality. The English *Children of the Abbey* drew most of these formulas within a single pair of boards.

1. Its status.
   a. The novel, though making its way surely, was not widely accepted in the decade. There was a considerable audience to whom novelists and novel-reading were anathema, and who held that indulgence in romances enervated moral strength, gave disrelish for the affairs of common mortals, and was an ill preparation for serious life in a work-aday world. It was alleged, moreover, that the novel dwarfed the minds of its victims, perverted the natural sympathies, cultivated bad passions—in short, was the primer of the Devil. In New England and Pennsylvania, moreover, novels were objected to not only because of their fruits, pragmatically considered, but because they were fiction: they related that which had not occurred and had no basis in actual happening; they were bundles of lies and therefore not to be countenanced.

      Critically speaking, the atmosphere of the 1790's was frigid. Writers on female education stigmatized the novel as the efflux of weak, depraved constitutions, and the patriot objected to the novel of foreign importation as leading to continental vices.
   b. Meanwhile circulating libraries thrived and young ladies read all the available supply, especially young ladies of leisure, boarding school misses, and maids in service. In New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston, the people loved "light reading." "Coonskin" libraries of the frontier were not without novels, and the packs of peddlers, like Parson Weems, contained volumes of the "gay and sprightly kind." Defense of the novel took the form of a two-ply cover of truth and morality. The aim of moral regeneration was professed by authors, and on every hand it was conceded that excessive devotion to novel-reading was harmful. Many critics attempted to winnow the good from the bad. Only rarely was an open defense presented, as in the writings of Mrs. Rowson and C. B. Brown.
2. Foreign strains.
   a. Sentimentalism.
      (1) Richardson was dominant among the models, chiefly in subject matter, though occasionally in style (note the currency of the epistolary type of novel). His blend of didacticism and emotionalism provided the sentimental pabulum in demand in that age. Upon his *Pamela* and *Clarissa Harlowe* many tales of seduction were modeled, stories compounded of melodramatic gloom and exaggerated notions, in which the seducer attacked the female heart by all the vicious arts at his command. The Revolution and contemporary events furnished fictional material of this order in abundance. The sentimental pattern—both comic and tragic—

was devotedly followed, especially the author's dispensation of poetic justice. Of the persistence of Richardson's influence, David Lee Clark declared: "Well on to the close of the century Richardson was still the model, diluted and mangled by his imitators' inability to reproduce his firm psychological analysis of character and situation."

(2) The influence of Laurence Sterne was felt, though it was probably MacKenzie in his *Man of Feeling,* the ultra-sentimental novel of England, who more directly stamped American expression and thought. Between them they gave rise to what might be termed "sensibility." Mrs. Rowson's *The Inquisitor* was the clearest exhibition of the Sterne eccentricities.

(3) *The Sorrows of Werther* (by Goethe, 1774) made such a strong impression in America that warnings were issued against it in several novels: *The Hapless Orphan, The Power of Sympathy, The Fruits of Werther, The Letters of Ferdinand and Eliza, The Trial of Virtue.* Wertherism was a species of sentimentalism, exhibited in introspection and fruitless self-pity. Harrington, in *The Power of Sympathy,* died holding Goethe's volume in his hands.

(4) American tales of sensibility can scarcely be singled out, for no novel of the time was free from emotional excess, but two or three characteristic pieces might be noted: William Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* (1789, but suppressed); Mrs. Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1790—immensely popular—10 editions by 1805); Hannah Foster's *The Coquette* (1797—eventually 25 editions). In addition there was a series by Mrs. Wood, of Maine.

b. Godwinianism.

The influence of William Godwin—which William Wirt noted as marked in Virginia—left its traces on the novels of the time, particularly upon those of **Charles Brockden Brown.** His earlier work, such as *Alcuin* (1798), and his fiction reflecting an interest in social problems echo his reading of *Caleb Williams,* especially in the ideology and the generous inclusion of victims of society and characters of intellectual bent.

c. Gothicism was apparent in Godwinian and Radcliffean themes of horror. Tyler spoke of the servants amusing themselves into an agreeable terror with "the haunted houses and the hobgoblins of Mrs. Radcliffe." Although imitations did not thoroughly domesticate Mrs. Radcliffe, except for her scenic descriptions, there were occasional attempts to pursue the terroristic model. **Brown,** the chief American novelist in this field, did not borrow the medieval stage business of Mrs. Radcliffe, even when indulging in the novel of terror in conformity to current fads. He sought to explain his effects on the strength of natural wonders or scientific mysteries, such as "spontaneous combustion," "plagues," "sleep-walking," etc. Reaction to the

strict Radcliffean manner is found in Mrs. Wells's *Constantia Neville* (1800), designed to "counteract the present taste for the strange and terrible."

d. Orientalism.

The exotic stories of the East were quite popular. When Henry Sherborne wanted to introduce a scheme of Utopian ideality, he thought the employment of Oriental genii a recommendation to the readers of the day. Oriental tales were obtainable in periodicals and English reprints, though there were relatively few American imitations ("Sadi and Zelia," "Iman," etc., and a versification of Hawkesworth's *Almoran and Hamet* in 1798).

e. Educational theories of moral and doctrinal order.

(1) The most popular of the moralists from abroad was Countess de Genlis whose brief moral tales, illustrative of upright conduct, were in great demand. The English current flowing from Day's *Sanford and Morton* and Mrs. Inchbald's *Nature and Art* had not slowed down; those who read novels at all in America read such educational pieces with avidity.

(2) American authors such as Enos Hitchcock, Mrs. Wells, Mrs. Foster, used the novel for educational ends. (See especially **Hitchcock's** *Memoirs of the Bloomsgrove Family* (1790) and Mrs. Foster's *The Boarding School* (1796), the latter a warning against the dangers of coquetry, illustrated in the divergent principles of two young ladies).

3. Native traditions in fiction.

a. The sea. **Royall Tyler's** *The Algerine Captive* (1797) capitalized entertainingly and satirically upon the historical difficulties of the period, though much of the contents was highly fabulous. **Butler's** *Fortune's Football* (1797–98) advanced perils of the sea and pirates in the midst of a thousand obstacles against which the hero's shins were barked.

b. Satire of homespun institutions and conventions.

Hugh Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* (1792–97), a picaresque satire upon demagoguery and frontier democracy, was based on the model of *Don Quixote,* with interlarded Fielding-like chapters. The chief follies were not in the characters, but in the people they encountered, though Captain Farrago, an American knight errant, and Teague O'Regan, his bog-trotting Irish squire, were objects of considerable Celtic wit. Many were the matters satirized: journalistic vituperation, the follies of the electorate, female preference for uncouthness over accomplishment, Congressional debates, government treaties with the Indians, the inordinate ambition of the unworthy (especially of ignorant statesmen, ignorant philosophers, and ignorant ecclesiastics). The third volume (1793) carried the case against the unlettered upstart to the social levees of the capital, and the fourth (1797) introduced a new servant in the person of a Scotchman, Duncan, in

consequence of Teague's appointment as an excise officer. Teague was tarred and feathered and sent to the Philosophical Society as an *avis rara.* The account in this portion followed closely the events of the Whiskey Insurrection of 1793, in which it seemed for a time the author might become involved. As a critic of Demos the author was satiric and judicious without losing status as an entertainer. Full of wit and exaggeration, the work marked the beginning of a real American humor. It became one of the favorite books of the frontier.

c. The Indian in American fiction.

(1) Considerable attention to the Indian had been paid in Part IV of **William Bartram's** *Travels* and in **Ann Bleecker's** *History of Maria Kittle,* a story projected against the French and Indian war and descriptive of the author's own experiences during the advance of Burgoyne's army.

(2) The Indian was not treated at any length in fiction until the second volume of *Reuben and Rachel* (1798), in which **Mrs. Rowson** anticipated Brown by one year, in a novel full of absurdities, and employed heavily interlarded material in order to teach history.

(3) In 1799 **Brown's** *Edgar Huntly* made the Indian a figure of prominence. Advanced as a cisatlantic creature and an appropriate denizen of native fiction, the Indian of Brown supplied sources of terror for a Gothic novel more effective than transplanted overseas machinery. Brown did not subscribe to the primitivist views of the Indian that found reflection in Freneau. His savages are realistically presented: they take to the warpath in reprisal for the inroads and perfidy of the whites. But too much, however, has been made of the contrast of his Indians with those of Cooper. Brown, who was seven at the time of the Wyoming Massacre and who, with his contemporaries, had seen the close of a war with the Indians five years before, was only representing an Indian incursion during wartime, a concept not foreign to Cooper; and in Brown the bloodiest of the characters is his own hero, not the Indians, whose victims total one as compared with Edgar's five. What appears to be an interpretation of cruelty is merely the absence of central protagonists from the ranks of the red men. Such ingredients are only a part of *Edgar Huntly,* however, for it is primarily based upon sleep-walking, a formula with twofold illustration.

d. American happenings novelized.

Numerous events, from scandalously whispered family difficulties (as in *The Power of Sympathy, The Coquette,* etc.) to events of more social significance (as in *Arthur Mervyn* and *Wieland*) were relied upon by early fictionists. **Brown** in *Wieland* drew not only from Merille and the *Encyclopaedia; or Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences* (1798) but utilized a case of religious fanaticism at Tomhannock,

New York. His *Arthur Mervyn* (and in lesser degree, *Ormond*) presented with much realistic detail scenes of the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793. Among the novels of the nineties, "based upon an actual occurrence" was a frequent phrase on title page or in foreword, and the declaration, though frequently mere defense of fictitious narratives against detractors, may sometimes be taken seriously.

VI. DRAMA.

A. **Royall Tyler,** author of *The Contrast* (1787), which was performed four times after 1789 (in 1790–92–95), produced only one drama in the nineties that reached the boards, "The Georgia Spec, or Land in the Moon," a satire on contemporary manners, especially land speculation in the Yazoo area, paralleling the Scioto Company activities in Ohio. He left four manuscript plays, *The Island of Barrataria* (a farce) and three "sacred dramas."

B. **William Dunlap** began his dramatic career in the nineties, and before 1801 he had completed more than sixteen original plays. Adaptations from Kotzebue [no less than thirteen in all, including *The Stranger* (1798), *False Shame* (1799), *The Wild Goose Chase* (1800), *Pizarro in Peru* (1800), *The Virgin of the Sun* (1800)], the most popular of his productions, were produced between 1798 and 1800 when the vogue of Kotzebue was at its height. Dunlap's first original play of the decade was *Leicester* (1794) which, despite its Senecan horrors, was a popular tragedy. The Gothic tradition of the day, widely popularized through the writings of Mrs. Radcliffe, was responsible for Dunlap's next play, *Fontainville Abbey,* as it was for his *Ribbemont,* a romantic melodrama. After an opera in three acts (*The Archers*) Dunlap produced his famous native play, *André,* which turned upon the various appeals advanced to save the officer from execution. It received additional attention because of its description of Federalist sentiments in 1798.

C. **Mrs. Rowson** produced such plays as *Slaves in Algiers* (1794), *The Volunteers* (1795), and *Americans in England* (1797).

D. **John Daly Burk** composed appealing creations in his *Death of Joan d' Arc* and in *Bunker Hill* (1797), a patriotic piece long popular.

VII. LITERARY SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE NEW REPUBLIC.

A. The epic urge as expressed during the decade was one manifestation of widespread patriotic ambition. A cry that we needed a national literature was followed by the feeling that only ponderous works could fitly represent national feeling and importance. Huge epics became thus an evidence of literary zeal, a manifestation of the desire to produce a great literature, but were in reality the unfortunate substitution of ambition for genius.

B. **Tyler** in the Preface to *The Contrast* stated a twofold purpose: stimulating the writing of books of native stamp and imitating homespun manners. Comparably in *The Algerine Captive* he lamented that "so many books are vended that are not of our manufacture," and that New England readers were being taught levity and erroneous ideas from English novels.

C. **Timothy Dwight** in *Greenfield Hill* (1794) ably contended that there were scenes in America susceptible of poetic treatment, warned against the worn-out Gothic modes of Europe, and lauded the plain, honest manners of Americans.

D. **Brown** in the Preface to *Edgar Huntly* declared: "That many new springs of action and new motives to curiosity should operate, that the field of investigation, opened to us by our own country, should differ essentially from those which exist in Europe, may be readily conceived. . . . It is the purpose of this work to profit by some of these sources." Earlier, in the Prospectus of "Sky-Walk" (1798), he had written: "He . . . who paints, not from books, but from nature, who introduces those lines and hues in which we differ, rather than those in which we resemble our kindred nations beyond the ocean, may lay some claim to the patronage of his countrymen."

E. Magazine outbursts provided a chorus for the movement of which editorials in the *American Museum* were representative. See also the series on "American Literature" in the *Columbian Phenix* for January–May, 1800.

VIII. MAGAZINES OF THE NINETIES.

Not until after the War of 1812 can America truly be said to have given encouragement to the publication of a magazine. Many birds of passage fluttered through American life before that time, but none remained long. There were aspiring publicists who, recognizing the place a journal should fill in molding public sentiment, attempted to supply the lack. They founded magazines, kept them going as long as funds held out or their own energy lasted in the unaided production of periodical issues. The story of the magazines before the end of the century is chiefly a story of periodical wrecks. Rarely did a journal weather more than two years of adversity. A few lasted out the period of inauguration, but none can be said to have achieved success or to have become an organ of public influence. Three or four, by virtue of slightly longer life than the rest, might be singled out for comment. The *American Museum,* the *Golden Book* of the late eighteenth century, lasted through 1792. Pattee thus described its contents: "During its six years it reproduced 515 poems or an average of 43 in each of the volumes. Many of the poems were of book length, as for instance, Trumbull's *M'Fingal* and his other poems, and the complete selections, all from his most distinctive work." The *Massachusetts Magazine* was the most popular, probably because of the pronouncedly sentimental tales which it featured. Its contents were a potpourri of items designed to make it palatable: poetry, music, history, geography, criticism, tales, news, marriage and death notices, plays, and the proceedings of Congress. Though not a success financially, the magazine did succeed in its obvious intention of providing entertaining columns, and in consequence it attained a rare longevity in late eighteenth-century magazines, eight years. Most persistent of the period was the *New York Magazine.* Like the *Museum,* it garnered much of its material from books and other periodicals. One aspect of the magazine gives it historical interest to students of our early theatre, the notices that it provided of the stage.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTERREGNUM, 1800–1810

I. The National Outlook.

A. The political and social scene.

Jefferson became president in 1800 largely through the Burr influence in New York. Soon came matters of national importance, especially the Louisiana Purchase; this event had tremendous influence upon the subsequent development of America and freed the West from foreign interference. Lewis and Clark began, in May 1804, an exploration of these new western areas; their expedition lasted until the autumn of 1806 and resulted in a journal which reads like a romance. Meanwhile continued difficulties with the Barbary pirates, causing expenditures of $83,000 tribute a year to Tripoli alone, led to active measures from 1801 to 1804. America, led by Preble and others, successfully attacked the forces of Tripoli, Morocco, and Algiers, bombarding Tripoli again and again. Jefferson, who was afraid of a large navy, embarked after 1805 upon his gunboat policy, which aroused both praise and scorn. The Burr Conspiracy of the mid-decade was the inspiration of much fiction later. The last half of the decade was embittered by the virulence of Federalist attack upon Jefferson, and by increasing difficulties with England through Orders in Council, impressment, etc. The Embargo of 1808 had far-reaching effects on New England shipping centers. In the same year the slave trade was prohibited.

B. An arid period in literature.

After the work of Freneau and the grandiose but uneven performances of the Connecticut Wits in the satiric nineties, there appeared no major poet until Bryant. Barlow did not improve upon his *Vision of Columbus* when he turned it into a labored epic version which at least one critic styled a tin-plated affair. Trumbull, always mildly academic in his controversial work, had embarked upon his legal career. Hopkins, a poetaster at best, became, with Silliman and Rush, an important figure in the medical profession. Dwight was in the full glare of New England publicity as president of Yale. Fiction was comparably feeble. Brown's best work had been done late in the nineties, and no other professional authors before Irving are discoverable.

To a few, of course, belonged the soul of song and the fire of intellect, but during this period American literature was chaotic and so remained until after the second war with England. Practical interests absorbed the attention of aspiring authors, and domestic and foreign policies and European complications proved a drain upon imaginative energies.

Social conditions were not exactly favorable to the production of literature and fine arts. The States in general had not recovered from the loss of

intellectual citizens in the Tory exodus. In the South, the invention of the cotton gin brought about an increase in cotton cultivation, and the stress upon this valuable crop increased the devotion of a large section of the populace to practical concerns. Meanwhile the frontier was extended toward the Mississippi, but the new area had to wait for at least a generation before it could be given adequate literary expression. The rural character of the populace must also be remembered as a force affecting the production of literature: in 1810 only five per cent of the population lived in cities of 8,000 or over.

II. Leading Works.

1800 Brown, *Arthur Mervyn;* Cliffton, *Poems Chiefly Occasional.*
1801 Brown, *Clara Howard;* New York *Evening Post* established.
1803 Fessenden, *Terrible Tractoration;* Wirt, *Letters of the British Spy.*
1804 Marshall, *Life of Washington.*
1805 Warren, *History of the Revolution.*
1806 N. Webster, *Compendious Dictionary of the English Language.*
1807 Barlow, *The Columbiad;* Irving and Paulding, *Salmagundi.*
1808 Tenney, *Female Quixotism;* Wilson, *American Ornithology,* Vol. I.
1809 Ames, *Speeches and Writings;* Irving, *A History of New York.*
1810 J. Q. Adams, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory;* Ingersoll, *Inchiquin, the Jesuit's Letters.*

III. Survey of American Verse, 1800–1810.

A brief survey of the poetry of the period convinces one of the provincialism of thought manifested by the average minor poet, though there were sporadic signs of imaginative endowment and originality. For the most part authors relied on current English models. There were imitations, side by side, of Pope, Glover, Gray, Kirke White, "Ossian," and of Scott, Moore, Campbell, and Montgomery. The fashion was eclectic; the new was accepted along with the old.

A. Survival of Ossianic echoes.

John Blair Linn, author of the "Powers of Genius" (1802), used the manner of Ossian for eulogy in "The Death of Washington." **Jonathan Sewall,** who in "Address to Ossian" praised Washington enthusiastically, published his *Versions*—Ossian in heroics—in 1810. Further traces of Macpherson influence are detectable in the work of the lyrist **John Shaw.**

B. The continuance of the Della Cruscan rage.

In the nineties, in England and America, Della Cruscan affectations and eccentricities led to such poetical signatures as Carlos, Orlando, Adelaide, Arouet, and Philomela. Although this practice was soon ridiculed out of countenance in the work of serious poetizers (*vide* the strictures of Allen and Tyler's satire as "Della Yankee"), it continued to flourish in poets' corners of the newspapers where, even beyond 1812, there were to be found lyrics to Amaryllis by Corydon and Strephon. The characteristics of the Della Cruscans may be analyzed as: honeyed insipidity, silly and outworn conceits, sweetened platitudes, classical names of hard spelling.

C. Lyrical poetry.

John Shaw (*d.* 1809) wrote a considerable number of lyrics during the last nine years of his life (posthumously published in 1810). Also popular was **Mrs. Rowson,** rated as "a daughter of the skies," who wrote under the name of Philenia; but though she issued a bulky volume of *Miscellaneous Poems* in 1801, within a quarter of a century she virtually sank to oblivion. Also in the lyric tradition, **Paul Allen** (*Original Poems, Serious and Entertaining,* 1801) imitated English poets of the preceding seventy-five years in lines that were fluent, graceful, and erudite. Some of his contributions, such as "The Pleasures of Literature," were in the didactic rather than the lyric tradition. More personal than the rest were **Joel Barlow's** "To My Wife" and "Anniversary Poems" of 1801, 1802, and 1803, which show Barlow in his best vein. His fellow Connecticut wit, **David Humphreys,** made the first extensive use of the sonnet form in America. Of greater reputation was **Alexander Wilson,** who enjoyed poetical fame before leaving Scotland in 1794. Some of his lyrics he contributed to the *Port Folio* and printed in his *American Ornithology* (1808–1814). "The Solitary Tutor" (1804) and "The Rural Walk" (1804) are among his best-known pieces. "The Foresters" (1802), his longest poem (over 2,200 lines), gave an account of an October pedestrian and boat trip from Philadelphia to Niagara Falls, with the glories of American scenery the real theme. In this descriptive verse he had a follower in the work of **John Hayes,** whose *Rural Poems* (1807) was devoted to the attractions of the American scene.

D. Didactic poetry of the first decade.

Though the poetry was abundant enough, its interests were ephemeral. Since much of the didactic verse was based upon the models of Akenside, Rogers, and Campbell, there was no shortage of strained wit and elegant language.

1. Early in the decade appeared **John Blair Linn's** *The Powers of Genius,* a philosophical poem inspired by Akenside and Brooke. Linn was also the author of *Valerian* (1805), a narrative poem of a "Roman noble shipwrecked on the shores of the Caspian sea."
2. **Joseph Story's** *Power of Solitude* (1804), a poem more familiar by title than contents, was strictly in accordance with current English models, especially Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope.* This didactic piece was written in heroic stanzas and is typically eighteenth century in its theme, its ideas, and its material arrangements.

E. The epic.

The *Columbiad* (1807), like Story's work written in the heroic couplet, was the product of mistaken ambition. In it **Barlow** expanded the 4,700 lines of his *Vision of Columbus* to a large quarto volume of ten books. Epic optimism it advanced: "the design of Hesper was to sooth and allay the mind of Columbus by presenting the glorious vista which was opening as the result and recompense for all his toil." In addition to such motivation, Barlow sought "to inculcate the love of rational liberty, and to discountenance the deleterious passion for violence and war," and to "encourage

and strengthen in the rising generation, a sense of the importance of republican institutions as being the great foundation of future and private happiness, the necessary aliment of future and permanent meliorations in the condition of human nature." These were worthy ideals, but an epic was probably not the form in which to express them. The work failed dismally, and its weaknesses were speedily noted. Timothy Flint remarked of it that with its wearying recurrence of verses, it "needed not the machinery of the Pantheon, so ridiculous in modern poetry, nor the river god of the Delaware to aid Washington in crossing that stream . . . to render it tiresome and burlesque." And concerning its style Bryant uttered equally severe strictures: "the imposing but unchaste glitter, which distinguished the manner of Darwin and his imitators, appears to have taken strong hold on his fancy."

F. Satirical and humorous verse.

The bitter partisanship of the day (which had persisted since 1790) was clearly apparent in the political verse.

1. Social and political satire was found primarily in the work of **Thomas G. Fessenden** (1771–1837), who was the author of allegedly humorous poems. He gave in *A Terrible Tractoration* (1804) a witty attack on dull doctors. Of similar order was his *Pills, Poetical and Philosophical* (1809), a vapid piece which aroused contemporary interest. Abler was his *Democracy Unveiled* (1805), an aristocratic attack upon Jefferson's administration much in the vein of Fenno and Dennie, though in it the Federalist spirit sank to its most vituperative style. Most readable of his works was *Jonathan's Courtship,* which appeared with five other rustic pieces in his *Original Poems* (1806).
2. Satires on society, aside from Fessenden's, included the anonymous *Breechiad* (1807), which instructed women in the domination of their husbands, and **Winthrop Sargent's** *Boston* (1803), an array of things from which Bostonians suffer: the press, low taste, poor drama, fire hazards, foreign immigration, housing conditions, etc.
3. **John Williams's** *Hamiltoniad* (1804) was a caustic satire against the Federalist party.
4. Other satires included *Olio* (1801), *A Parnassian Shop* (1801), and *Fashion's Analysis* (1807).

IV. Survey of American Prose Between 1800 and 1810.

A. Fiction.

1. During the decade the American novel, with the notable exceptions otherwise mentioned, was in the hands of the women writers. The success of Mrs. Radcliffe, Hannah More, Jane Porter, Maria Edgeworth, and Fanny Burney abroad, and of Mrs. Rowson at home, turned American ladies to the writing of novels. Witness the success of *The Coquette,* with its numerous reprints during the first decade, and of *Charlotte Temple,* the popularity of which, ten years after its first appearance, was undiminished (editions in decade: 5 by the first American publisher,

Mathew Carey; 14 others in nine different cities). Novels of the period were written by women, about women, for women.

2. The only feminine novelist really bulky enough to deserve an extended note in the decade was a "Lady of Massachusetts," **Sally Sayward Barrell Keating Wood,** author of *Dorval or the Speculator, Amelia, Ferdinand and Elmira,* and (more important) *Julia and the Illuminated Baron. Ferdinand and Elmira* was printed in Baltimore as a city more congenial to fiction than New England towns. *Amelia,* purely imaginative, presents a paragon of goodness, whose impossibly humble virtue is strongly contrasted with the licentiousness of one Harriet. *Julia* was her first novel; according to the subtitle, it was "Founded on Recent Facts which have transpired in the Course of the late Revolution of Moral Principles in France." Illuminatism appears not as a political movement but as a system of instruction whereby youths are trained in consummate villainy, and through atheistic indoctrination lose all sense of good and truth, with the resultant fruits of murder and general corruption.
3. **Caroline M. Warren's** *The Gamesters* (1805) was a popular piece of the decade which hovered didactically around the three themes of gaming, dueling, and seduction, tracing in particular the fates of Eliza and Leander who sink through the machinations of the schemers Somerton and Evander (shocking examples "of the depravity of the human heart"). The story, which glorifies sensibility, traces "feeling exchanged for inhumanity." The *Monthly Anthology* pronounced it "not only too inanimate to buzz, but too insignificant to sting."
4. **Tabitha Tenney,** author of *Female Quixotism* (1808), was interested in exposing satirically the excesses of sentimental romance. Her work is indispensable for understanding the reading of the time. Interested, like Cervantes, in ridiculing out of popularity an absurd style of fiction, the author sought to point the excesses of the sentimental pattern in its extravagant language, foolish intrigues, and self-consciousness borrowed from the *Children of the Abbey* school. From this point of view she relates at full length the story of an impressionable young lady who, through early devotion to novels, has developed her romantic notions until they no longer quadrate with the facts of real life. In consequence, she rejects an eligible suitor, is duped by a fulsome impostor seeking her fortune, and is properly tricked by a third who sees in her absurdity an opportunity for practical joking. Because of the immaculate character of heroines in her daily reading she thinks of love only as a grand passion, fancies herself the cynosure of all admiring eyes, and imagines affection where only gratitude is meant. She is as full of self-deception as a political candidate. Miss Sheldon, the heroine, was in reality a case for an abnormal psychologist, but the author holds her up as an instructive warning against the dangers of excessive novel-reading.
5. **Charles Brockden Brown's** last two novels, *Jane Talbot* (1801) and *Clara Howard* (1801), both epistolary in form, appeared in this decade. After

these two conventional pieces, Brown gave up fiction altogether, for their success was not such as to encourage him, and turned to the editing of magazines. However, in the history of fiction, it is really Brown's decade, for no others achieved *real* fictional success.

6. The second most distinctive novelist of the period was **John Davis,** who, though an Englishman by birth, a cosmopolite by choice, and a traveler by inclination, wrote and published while in America several novels, of which the first three were *Ferdinand and Elizabeth, The Farmer of New Jersey,* and *The Wanderings of William, or the Inconstancy of Youth.* The most significant of his stories, *Captain Smith and Princess Pocahontas* (printed in May, 1805), consisted of a scant sixty pages of narrative. The story was substantially that related in Davis's *Travels* (1803). Later in the year a sequel appeared, *The First Settlers of Virginia,* in reality only an expanded second edition.

B. Biography.

1. In 1800 appeared **Parson Weems's** *Life of Washington,* source of anecdotes about Washington, pitched in a popular key and designed for peddlers' vending. It was in its ninth edition by 1809. The cherry tree and hatchet story appeared in the fifth edition of 1806. Of this biography Weems remarked: "Washington outsells anything I have, no comparison."
2. **Marshall's** *Life of Washington* (1804–07), in five volumes, was undertaken at the request of the family. Though it is fair in its presentation, the author was unable to escape totally the active prejudice of the Federalist party. Grave, elaborate, it was classified as a history rather than a biography. **Aaron Bancroft's** *Essay on the Life of Washington* (1807) was markedly succinct by contrast. **David Ramsey's** *Life of George Washington* (1807) had a small but steady sale.
3. Other biographies of the decade included **Cheetham's** *Life of Thomas Paine* (one of the first of the tar-brushing biographies), and **Joseph Kirkland's** *Life of Ames.*
4. Although not a biography, **Mrs. Mercy Warren's** *Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution* (1805)—same year as Holmes's *Annals*—featured by brief sketches a great many of the Revolutionary figures.

C. Periodical essays.

1. *The Letters of Jonathan Oldstyle, Gent.* (1802), are interesting only as juvenile pieces of **Irving** authorship.
2. *Salmagundi,* from the hands of **J. K. Paulding, William Irving,** and **Washington Irving** (anonymously published), was written to entertain and castigate. The authors said of it: "Our purpose is simply to instruct the town. This is an arduous task, and therefore we undertake it with confidence." To the authors of this work, Parrington applied his remarks on Halleck and Drake, pronouncing them "lucky adventurers whose slight crafts made the most prosperous of voyages," chiefly by striking the fancy of polite society. *Salmagundi* was issued at irregular intervals during 1807–08. The papers are valuable for their humorous

touches and the evidence of the persistence of the eighteenth-century essay style in early American letters; they are valuable also for glimpses of social life in New York at this period. Concerning the numbers of anonymous imitators it called into the field, Neal remarked: "Why, I could give the names of at least fifty—not to say five hundred young gentlemen who turned 'incontinently' as Paulding would say, and published mysteriously—for no better reason than that nobody knew them or was ever likely to suspect them of authorship."

3. **William Wirt's** *Letters of a British Spy*—essays dealing with oratory, education, government, manners, the white man's injustice to the Indians (Letter IV), the ruins of Jamestown (Letter VI), and the eloquences of a blind preacher (Letter VII)—were originally contributed to the Richmond *Argus.* They enjoyed extensive popularity—five editions by 1814, eleven years after their first appearance, and twelve editions in all. Later essays in their respective series by Wirt were *The Rainbow* (1804) and *The Old Bachellor,* the last of which elicited wide comment (1810).
4. The influence of Goldsmith was apparent in **Samuel L. Knapp's** *Letters of Shahcoolen, a Hindu Philosopher residing in Philadelphia* (1802).
5. **Joseph Dennie,** earliest of the American essayists of note, styled "Oliver Oldschool," reprinted from the *Farmer's Museum* sixty-eight of his *Lay Preacher* essays in the *Port Folio,* adding a series of ten new essays in 1807 and 1808. Fourteen other essays, entitled the "Lay Preacher in Pennsylvania," appeared in the *Gazette of the United States* late in 1799 and early in 1800. In the *Port Folio* Dennie also reprinted *The Tablet.* Other periodical essays appeared in Dennie's journal, such as "The Day," "The American Observer," "The Scribbler," "The Planets," and "The American Lounger" (184 numbers), the last a kind of literary miscellany of which about a fifth was of Dennie's composition (made up of political articles, scattered essays, and letters addressed to Mr. Samuel Saunter).
6. The "essay" vein ran through all the magazines of the period, recognizable by such captions as "The Censor," "The Gentleman at Large," "The Trifler," "The Contemplator," "The Laugher," "The Eagle," "The Lady's Friend," and "The Hermit." One of the most interesting was "The Remarker" in the *Monthly Anthology* which appeared regularly during the life of the magazine. "An Author's Evenings," which ran in the 1801 *Port Folio,* were partly by Royall Tyler. Several extended series such as "The Gossip" appeared in the *Boston Weekly Magazine.*

D. Burlesque history and humor.

Knickerbocker's *A History of New York* (1809) was the first American book that stood solidly on its own feet, and many critics see nothing equal to it in American letters before this time. A chronicle of New York City under the Dutch governors, it gives us the first genuine exhibition of the peculiar, gay humor of **Irving.** It is a mock-heroic history, written in the spirit of caricature and broad comedy, extolling indolence and stupidity as virtues of Dutch colonists, laughing at the city, its explorers, aldermen, soap-mad Dutch housewives, etc., and indulging in satire on national types

at the same time. For ludicrous episodes Irving introduced the amours of Antony the trumpeter, the bloodless Swedish Invasion, the pipe plot. As a history it sometimes is absolutely accurate and sometimes as bad as Baron Munchausen. That it was written by a New Yorker did not make the work any more acceptable to those of Dutch descent.

Political objections there were too, particularly by republicans who objected to Book IV: William the Testy's "installation of windmills as defenses of New Amsterdam, his futile attempts to withstand aggressors by proclamations, his dispatch of his trumpeter Antony van Corlear on futile errands with them, his death in an attempt to catch birds by sprinkling salt on their tails, these are an exquisite satirization of the gunboat defense policy, the commercial warfare, the missions of James Monroe, and the genuine scientific interests of the master of the Jeffersonian regime." (Pease.)

Largely travesty in spirit, it was the only protracted work that Irving wrote before forty-five, and it has been pronounced in various circles as the "most genial and vital of his volumes." Neal, generally scathing in his comments, proclaimed the Knickerbocker *History* a "work honourable to English literature—manly—bold—and so *altogether original* without being extravagant, as to stand alone, among the labours of men."

V. The View of the Literary Situation.

A. The English galaxy of the period as viewed by American readers. Goodrich thus described the overseas importation: "Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope* and Rogers' *Pleasures of Memory* were favorite poems from 1800 to 1815; and during the same period *Thaddeus of Warsaw, The Scottish Chiefs, The Pastor's Fireside,* by Jane Porter; *Sandford and Merton,* by Day; *Belinda, Leonora, Patronage,* by Edgeworth; and *Cœlebs in Search of a Wife,* by Hannah More, were types of the popular taste in tales and romances."

B. Literary history.

One of the first critical volumes to appear in the States was a widely noticed work by **Samuel Miller** entitled *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (1803). It provided an "interesting sketch of our literature, which is the more valuable, as it is the first attempt to give a general outline of the advances we have made and the works we have produced" (—*Monthly Anthology*). The chapter on "Novels and Novelists" elicited special comment in contemporary reviews.

C. Reaction to native prospects for literature.

1. Skepticism about literary conditions prevailed.

a. The *Monthly Anthology* queried (1805): "Where can we find a single poem of distinguished excellence, or one which will be read fifty years hence?" Despair was apparent in the concluding passage: "In literature we are yet in our infancy; and to compare our authors, whether in prose or poetry, to those of the old world, can proceed only from the grossest ignorance, or the most insufferable vanity."

b. **Dennie,** with his admiration of things English, was under no illusion as to the character of the American literary output in the decade. An

article in the 1807 *Port Folio* demonstrated "that American literature is in its swaddling bands." There followed an "Examination of the causes that have retarded the progress of literature in the United States":

"Literature languishes in a most inglorious and disgraceful obscurity, because men leave in cold neglect every liberal pursuit; because of avarice in the tutelary power of the country; because we are distracted by feuds and factions of the most rebellious and virulent character; because our modes of education are shamelessly and egregiously deficient; because Classical learning is in the lowest repute; because we have not a NATIONAL UNIVERSITY with all the endowments of an Oxford; and lastly, because the government itself is inauspicious to the votaries of the muse." Other articles followed (June 20, 1805; Dec. 5, 1807).

c. **Samuel Jarvis** declared in his Oration ["Want of Patronage the principal cause of the slow progress of American Literature" (1806)]: "There is no light in which our country can be contemplated with less satisfaction to genuine patriotism than in her literary relations."

d. **Daniel Webster** in "The State of our Literature" (1809), speaking of American apathy in the pursuit of literary and scientific objects, attributed it to inordinate ambition in the acquisition of wealth and to the pursuit of politics.

e. **Fisher Ames** in his essay on "American Literature" (published 1809) saw in the increasing republicanism of America sure death to a leisure class and in turn to literary achievement. His despair was sincere.

f. The *Monthly Anthology* for 1809 remarked: "American literature is not a tract where we expect any regular annual product, or where we are sure of constant improvements from the hand of well-directed industry; but it is rather a kind of half cleared and half cultivated country, where you may travel till you are out of breath, without starting any rare game, and be obliged to sit down day after day to the same coarse, insipid fare."

g. Washington Irving declared in the *Select Review* for 1809: "the man of letters is almost an insulated being, with few to understand, less to value, and scarcely any to encourage his pursuits."

2. Not all writers of the period were wholly skeptical, however. Witness the remarks of "Atticus" in the *Boston Weekly Magazine* in 1804 or the optimism of *The Monthly Register* (1807) under the heading, "Arts and sciences compatible with freedom." One contributor contended: "we have every reason to expect, that America will, at no distant day, rival the nations on the other side of the Atlantic, in those productions of genius, which strengthen, and confirm all the bands of social order, and confer a lustre, as permanent as it is splendid, upon the works of man. . . ."

VI. THE DRAMA, 1800 TO 1810.

A. **John Howard Payne** began his career as playwright late in the decade with *Julia* (1806) and *Lover's Vows* (1809). In the following ten years nothing of importance except *Brutus* (1818) came from his hand.

B. **William Dunlap,** whose plays were noteworthy in the nineties, added materially during the first decade to his already bulky output with native plays and with adaptations from the French and German. The first half of the decade he was manager of the American Company. His plays included: *The Glory of Columbia* (1803), *The Proverb* (1804), *Leicester* (1807 [1794]). Volume I of his *Collected Plays* was printed in 1806. Translations: *Peter the Great* (1802), *The Good Neighbor* (1803), *The Blind Boy* (1803), *The Voice of Nature* (1803), *The Wife of Two Husbands* (1804), *Nina* (1804). Though Dunlap was called the "father of the American drama," none of his plays has ever been brought back to the boards.

C. In a period not strong in drama, the work of **Barker,** particularly *The Indian Princess* (1808), stands out. Based on materials in Smith's *General History of Virginia,* it was the first Indian play to reach the American stage; his production had merits both in the flexibility of the verse and in the triumph of the love scenes between Rolfe and Pocahontas. A prior effort of Barker during the decade, *Tears and Smiles* (1807), belonged to the *Contrast* tradition with its portrayal of national peculiarities.

D. Other plays of the time did not rise to Barker's level of attainment. They included (without reference to merit): Ioor's *Eutaw Springs* (1807), Breck's *The Fox Chase* (1806), Lindsley's *Love and Friendship* (1807–08), Turnbull's *Rudolph* (1807), White's *Foscari* (1806), Hutton's *The Wounded Hussar* (1809), anon., *American Tars in Tripoli* (1804–05) and *School for Prodigals.* From 1800 to 1805 a number of translations and adaptations were produced by Dunlap, which are of more interest in relation to stage history than to the story of native drama. Most of these were melodramas from the French and British stage.

VII. American Magazines from the "Monthly" to the "Analectic."

A. The leading magazine of the decade was the *Port Folio,* edited by **Joseph Dennie.** Under his guidance the magazine was definitely Federalist in its outlook, and sympathetic to English letters and culture. As early as July 1801, Dennie reprinted selections from Wordsworth and published contributions from Thomas Moore. Bowles was praised and Campbell and Hunt were given space in 1803. The Gothic novel was reprehended, though in Volume III a burlesque formula for "terrific novels" was offered. Of essay series, of course, it was one of the leading proponents, and devoted space to a critical review of the *Spectator,* thus pointing to literary provenience in the eighteenth century.

B. The *Boston Weekly Magazine* was the most diverting, perhaps, of the ladies' magazines of the period, and for this reason deserves being singled out from the mass of Medleys, Companions, Museums, and Reviews. The magazine is of interest for its hortatory vein, its notices of the theater, and its devotion to fiction, for which it not only provided a market but monitorship. Mrs. Rowson was a frequent contributor.

C. Religious journals were as flourishing as purely secular sheets. An excellent representative of old Boston in this class was the *Monthly Anthology,* the literary vehicle of the "Anthology Club," and what Quincy called "one of

the most lasting and honourable monuments of the taste and literature of the period." Forerunner of the *North American Review,* it was the mouthpiece of the liberal Congregationalists. Religious controversy and conviction drew two new magazines into the field: the *Panoplist,* established avowedly to offset the *Anthology,* and the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine,* also conservative, a strongly "Hopkinsian" journal.

D. The chief interest in **Brown's** *American Review and Literary Journal,* aside from the date of its appearance, is that it was the first quarterly review in America. But Brown, like many another editor in the early days, had to write most of the contents himself. The *American Review* was followed by the *Literary Magazine and American Register,* which lasted until 1808, and was succeeded in turn by a factual publication: The *American Register, or General Repository of History, Politics and Science.* Thus the decade from 1800 to 1810 was in Brown's case largely devoted to the attempt to establish a flourishing magazine in America; the result was simply a lone-handed effort, a spectacle of an editor writing most of his articles with little or no aid. Brown finally became a mere writer of registers.

CHAPTER VII

WAR OF 1812 DECADE

I. The War Decade.

Among the causes of bitterness during the decade and productive of volumes of newspaper comment were New England pacifism and the almost open rebellion of the Hartford Convention. The Republicans regarded this as partisanship looking to the dismemberment of the Union.

While much of the War of 1812 was fought on the ocean, it was sufficiently military, particularly in the West, to give Americans more than a taste of conflict, especially considering the catalogue of failures such as the surrenders at Detroit and Frenchtown, and the singular ineffectiveness of the land forces generally. Small wonder that the American spirit quickened at the sea victories and the postwar success at New Orleans, demonstrating Americans to be potentially as successful in land as in naval fights. After the war came the Era of Good Feeling, accompanied for a short time by mercantile prosperity. Literature in turn was quick to express this ebullition of feeling, prompt to reveal the burgeoning of the American spirit.

II. Leading Works of the Decade.

1811 New York Historical Society *Collections,* Vol. I.
1812 Barker, *Marmion;* Paulding, *John Bull and Brother Jonathan.*
1814 Everett, *Defence of Christianity.*
1815 Freneau, *Poems; North American Review* established.
1816 Drake, "The Culprit Fay" (written; not published until 1835).
1817 Bryant, "Thanatopsis" in *North American Review.*
1818 Paulding, *The Backwoodsman.*
1819 Channing, *Unitarian Christianity;* Irving, *The Sketch Book.*
1820 Trumbull, *Poems* (with Memoir).

III. The Literary Scene.

A. Literary coteries.

1. In New York, the center of literary culture, the most lasting of literary combinations during the late years of the decade was that of **Halleck** and **Drake** under the designation of "Croaker and Company."
2. Baltimore was a second literary center.

   In Baltimore the Delphian Club maintained the *Portico* as a medium of opinion. It gave free rein to the expression of their literary pronouncements, of which license Neal and others freely availed themselves.

   Here, too, **J. P. Kennedy** and **Peter Cruse** (his law partner) edited the *Red Book* (1819). Concerning this publication, John Neal remarked that its authors "fired pop-guns behind a palmetto bulwark for a month or two."

B. The concern for American letters.

1. Literary "delinquency" and the *North American Review.*
The editors of the *North American Review* were not only active in the molding of critical opinion but were gravely concerned with the state of American writing; complaint about it was voiced in the work of **William Tudor** (review of Miss Huntley's poems), **Walter Channing** ("American Language and Literature," "Reflections on the Literary Delinquency of America," "Rob Roy"), **Francis Gray** ("Phi Beta Kappa Address"), **John Knapp** ("National Poetry"). In these articles there was not only analysis of the reasons which led to barrenness in literary productivity but an attempt to arouse American literary enterprise and develop a public spirit concerned for literary honor in the nation.

2. Newspaper articles on American literature.
Several series appeared in journals of the time, such as the *Boston Patriot* (1818), the *New England Galaxy* (1819), and the *New York American* (1820). In almost all there was lament for the culpable indifference toward domestic literature. Comparable sentiments were heard in Commencement and Phi Beta Kappa orations.

3. **Solyman Brown** and his commentators.
   a. In the Preface to his (metrical) *Essay on American Poetry* (1818), Brown cited the factors which checked the advancement of American letters and suppressed the spirit of literary enterprise. In the poem he sought to encourage the cultivation of American poetry.
   b. Bryant's notice of the book extended into a summary of the "characteristic merits and defects" of the most celebrated American poets and an essay on American poetry, its status and its quality, which he pronounced better than we could have expected to produce.

IV. The Rise of Biography.

A. The checkered career of **Franklin's** *Autobiography:* The first installment was published in Paris in 1791; the second and third sections were printed in London in 1793. The Parson Weems edition (quite inaccurate and incomplete) was the first American appearance of the work (1815). The William Temple Franklin revised edition of the first three installments appeared in 1817. Not until 1868 did the work appear as Franklin wrote it.

B. **William Dunlap,** *The Life of Charles Brockden Brown* (1814).

C. **Charles Prentiss,** *Sketch of Robert Treat Paine* (1812—"manly, free, and friendly").

D. **William Wirt,** *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (1817). Wirt's reconstruction of the famous speech deserves mention. This made a stir but it had too much of the inflated style of that day.

V. First Skirmish of the "Paper War" (the Anglo-American Dispute).
One of the patriotic duties of writers and editors in the second decade, and well into the third, was to retort to and refute English criticism of the United States. For this there was ample ammunition.

A. *Causae belli.*

1. The sensitivity of Americans (ascribable in terms of Tocqueville to *le patriotisme irritable*) to criticism, particularly Tory criticism, was a very important factor in the American response. Badgered by the English press, with their status before the world not yet assured, they could with difficulty submit to the harshness of foreign criticism, especially after the truculent abuse of the Tory *Quarterly* and the false representations of Faux and Bristed.
2. Motives for foreign misrepresentation included:
   a. Jealousy, i.e., America's threat of becoming a world power: "As rivals have seen that we possess the greatest means for the acquisition of wealth, they have attempted to make up the advantage by employing their superior literary force against us."
   b. Desire to traduce the United States during the War.
   c. Toryism which was eager to assail democratic institutions.
   d. The wish to secure attention and sales for their volumes by travelers addicted to iconoclastic methods and mendacity.
   e. Discontent in England over heavy emigration to America.

B. American salvos.

1. The retorts in the periodical press were issued under the generalship of **Robert Walsh.** To the attacks of such British journals as *The Quarterly Review, Blackwood's Magazine,* etc., came replies in the *North American Magazine,* by **Edward Everett** and **William Tudor. Washington Irving's** "English Writers on America" contains an able summary of the whole controversy down to 1819.
2. A book-length series of articles appeared in the *New England Galaxy* called "Sequel to The Foresters." Thirty-two in number, they brought the story of the relations of the United States and Great Britain down to the termination of the second war and the exile of Napoleon. Such things as the Orders in Council, the Embargo, the seizure of seamen, were noted in a vigorous satirical spirit.
3. The controversial book occupied a place of primacy in the American attack.
   a. The first in the field was *Inchiquin, The Jesuit's Letters, during a Late Residence in the United States of America* (1810) by **Charles J. Ingersoll.** In addition to a section of entertaining traveler's yarns, designed to make the work palatable abroad, the author presented varied evidence on the essential greatness of this free, republican federation. The work, because of the mounting tenseness between England and America which resulted in the War of 1812, became the center of controversy. The second work in this tradition was **J. K. Paulding's** *The Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan* (1812) which, comparable to Belknap's and Hopkinson's political allegories, advanced satirically the history of Anglo-American relations from the Revolution to the War of 1812, with the employment of many burlesque devices. Into the account

the author introduced comments upon the doctrine of the freedom of the seas, protests against the seizure of American seamen and satire upon English anti-emigration attacks, particularly by Farmer Parkinson, Lawyer Janson, and Peter Porcupine.

b. *The Quarterly Review's* notice of the Inchiquin Letters evoked three replies:

(1) **Timothy Dwight's** *Remarks on the Review of the Inchiquin Letters* (1815). Dwight, in answering the charges of the *Quarterly,* matched each charge of brutality, dishonesty, immorality, indecorum of judge or law-giver, by documented instances of parallel cases in England, proving by implication that the view of the United States taken by the *Review* was mere caricature.

(2) **J. K. Paulding's** *The United States and England* (1815). Paulding professed to draw his examples of English inferiority not from tittle-tattling gossips, but from magistrates, from law cases, from authorities. Out of their own mouths he sought to confound them. He exposed the sophistry "which reasons away the character of a nation on the authority of an individual crime." British attacks on Congress he paralleled by attacks on Parliament; strictures on American morality he parried by thrusts at the English ale-pot and at vice among the lower classes, etc. The writings of Gifford were properly castigated also in a chapter of *Letters from the South* (1817), though such notice was not in line with the general purpose of the book. Paulding, in a spirit of defensive hostility, objected to the critic's practice of venting his spleen upon a whole people while reviewing books that had nothing to do with the subject.

(3) **Robert Walsh's** *Appeal from the Judgements of Great Britain* (1819) was the stoutest and soberest volume of all. His purpose was "a review of the dispositions and conduct of Great Britain towards this country from the earliest period, and a collateral retaliation for her continued injustice and invective." What he sought was "an aggregation of facts pointedly told, and the production in detail of whatever tends to rectify perverse or propagate just opinions." These facts he arranged under such general heads as "Mercantile Jealousy of Great Britain," "The Character and Merits of the Colonists," "The Military Efforts of the Colonists," and "The Hostilities of the British Reviews," etc.

VI. The Poetry of the Second Decade.

In poetry this decade, too, might be designated as an interregnum, for although verse was being written, it was of inferior quality. Scarcely a single volume appeared that is worth remembering. In the corresponding period in England, much fine poetry was issuing from the presses. Flowering of genius was visible in Southey, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Scott, Byron, Shelley, and Keats. Also active, though upon a lower plane of merit, were Crabbe, Campbell, Rogers, Hunt. America had no figure who might enter into serious competition with

even the feebler bards in this list. Many factors aside from military activity were responsible for this state of affairs, but the greatest were the absence of leisure, the lack of financial return in the face of the current book-pirating, and the dominantly rural population, all of which combined to make the production of poetry a hazardous undertaking.

A. The verse of the War of 1812.

The patriotic bard in war times is not so much concerned with originality as with spirit, and therefore the literature of the War of 1812 was almost uniformly imitative: the second decade saw a transfusion of the spirit of older and contemporary poets. The panegyrical verse of the Augustans was still a popular model; the poems of Freneau, Dwight, and Barlow stood ready for any who yearned to follow in their manner; and in the famous *Battle of Hohenlinden* and *Ye Mariners of England* Campbell furnished a proper form for the martial enthusiasm of American patriots. Scott was as vigorous a model as any and probably the most popular. Nowhere could the reader of that day find the stir and roll of the drums and the tramp of the trooper recorded with more spirit than in his martial passages, particularly of *Marmion,* and in his description of Highland fighting under Roderick Dhu.

1. The ballads and lyrics of the War.

The War of 1812 aroused the usual round of songs, odes, and ballads, though "The Star-Spangled Banner" of **Francis Scott Key** seems the sole important survival of the mass.

a. **Philip Freneau,** who was reanimated with hatred for the British, appeared in the role of martial bard with his *Collection of Poems on American Affairs,* which included "The Battle of Lake Champlain," "On the Lake Expeditions," "The Battle of Lake Erie," "The Volunteer's March," "On the British Invasion," "The Battle of Stonington," "On the Capture of the Guerrière," and others. During the Revolution Freneau had gained a reputation as a naval bard. The War of 1812, largely a war on water, gave even fuller opportunity for the expression of his genius; there was hardly a single memorable event in the war which did not call for verses from his pen. He began as early as 1809 with "On the Symptoms of Hostilities," "On the Prospect of War," and "On the British Commercial Depredations," and followed with poems reciting naval fights from 1812 to 1815. The *Analectic,* commenting upon *Poems on American Affairs,* extolled the work of Freneau: "A considerable part of the present collection relates to the events and transactions of the late war. . . . Many of his effusions on these subjects are spirited and factious, and well calculated to please the popular taste. He depicts land battles and naval fights with much animation and gay coloring; being himself a son of old Neptune, he is never at loss for appropriate circumstance and expressive diction, when the scene lies at sea."

b. **E. C. Holland** (of Charleston, S. C.) was probably the most prolific writer of patriotic verse during those years. His pieces appeared in the

newspapers, in the *Port Folio* and *Niles' Weekly,* and in book form. One of the most popular of his contest songs was "The Pillar of Glory," constructed on the model of the boat song in the second canto of *The Lady of the Lake.* Irving, who reviewed his work, accused him of "trifling too much with the fantastic gentry of the Della Cruscan school," of perverting "his fancy by reading the amatory effusions of Moore," and of being "too conversant with the works of Robert Treat Paine." He recommended a period of silent growth. There is no evidence that the advice was taken seriously.

c. **Richard Dabney's** *Poems* (1814, 1815) contained, among "illustrations of simple moral emotions," a group of war songs, including "Turn not to the East," "A Western War Song," and "The Heroes of the West." These were favorably noted at the time in *Letters from Virginia.*

2. Panegyrical verse in imitation of Walter Scott, *et al.*

a. **James Fennell,** in *Hero of the Lake* (1813), celebrated the victory of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie.

b. One of the most notable poems of 1814 was *The Phoenix* by **Benjamin Allen, Jr.,** which chronicled the naval exploits of the *Essex,* though these were obviously twisted to aid his poetical analogy.

c. The *Field of Orleans* (1816), by **Joseph Hutton,** was a limping parody of Scott's *Field of Waterloo;* but for an unblushing imitation of Scott we must turn to *The Siege of Baltimore* (by **Angus Umphraville**), the titular piece of which celebrated the achievements and valor of the American defenders of the city of Baltimore when attacked by the force of General Ross, who had previously fired Washington. Historical interest the poem slightly possessed; literary merit it had not.

3. Satirical verse of the War.

a. *The Year* (1813), by **William Leigh Pierce,** an occasional poem between four and five thousand lines in length, attacked the party spirit responsible for America's entrance into the war, and sent a counterblast against the violence of the factions. The contest he labeled "mad delusion."

b. Sharp comment on the predatory warfare of the British on Chesapeake Bay appeared in **James Kirke Paulding's** *Lay of the Scottish Fiddle* (1814). This, as a parody of Scott, was widely read. The hero was Admiral Cockburn and the principal incident, the burning and sacking of the little town of Havre de Grace on the coast of Maryland.

B. Romantic poems in imitation of Scott.

This was the decade of Scott's greatest poetic popularity, brought to a culmination by *The Lady of the Lake,* though his place in popular esteem was challenged by Byron before five years were out. Nothing that he produced after his third metrical romance equaled his earlier work, but popularity was sufficient to evoke imitations. The first, ascribed to **Eaglesfield Smith,** was named after Scott's first translation from Bürger, *William and Ellen* (1811). The poem was a peculiar combination of the old heroic and

the new ballad manner popularized by Scott. The second imitation was **J. M. Harney's** *Crystalina* (written in 1812 but not published for five years), which poetized certain superstitions of the Scottish Highlands. **Washington Allston's** *The Paint Ring* was written in imitation, and in burlesque, of Walter Scott's "Fire Ring," M. G. Lewis's "Cloud King," etc. It was reprinted in *Specimens* (1822) and in Griswold, and has remained one of his better-known pieces. Mere pastiche from Scott was **R. C. Sands's** *Bridal of Vaumond* (1817), and close resemblance to Scott's manner was apparent also in **H. H. Wright's** *The Fall of Palmyra* (1816). **Jonathan M. Scott** professed the influence of his great namesake in *Blue Lights* and *The Sorceress,* though he possessed scarcely a tithe of Caledonian inspiration.

C. Lyrics, ballads, and reflective pieces of the second decade.

1. **Lucius M. Sargent's** *Hubert and Ellen* (1812), a rare volume, written in simple ballad style, was Wordsworthian in its attitude toward the simple life.
2. One of the ablest and most graceful poets of these years was the artist **Washington Allston,** whose *The Sylphs of the Seasons* (1813) evoked encomiums even from England.
3. **John Pierpont's** *Airs of Palestine* (1816), one of the most popular volumes of the day, went through three editions in little over a year. Most of Pierpont's work, however, proved short-lived. Pierpont's poem, which celebrated the power of music measuring the march of time, from Moses, Elijah, and David to Paul and Silas, included a poetic tribute to Chateaubriand as the "poetic pilgrim of the West." The author was a "correct" poet of the school of Pope.
4. **Henry C. Knight** wrote both lyrics and ballads with equal grace in *The Cypriad* (1809), *The Broken Harp* (1815), and *Poems* (1821), the last containing such pieces as "The Caterpillar" and "A Summer's Day."
5. **Joseph Hutton,** in *Leisure Hours* (1812), wrote a number of feeble effusions full of echoes of the eighteenth century and current models: "Venoni" (after Goldsmith's "Hermit"), "Day" (imitated from Cunningham), "Religion" (in the vein of Montgomery), "Meditations" (imitating Young), and a number of patriotic songs of a more original cast.
6. **Richard Henry Wilde** has found a place as a lyrist in American collections on the strength of "Stanzas" (*c.* 1815) and "To the Mocking-Bird." His work stands out as the only permanent contribution of the decade to an anthology of American lyrics.

D. The influence of Byron produced numerous now-forgotten poems in the periodicals, such as "Coolin" in *The Parterre.* Though imitation of Byron was not productive of great work, it evoked some worth-while pieces.

1. **John Neal** cultivated Byron's style zealously, in prose as in verse (*vide* his *Logan* and *Randolph*). In the Preface to *The Battle of Niagara and Other Poems* (1818) he confessed his indebtedness to Byron, Moore, and Leigh Hunt.

2. Many Byronic imitations might be adduced—from M. G. Brooks, E. C. Holland, Peleg Sturtevant, and others,—but from the mass of poems ordinarily cited in this connection only one was successful in making its way, even by fragments, into later anthologies. This was *Fanny* (1819) by **Fitz-Greene Halleck,** an imitation of *Don Juan.* If it is without the wickedness of the original, as Lowell charged, it is not without the appetizing salt that Halleck's genius sprinkled over it. The poem deals satirically with the follies and foibles of New York finance and society, but because of its local appeal it never found much favor outside the corporate limits of that city.

E. The rise of the Knickerbocker school.

1. **James Kirke Paulding,** patriot and democrat, began his literary career as co-author with Irving *et al.* in the *Salmagundi Papers.* In February 1814, he contributed "The Idea of a True Patriot" to the *Analectic Magazine* and in 1818 attempted a national epic called *The Backwoodsman,* which, although it had some fine lines, was neither a success nor long remembered. The story was that of an Ohio pioneer whose backwoods adventure, romantic enthusiasm, and final success were advanced as the epitome of frontier careers. Carry into America a strong will and strong desire, the author seemed to say, and you will succeed. A representative comment of the times indicated the grounds for its reception: "There are no exhibitions of the stormy and fiend-like passions which fashionable European poets have conjured up to please the taste of the age—a taste whose excitability is nearly destroyed by excessive gratifications."
2. **Joseph Rodman Drake,** bard of fancy, was joint author with Halleck of *The Croaker Papers* (1819), a sprightly group of poems satirical in nature, contributed to the New York *Evening Post.* This series of papers was the literary hit of the day. One of the interesting poems of Drake that stimulated native work was "To a Friend," in which Halleck was urged to seek inspiration in the American scene, to celebrate native achievements, to find here themes for lays of love and war. "Look with creative eye on Nature's face," he admonished, and "no more . . . laud your lady's eyes." Following his own advice, he penned three unforgettable poems: "The American Flag" (May 29, 1819), "Niagara," and "The Culprit Fay" (the last, however, remained in manuscript until its appearance in *The Boston Pearl* in 1835). Drake might have been a force for poetry in the twenties but for his untimely death and for the over-fostering praise he received.
3. **Fitz-Greene Halleck,** wit, laid some claim to poetic remembrance in the second decade through collaboration with Drake in *The Croaker Papers.* These amused the town but proved ephemeral. The sensation they created was index to the poverty of the city in things poetical. Parrington called Halleck "a crotchety wit who affected persiflage . . . a free lance in verse who lived in state on the income of a small literary investment made in his twenties."

VII. Fiction, 1811–1820.

A. The most notable success was achieved by **Isaac Mitchell's** *Alonzo and Melissa* (1811). This tale delighted Americans for more than a generation. It is a blend of the two veins of fiction then most popular, the sentimental and the Gothic, though it is scarcely a representative Gothic novel.

B. The next year **Rebecca Rush** published *Kelroy,* a domestic novel relating the story of an officious, designing mother who, in her prideful plans for her daughters, dissipates the family fortune, and wrecks their happiness, bringing one daughter to a slow dissolution and her lover to insanity.

C. **Samuel Woodworth's** *The Champions of Freedom* (1816) can be read today only in the spirit of ridicule, for into it the author poured whole columns of his periodical, *The War!* It is interesting solely because of the almost laughable seriousness with which the spirit of Washington is introduced. A novel featuring all phases of the War of 1812, even the post-treaty Battle of New Orleans, it contains among its *dramatis personae* a mysterious chief, a series of Lake Erie heroes, Andrew Jackson, Jean Lafitte, and others. Style it does not possess.

D. In 1815 appeared a new edition of **Hugh Brackenridge's** *Modern Chivalry,* incorporating the contents of all former editions (1792 to 1805) and adding a volume "furnished by the author from his portfolio." The additions were less integrated than the earlier sections, but glanced interestingly at the doctrine of human perfectibility, slashed at the Federalist ideas of property qualification, satirized the blundering military personnel of the War of 1812, and held up for serious criticism the separatist scare of the Hartford Convention. A two-volume edition, carefully revised by the author before his death, was brought out in Pittsburgh in 1819.

E. Foreign works were much consumed in America during the decade. Fearon recorded: "English novels and poetry form the primary articles of a bookseller's business. They are quickly reprinted." Scott, though anonymously, provided readers of the decade with a copious array of works which included that famous series of *Waverley, Guy Mannering, The Antiquary, The Black Dwarf, Old Mortality, The Heart of Midlothian, Ivanhoe.* He was much read. Also somewhat popular during the period was Miss Edgeworth. Of her works the *American Monthly Magazine* (1817) remarked: "The accuracy of her exhibitions of men and manners . . . exerts a strong and permanent attraction."

VIII. Limited Output of Essays.

Of essays the decade had no imposing array. **George Watterston** published *Letters from Washington* and **M. M. Noah,** two series of *Essays of Howard,* the first on "Prisons" and the second on "Domestic Economy." Widely reprinted in American newspapers from Maine to Georgia were the essays headed "The Brief Remarker," by the **Rev. Ezra Sampson,** of Hudson, Connecticut. **Wirt's** *The Old Bachelor* (thirty-three essays in all) was mildly praised by the *Analectic.* **Irving's** *Sketch Book* came out in the last year of the decade but its real vogue and influence were in the twenties.

IX. American Drama of the Decade.

Largely an importation, American drama was naturally affected, like other literary forms, by the War. From June 1812 to February 1815, war lasted; and since the interval was marked by anxiety and danger, there was little interest in theatrical art. Feeble patriotic interludes—such as *The Glory of Columbia* and the *New York Volunteers*—were performed, but plays descriptive of naval victories (such as *Yankee Chronology* by Dunlap, and *Heroes of the Lake,* or temporary attractions reflective of naval glory, such as *The Sailor's Return*) constituted the chief dramatic contribution of the period.

Before the actual outbreak of hostilities (but veiledly protesting impressment of American seamen) **Barker** adapted Scott's *Marmion* for the Philadelphia stage (though the canny producer, Dunlap, first announced it as by the English Morton). The play had real merit. Other less original American adaptations from Scott included *Lady of the Lake* (also 1812), *Ivanhoe,* and *Heir of Avenel* (from *The Monastery*). Adaptations such as *Guy Mannering* and *Rob Roy* were English.

Toward the close of the decade **M. M. Noah** gained some fame with *The Wandering Boys* (two helpless orphans) and *The Plains of Chippewa* (1819—based on a battle of July 5, 1814), the last of which retained its popularity for many years. This most successful of War of 1812 pieces was not isolated. J. B. White, C. E. Grice, and others also devoted themselves to the theme of War difficulties.

X. Periodicals of the Second Decade.

A. **Walsh's** *American Review of History and Politics* was the first quarterly review established in America on the plan of English periodicals. It lasted through most of two years but was strangled by reverses during the War of 1812. Its most striking characteristic was Walsh's interest in French affairs. There were lengthy articles on the relations between the United States and France as well as reviews of French books, comments on French life, and bits of Parisian biography. Second in volume and emphasis were the articles and reviews dealing with national affairs, correspondence between American statesmen, and glimpses of native books.

B. *American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review* enjoyed a career of only two and a half years, but it was a brilliant one. So well written and so active was the magazine in matters of literary and public interest that its files are not unreadable today.

C. The *Portico* is not a magazine to be singled out for a place of importance, but it is interesting as an organ of the Delphian Club of Baltimore and as a periodical more devoted to literary criticism than others of the decade, though only five semi-annual numbers were issued.

D. The *Analectic Magazine* was formed from the *Select Reviews* in 1812, and appeared under a new name in February 1813, under the editorship of **Washington Irving,** who retained the post until 1815. Irving's contributions, extending through the years 1813 and 1814, included reviews of Paine,

Holland, Paulding, Byron, and biographies of Lawrence, Burrows, Perry, and Porter, besides extended remarks in the literary department. Contributors well-known were Paulding and Verplanck, who proffered ten articles in 1814, the most notable of which were on Fisher Ames, Oliver Ellsworth, and Joel Barlow. In 1819 it published the first lithograph in America.

E. The *North American Review* was founded by the group which had managed the *Monthly Anthology,* the aim being more literary than theological. It was launched in the middle of the decade and soon became the leading review on this side of the water at a time when critical plaudits were mostly transatlantic. T. W. Higginson (in *Old Cambridge*) remarked of the *North American Review* of this period: "The articles which appeared in this *Review* had a wide influence in their day on both literary and political opinion. They were written, as a rule, in what may be called the Southey style, which then predominated in the London Quarterlies—an orderly and clear-cut style, not wanting in vigor, but essentially academic."

F. The *Port Folio* during the decade was under the editorship of **Charles Caldwell** and **John Elihu Hall,** but about 1820 the glory of Philadelphia began to dim and along with such loss of prestige came the decline of the *Port Folio* as an original journal. By 1822 it was almost purely eclectic.

G. The *Western Review* was founded in August 1819, at Lexington, Kentucky, the first literary center of the West, and was closely associated with Transylvania College. Contributors from this institution ranged from the president to professors of botany and the classics. The *Review* attempted to live up to its name, with notations on the reception in the West of foreign works, scenes from border warfare, and series on Western rivers, Western flora, and Indian antiquities. The magazine died in July 1821.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ROMANTIC DECADE

I. The Political and Social Scene.

In the twenties the bustle of activity in agriculture was succeeded by expansion in manufacturing concerns, especially in New England. The years from 1820 to 1830, with the development of fast packet ships, were, moreover, the most flourishing in the history of American shipping. It was the period of the expansion of the Western trade, the era of turnpike and canal building, in short, of extended public works. All this contributed to the increase of American prosperity, a fact which prompted greater pleasure-seeking and a relaxation in moral discipline. This in turn led to the diffusion of more tolerant feelings and an increasing stress upon amusements, though the avenues for expression were limited.

The West was being rapidly settled in that decade, too, especially Ohio, Missouri, western New York, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee. River traffic to New Orleans was a large factor in opening up the resources of the West. Intellectual life, however, was still confined to the coast, though Cincinnati and Lexington were young, emergent centers of learning.

Politically the decade was torn by the struggles consequent upon the Missouri Compromise of 1820 which began the forty-year march toward dualism. Intense partisanship was created also by the election of the "frontiersman" Jackson in 1828 and the institution of the protective tariff, known as the "Tariff of Abominations." Controversies were lost sight of for a while during the semi-centennial celebrations of 1825.

II. Leading Works (for additional fiction see Section IV, below).

1819–1820 Irving, *Sketch Book.*

1821 Bryant, *Poems;* Cooper, *The Spy;* Percival, *Poems.*

1822 Dwight, *Travels;* Irving, *Bracebridge Hall.*

1823 Cooper, *The Pilot;* Neal, *Seventy-Six.*

1824 Everett, *The Progress of Literature in America;* Irving, *Tales of a Traveller.*

1825 Halleck, "Marco Bozzaris"; Daniel Webster, "First Bunker Hill Oration."

1826 Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans;* Kent, *Commentaries; Atlantic Souvenir.*

1827 Poe, *Tamerlane and Other Poems;* Sedgwick, *Hope Leslie.*

1828 Cooper, *Red Rover;* Hawthorne, *Fanshawe; The Token;* Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language.*

1829 Poe, *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems.*

1830 Daniel Webster, *Reply to Hayne; Godey's Lady's Book* founded.

III. The Literary Scene.

A. Centers of literary activity.

1. It became apparent by the close of the second decade that the new literary center of the nation had come to be New York. Here Irving, Cooper, and Bryant, contributors to three literary forms, readily emerged as the leading litterateurs of the period; and the literary field, which had been exceedingly arid, again became fertile. Soon there was to come a many-voiced response to Sidney Smith's famous query and the sounding of at least two gold-plated trumpets.
2. With reference to the cultural scene C. J. Ingersoll recited the following figures: three thousand undergraduates in colleges and universities; two hundred wagons engaged in the itinerant book trade; one thousand newspapers with literary corners.

B. The English importation and focus.

1. W. C. Bryant remarked in July 1821: "It is well known that our children's books are English; that many of our text-books used in the colleges are English; that our standard professional works are English; that our stage is supplied from England; that Byron, Campbell, Southey, Scott, are as familiar to us as to their own countrymen; that we receive the first sheets of the new novel before the last one is thrown off at Edinburgh; that we reprint every English work of merit before it is dry from the English press. . . ."
2. William Tudor declared: "The Bible is the most read of all other books . . . Next to this . . . will be found popular religious tracts, of which great numbers . . . are now annually distributed, gratis. Next to these in frequency are volumes of popular poetry, travels, or contemporaneous works, exciting patriotic feelings, or the political sympathies of the times. Then come the favorite novelists and poets of the day, Byron, Scott, Miss Edgeworth whose works, republished in a cheap, small form, are spread everywhere."
3. The vogue of Byron continued undiminished through most of the decade; his death at Missolonghi, Greece, only served to widen his popularity for a time, and to silence adverse criticism. Many were the imitations which his poetry evoked; his influence extended even to fiction. The appearance of Moore's *Byron* late in the decade became the occasion for new evaluations of his life and career. The strictures of Robert Walsh elicited many defenses.
4. Scott was read with such avidity in the earlier years that by 1823 a half million volumes of his novels had been sold in reprints in the United States. The interest aroused by the anonymity of his novels, the steady issuance of volumes from the press, and the story of his financial reverses only heightened an interest which was well-nigh universal in America. Everywhere he was known as the Great Unknown; and though there were those who claimed that Thomas Scott had written his novels, or Dr. Greenfield, most readers were certain of Scott's authorship. The demand for his works knew little slackening until after *The Fair Maid*

of Perth, though extended reviews no longer appeared after *The Fortunes of Nigel.* The novels were issued in inexpensive editions by Carey and Lea of Philadelphia at 62 to 75 cents a volume, and were brought out by S. H. Parker in a de luxe edition which retailed at $2.25 per novel. Peter Nielson remarked at the close of the decade: "Sir Walter Scott's works are much read, and some of his tales have been issued from the press within forty-eight hours after their arrival from Britain."

5. In the mid-twenties there came the first deluge of what is termed the "fashionable" novel, which made a quintuple threat through Theodore Hook's *Sayings and Doings* (1824), Disraeli's *Vivian Grey* (1826), *Almack's* (1826), Charles White's *Almack's Revisited* (1827) and Bulwer's *Pelham* (1828). Robert Ward's *Tremaine* (1825) was the irritating cause of Disraeli's work, which in turn prompted *Pelham.* The fashionable novels—early called silver-fork fiction—dealt almost exclusively with lords and ladies and were made up of witty, insolent, critical satires on the follies and frivolities of the aristocracy. They had already enjoyed a five-years' run before Mrs. Gore took the field. Much reprehended in America, for both their affectation and their aristocratic bias, they nevertheless found a considerable number of readers, enough to rile the pious brain.
6. At the polar extreme from these dandified publications was Mary Mitford's *Our Village,* which, enjoying a favorable reception after 1827, helped prepare the way for American sketches.
7. One other influence must be noted. In this period Professor Norton, of Harvard, edited a volume of selections of the "most celebrated effusions" of Mrs. Hemans. The American editorship of this first collection is revelatory of her popularity here. A critic in the New England Weekly Review remarked: "Who reads the Lake poets, for instance? We are aware that Wordsworth has been published in this country. But how few are really acquainted with the writings of that man. . . . There is one very popular writer of the day:—Mrs. Hemans." There were many dissenters to her popular acclaim, and because of her imitators she began to lose status toward the close of the decade.

C. Index of popular favorites.

Sprightly indication of current taste is afforded in a passage from the *Christian Spectator* (1822):

> The following will, I trust, be recognized by the intelligent reader, as a fair representation of what daily passes in book-stores, circulating libraries, and other resorts of idleness and fashion—'Have you seen Lord Byron's last tragedy? What a prodigious genius! I ordered the copy from London, and believe that it was the first that reached America. W——, however, is printing it, and his edition will be out on Friday! . . .' Scene changes 'How do you like the last of the Waverley novels? For my part I think it superlative. So true to nature, so bewitching from beginning to end. When you have once taken it up, you will find it impossible to lay it down, till the whole is finished. How delightful!— It is said that this mighty magician has another series in great forwardness.'— 'Well,

the more the better. But I have something still *newer* from Edinburgh. Walter Scott is writing a new poem, and it will soon be out.' 'Is it possible? This is news indeed. . . . But while he writes poetry with one hand, let him keep dashing off prose with the other.' Scene changes again. 'Southey!— What has become of the Laureate? He used to sing such wild and sweet airs. So highly gifted a poet ought to know that the world can't afford to let him slumber. But the horizon of Literature is brightening every day. New adventurers are rising into notice along all the walks of fancy and elegance. The voice of rumour from afar already speaks enthusiastically of many new impressions which are forth-coming from the Scottish mint.' 'True, and no doubt they will be exquisite in their way; but why exhaust all the praise upon foreign writers? There is *Bracebridge Hall,* by our countryman Irving, which we have good reason to be proud of. Even the pensioned dissecters of London and Edinburgh, with all their prejudices and hatred against everything American, can't help praising it.' 'Indeed we have a vast deal of native talent, which only needs encouragement to rival the most gifted writers of fiction beyond the water. O how delightful it will be, when America shall furnish her thousand popular tales in a year! Such bright anticipations, are enough to make us all regret that we were not born an age or two later.'

No better index to characteristic attitudes than this can be discovered.

D. The outburst of nationalism.

1. The success of the War of 1812 and the evidence of developing national resources soon resulted in a general ebullition of enthusiasm known as the Era of Good Feeling. A new patriotism followed the so-called Second War of Independence; for despite the fact that the war had ended somewhat inconclusively, the principles of America had been vindicated and her cause justified before the world. Nationalism flared again, and critics quickly expressed the nascent national consciousness with demands for American authorship and native legends.
2. Sydney Smith had queried, "Who reads an American book?" and for a half-century Americans were busy providing the answer. One of the most immediate responses, prompted by a true spirit of nationalism, was that of **John Neal,** who almost literally caught the next boat to England to instruct Englishmen on their own ground and in their own periodicals about American literature. He was a contributor to half the English journals and managed to secure space for a series in *Blackwood's Magazine* through five issues.
3. Literary exhortations were advanced in a variety of writings. Signalized by **Paulding's** essay in the second series of *Salmagundi* (1819), the theme of nationalism was enthusiastically taken up by lecturers and reviewers during the twenties. Paulding had declared that "wherever there are men, there will be materials for romantic adventure." Sharp critic of servile imitation that he was, Paulding felt that America had been led away from native materials by bad models, docile critics, and the "habit of looking to other nations for examples of every kind." Only by dwelling on our own rich resources, he affirmed, can a strong national literature

be built up. **William J. Spooner,** addressing the Phi Beta Kappa society in 1822 on "The Prospects of American Literature," also voiced the need for American literary independence. **Edward Everett** took up the theme enthusiastically in his oration, "The Progress of Literature in America" (1823), and discerned circumstances favorable to republican literature in (1) the new form of political society, (2) the extension of the government over so vast a space where one language is spoken, and (3) the rapidity with which the country was growing.

The same year **C. J. Ingersoll** in a *Discourse concerning the Influence of America on the Mind* (1823) remarked: "Let us strive to refute discredit by constant improvement. Let our intellectual model be, that naught is done while aught remains to be done; and our study, to prove to the world, that the best patronage of religion, science, literature and the arts, of whatever the mind can achieve, is self-government."

He was followed in the next year by **Longfellow** who, in his Commencement Oration on "Our Native Writers," advanced the causes which "have hitherto retarded the growth of polite literature in our country," and mentioned the influence of natural scenery, in its power to form the poetical character, as a cause for literary hope. His peroration was a rejoicing for the "beauty and sublimity in our national literature." Twice that year Longfellow turned to the theme, the second time in a Lay Monastery Paper, "The Literary Spirit of Our Country." Dismissing the objection to native literary pretensions, that America is not classic ground, Longfellow pointed out that once the Indian becomes a legendary figure and a century has elapsed, the truly romantic associations of the country will unquestionably be apparent.

Paulding again took up the theme in Walsh's *American Quarterly Review* (1827) where he affirmed that "there is no object more worthy the exercise of the highest attributes of the mind, than that of administering to the just pride of national character, inspiring a feeling for the national glory and inculcating a love for our country."

Timothy Flint (*Western Review,* February 1829) accused American literary tribunals of being either inefficient or unjust. Taking stand for a genuine American literature, he analyzed the impediments "in the way of American talent" as dependence on Europe and absence of literary centers. The last distinctive utterance of the decade was by **William Ellery Channing** in the *Christian Examiner* (January 1830). He wrote with the avowed purpose of advancing the importance of a "National Literature," which he defined as the "expression of superior mind in writing." Frankly admitting that "there is among us much superficial knowledge," an absence of literary atmosphere, and the all too prevalent doctrine that useful knowledge should be our first concern, he pointed out the dangers of swallowing without mental exertion the products of transatlantic intellects, because of the servility which it engenders and the foreign manner which it imparts. More distinctively, he voiced the hope that this country with its new concept of liberty and its freedom from

much of the error and corruption that lay like a dead hand upon Europe, would lead the way to a literature which would bring about an intellectual reform and give "new impulses to the human mind."

E. Rise of literary history.

One of the belated appearances in America, after the winning of Independence, was the literary history. In 1800 *The Eagle* had reviewed living writers, and in 1803 **Samuel Miller** had printed the *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century,* a volume important in the intellectual history of the times; but not until the twenties was there a serious attempt to sum up in fullness the literary history of the people. **John Neal,** in his "American Writers," contributed in five numbers to *Blackwood's Magazine* (1824–1825), was uneven and highly individual. He wrote without notes in his characteristic extravagant fashion, but the result was encyclopedic in scope and constituted the first history of American literature. **Cooper** added a sketch in the second volume of his *Notions of the Americans* (1828), but he was more interested in the subjects of copyright, reading tastes, standards for language in America, and pronunciation than in individual authors or branches of writing. A series of biographies of the American poets (in *The Critic*—1828) might claim admission here: Bryant, Percival, Pierpont, Sprague, Irving, Halleck, Woodworth, and Pinckney.

Samuel L. Knapp (1829), in his *Lectures on American Literature,* dealt only with authors deceased, but even with so limited a view he produced the first history of American literature in book form. Literary history was provided in the bibliographical notes to the 190 poets represented in **Kettell's** *Specimens of American Poetry* (3 vols., 1829). The book was unsuccessful.

F. Further reverberations of the Paper War.

1. **J. Q. Adams** in a Fourth of July address in 1821 retorted to the English abuse.
2. **J. K. Paulding** continued the satire and homespun independence of the previous decade in his *Sketch of Old England by a New England Man* (1822) and in his *John Bull in America* (1825). The last burlesqued in Munchausen style the Tory criticism of the *Quarterly Review* under such clichés as "the turbulent spirit of Democracy," "beggarly pride of republicanism," "pig freeholders," "insolence of demeanor," "gouging," "barbarous indifference to life," and "impudent loquacity," all proffered in a phrase wearisomely repeated, "as the *Quarterly* says." In 1827 Paulding reprinted in enlarged form his *Diverting History of John Bull and Brother Jonathan.* British criticism of America was again the topic.
3. The *North American Review* retorted in 1824 to the continued abuse of Gifford, editor of the *Quarterly.* An article by **Hopkinson** on "The United States and the *London Quarterly Review*" (*American Quarterly Review,* 1828) bore up America's end in the continued international quarrel.
4. **James Athearn Jones,** novelist and tale-writer, wrote in 1826 *A Letter to an English Gentleman on the Libels and Calumnies on America,* in which he speaks of the British still pelting us with their usual missiles.

refers to Gifford's credulity, to the absurdity of Ashe, and in general defends America against English aspersions.

5. **James Fenimore Cooper's** *Notions of the Americans* several times adverted to Tory prejudice in English books descriptive of America. The finest attack on English condescension before Lowell is to be found in the twenty-three page essay in Note A of the first volume.
6. The Paper War in turn influenced and found echo in at least three novels of the time: Hale's *Northwood* (1827), Sanford's *Humours of Eutopia* (1828), and Neal's *Authorship* (1830).

IV. Dominant Themes of the Twenties.

A. The historical note: The colonial past and the Revolution.

1. In historical novels modeled after Scott and Cooper, numerous New England writers strove to recall the color and activity of early days in the Puritan colonies. (See especially Cheney's *A Peep at the Pilgrims,* Mrs. Child's *The Rebels,* Neal's *Rachel Dyer,* Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie.*)
2. Following **Cooper's** *Spy* (1821) and contemporaneous with the appearance of his *Lionel Lincoln* (1825) there were many attempts to utilize the Revolution as fictional material. **W. H. Gardiner,** in the *North American Review,* pointed out the appropriateness of the events of that struggle for fictional ingredients.
3. The expiration of the second century from the landing of the Pilgrims in 1820, the commencement of the Bunker Hill Monument, the semicentennial celebrations in 1825 and 1826, and the second visit of Lafayette to the United States, jointly developed a feeling of what Everett called a "comprehensive patriotism" and produced a veritable pyrotechnic display of novels, poetical apostrophes, and orations. The peak was reached in 1825 when seven novels appeared utilizing such events as the battle of Lexington, the battles of White Plains, Camden, and others.

B. The "arrival" of the Indian as literary material.

It was a general impression in the twenties that if an author sought to write an historical romance there were two fields open for him: the Revolution, which by 1820 was good material, and the Indian. There came the discovery that the Indian had romance: in every region there was a Lover's Leap; there were arrowheads; there were vestiges of war-paths. Then there was the whole machinery of this fading race: almost all romance has something to do with that which once was and now is going or is gone. Indians were viewed as a race doomed before the oncoming of a superior civilization. There was something romantic in this view.

1. Poetical treatment (1819–1831).

Literature of the decade was strewn with the wrecks of long poems on the Indian, generally written in the octosyllabic and cast in the form of metrical romances.

There were: *The Frontier Maid, or the Fall of Wyoming, a Poem in five Cantos,* 1819; *Yamoyden,* by Eastburn and Sands, 1820; *Logan, an Indian Tale,* by Samuel Webber, 1821; *The Land of Powhattan, a Poem by a Virginian,* 1821; *Ontwa, the Son of the Forest,* by Henry Whiting, 1822;

Traits of the Aborigines of America, in five cantos, by Lydia Sigourney, 1822; *Escalala, an American Tale,* by Samuel Beach, 1824; *Mengue, a Tale of the Frontier,* 1825; *The Graves of the Indians,* 1827; *Sannillac,* by Henry Whiting, 1831.

2. Chronological outline of fictional treatment.

1822 Neal, *Logan, A Family History.*

1823 Cooper, *The Pioneers.*
McHenry, *The Wilderness.*
The Spectre of the Forest.
Paulding, *Konigsmarke, the Long Finne.*

1824 Child, *Hobomok.*
Anon., *The Witch of New England.*
Cheney, *A Peep at the Pilgrims in 1636.*

1825 Hentz, *Tadeuskund, the Last King of the Lenape.*
Furman, *Redfield.*

1826 Anon., *The Highlands.*
Cooper, *The Last of the Mohicans.*
Flint, *Francis Berrian.*

1827 Sedgwick, *Hope Leslie.*
Royal, *The Tennessean.*

1828 Cooper, *The Prairie.*
Ezekiel Sanford, *The Humours of Eutopia.*

1829 Sealsfield, *Tokeah, or the White Rose.*
Cooper, *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish.*
J. A. Jones, *Tales of an Indian Camp.*

1830 McHenry, *The Betrothed of Wyoming.*
Brainard, *Fort Braddock Letters.*
Flint, *The Shoshonee Valley.*
Snelling, *Tales of the Northwest.*

3. Attitude toward the Indian.

Toward the Indian the attitude was pronouncedly one of romance. It was quickly discovered that the most romantic feature of the Indian was his impending doom—the decay of a vast and extensive empire—and in this it was felt might be found the touch of antiquity sought for. The Indian was seen making his last stand against the inroads of civilization, as the pathetic remnant of a fading race whose wrongs and inevitable fate seemed to constitute the true poetry of the nation. This was the vein of thought followed by **Gardiner** in his insistence that the Indians were a highly poetical people:

"Gradually receding before the tread of civilization, and taking from it only the principle of destruction, they seem to be fast wasting to utter dissolution; and we shall one day look upon their history, with such emotions of curiosity and wonder, as those with which we now survey the immense mounds and heaps of ruins in the interior of our continent."

Joseph Story's "Centennial Discourse at Salem" voiced the same sentiment. In fact, the Indians constituted the ruins of America, in the romantic sense, and as such, the most distinctive and peculiar source of American romance, a view enthusiastically urged by **John Neal** in the first few pages of his *Otter-Bag* (1820).

That this idea was evidenced in the fiction of the decade is apparent from the titles of several tales: *The Last of the Mohicans; Tadeuskund, The Last King of the Lenape; The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish* (or "Conanchet, the Last of the Narragansetts"); *Tokeah* (or "The Last of the Cochi"); "The Last of His Tribe" (a short tale); and a dramatic piece of comparable strain—*Logan, the Last of the Shikellimus.* In *The Highlands* (1826) the decline of the Indian race was bemoaned by a Mohawk who lingered at the fringe of the white settlements.

In poetry this theme was given loving attention, as in Lydia Sigourney's *Traits of the Aborigines* (1822), Samuel Webber's *Logan* (1821), in W. G. Simms's "Last of the Yemassees" [in *Early Lays* (1827)], in J. G. Whittier's *Metacom* (1829), in Isaac McLellan's "The Fall of the Indian," Micah Flint's "The Hunter," in Alonzo Lewis's "The Sachem's Death," and in "The Last of the Saugus Tribe."

4. Cooper's imitators in Indian fiction.

Cooper, of course, led the way to the consideration of the Indian as a subject of romance. His imitators soon made their appearance and wrote novels in such quantities that Cooper found the theme almost exhausted before he had completed his own Leatherstocking Tales. So great were the numbers and prolixity of his followers that the Indian in fiction was in almost as general circulation as his outline on advertising brands today. No realistic treatment of the Indian (aside from such realistic pictures as one gets in Cooper's Scalping Peter, Saucy Nick, Magua, and the tribes of the Mingoes, Sioux, the Iroquois, and Hurons) emerged until *Nick of the Woods* (1837) and *Osceola* (1838).

C. The cause of Greece and philhellenic fever.

Enthusiasm for Greek liberty was unlimited in America of the mid-twenties. The *United States Literary Gazette,* speaking in 1824, remarked: "The name of Greece was on every tongue in America. The newspapers, the magazines, and the reviews echoed it from one to another." Comparable was the comment of the *National Journal:* "The whole American atmosphere seems to be impregnated with Hellenian sympathies. We have looked over more than a hundred papers, within the last twenty-four hours, from every part of the Union, and do not remember to have seen one in which there was not some expression of feeling responsive to the sentiments uttered by the President in his Message, with regard to the struggle of the Greeks against their barbarian oppressors. On the floor of Congress, the subject was brought forward . . . by an individual whose name carries a sanction in it of all that he recommends [Webster]; and . . . proved by him that the liberty of Greece was of moment, of high moment, to the cause

of political liberty in all countries." Others joined in oratorical flourishes, notably **Henry Clay** in his "Speech on the Greek Revolution" (1824), and **Edward Everett** in his "History of Liberty" (1828). **Calhoun** indulged in warm sympathy for the cause of the Greeks. **James Monroe,** as President, expressed in three annual addresses to Congress the ardent wish that the Greeks might be successful in their attempt to gain liberty.

In American cities, towns, and villages, meetings were held and resolutions passed. In 1824 and again in 1828, when the plight of the Greeks became acute, funds were raised for them in various communities. This was true not only of the larger towns but of small villages as well. In Boston, New York, and Philadelphia Greek benefit performances were held in the theaters in 1824; the proceeds of Bachelors' and Military Balls were turned over to the fund. Ward solicitors and church collectors were all zealous in the cause. In 1828 ladies in various towns were engaged with spirit and activity in supplying blankets and garments for the suffering Greeks. Records of their progress were reported in five hundred newspapers. All of this expenditure of energy and money revealed that Americans were taking seriously their belief in democracy.

There were marked literary consequences of this interest. **Stanhope's** *Letters on the Greek Revolution* were brought out in an American edition and were very popular. Three Americans produced books during the decade: **Colonel Jonathan P. Miller** (*Greece*), **Dr. John L. Comstock** (*History of the Greek Revolution*), and **Samuel G. Howe** (*Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution*). Long excerpts from these volumes were spread in columns of the daily and weekly press, and reviews of the volumes became the occasion for extended remarks on the Greek cause.

In American drama the Greek cause was noticed in **M. M. Noah's** *The Grecian Captive* and more remotely in **J. H. Payne's** *Ali Pacha.* These were placed on the boards in the theatrical cities, and, in addition, early in 1824 there was widely produced a patriotic melodrama called *Greece and Liberty.*

The enthusiasm was apparent in American poetry, as in Halleck's "Marco Bozzaris" (declaimed by schoolboys), Bryant's "The Grecian Partizan," "The Ages," and "The Conjunction of Jupiter and Venus," Alonzo Lewis's "The Last Song of the Greeks at Missolonghi," A. L. F.'s "Greece," Mellen's "The Light of Letters," Lydia Sigourney's "Greece" and "Request from Greece," the anonymous "Grecian Boy," James G. Brooks's "Greece," J. A. Jones's "A Grecian Maid to Her Lover," William Leggett's "The Grecian Warrior," an anonymous "Greece," and finally in J. G. Percival's "Grecian Liberty," "The Last Song of the Greek Patriot," and "The Greek Emigrant's Song." *The New England Magazine* remarked of Percival: "Many of his best poems are those upon Greece, either suggested by recollections of her glory when she was in her 'palmy state' . . . or inspired by the enthusiasm awakened by her recent struggles."

D. The critical debate: the Romance Ferment.

1. Scott's success stimulated interest in American romantic materials. Soon

native writers cast about to see if there could be found material for national literature. The first effect of the Waverley novels, until the appearance of Cooper, was a paralyzing one. The earliest examiners of our stock of native legends saw, or thought they saw, a fatal uniformity of life.

2. **Cooper** pointed the way for the utilization of the rich stores of tales and legends. He was the first to discover and chart out our great romantic hinterland. Largely through him the novel as a literary form became firmly established, and his success convinced the credulous that an American subject, instead of being a hindrance to a work of fiction, was probably the proper and incontestable possession of American writers.
3. Following Cooper's success, critical optimism prevailed among the periodical reviewers.

   W. H. Gardiner and **J. G. Palfrey** in the *North American Review,* **R. C. Sands** in the *Atlantic Magazine,* and certain reviewers in the *American Quarterly Review,* filled long columns of these periodicals with material on the utter fitness of American scenes and events for works of imagination. Gardiner, in particular, pointed to "three great epochs in American History as peculiarly well fitted for historical romance."

   Certain periodicals, however, such as the *Monthly Christian Spectator,* were somewhat distrustful of American resources in romantic materials.
4. The Indian was soon singled out as the chief substance for fiction in America, as affording the "something new, national, peculiar" for which English critics were clamoring. A writer in the *American Quarterly Review* declared: "If . . . a writer of this country wishes to make its history, or its traditions the subject of romantic fiction, high wrought, obscure, and somewhat extravagant, agreeably to the taste of the times, he must go back to the aborigines." This conviction was seconded by a host of reviewers.
5. After the salvo of welcome to this theme, however, there followed distrust and despair. **Grenville Mellen,** in his review of *Red Rover,* pronounced the theme a barren one, and in this he was vindicated by Cooper's own turning from the theme for a decade. The Indian had been the chief reliance of romance and was accordingly all the more quickly exhausted. Indian life and character, susceptible of successful treatment in one or two attempts, was soon overdone, and thereafter the effort to impart interest to the life and character of the Indian became a tax upon the ingenuity of the author and the patience of the reader.
6. From this agitation of the question of whether or not America had distinctive romantic materials which might be utilized as the subject matter of a series of romances, it is apparent that the interests of the American reader of the twenties were dominantly romantic. He turned with avidity to the historical and legendary. A whole generation, in consequence of this interest, became acutely conscious of a colonial, an historical, and a poetical past. The Romance Ferment was the dominant aspect of the decade.

V. The Flourishing of the Knickerbocker School.

A. Poetry.

Cooper in his *Notions of the Americans* (1828) cited four poets as representative of contemporary American genius, two of whom, Bryant and Halleck, were from New York. The *New York Mirror* in an 1828 number produced the likenesses of nine living poets (New Yorkers here italicized): Percival, *Bryant,* Sprague, Pierpont, *Irving, Woodworth,* Brooks, Pinkney, and *Halleck*. This list varied from Converse's prospectus of the same year which included: Trumbull, Percival, Hillhouse, Bryant, Halleck, Dana, Pierpont, and Sigourney.

1. **Fitz-Greene Halleck,** monodist, produced his most distinctive poetry in this period: "On the Death of Joseph Rodman Drake" (1820), "Red Jacket" (1821), "Marco Bozzaris" (1825), "Alnwick Castle" (1827), "Burns" (1827). As a monodist Halleck attained wide popularity, his "Marco" having for a time been recited by every schoolboy (concerning which poem Halleck remarked: "my chef d'œuvre, the keystone of the arch of my renown, if renown it be"), and his "Red Jacket" having achieved a place of priority among Indian poems of the decade. As in the work of his contemporaries, there was a definitely rhetorical quality in Halleck's writing. His literary partner, J. R. Drake, had died in 1820, but Halleck lived on many years after the vogue of the Knickerbocker was over. Though for a long time thereafter inactive in a literary way, he was nevertheless a brisk breeze in the twenties. Willis remarked of him: "he was what Byron would have been, with a stern Connecticut education, and the same circumstances of life altogether."
2. **Samuel Woodworth** (1785–1842), song writer, author of "The Old Oaken Bucket" (1826), was the most famous of "one-poem poets," though the phrase is misapplied to him, for many titles of equal merit might be added to his "famous" effort, poems such as "The Needle," "The Land's End," "Love's Eyes," "Wreath of Love," and others printed in his collection of 1826.
3. **William Cullen Bryant,** nature poet, could have claimed the twenties as distinctly his own, for during the decade he composed half of the poems upon which his reputation rests and became firmly established alongside of Percival as a distinguished poet. His *Poems* (1821) contained among others the longer version of "Thanatopsis," "The Yellow Violet," "Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood" (previously published in the *North American Review*) and "To a Waterfowl." Twenty-four of Bryant's poems were printed in an anthology in 1826, *Poems from the United States Gazette.* Of the remembered poems of Bryant, it contained "Summer Wind," "An Indian at the Burial Place of His Fathers," "Monument Mountain," "A Hymn." In his next volume, which appeared in 1832, some of his most famous and distinctive pieces were printed, mostly written during the twenties. The volume contained in all eighty-two poems, and included such favorites as "O Fairest of the Rural Maids" (1820), "The Death of the Flowers" (1825), "June" (1825), "A Forest

Hymn" (1825), "Hymn to Death" (1825), "A Meditation on Rhode Island Coal" (1826), "To a Fringed Gentian" (1829), "The Prairies" (1832). By such pieces Bryant established himself as the first of the simple nature lyrists in America. Bryant after 1828 definitely embarked upon a journalistic career and in 1829 became the editor-in-chief and part owner of the New York *Evening Post.* But it was not without a struggle that he decided to give up poetry as a life work. America in the 1820's was not urban enough or rich enough, or literary enough, to support men by the pen alone, especially poets. And Bryant, who had the poet's devotion to the muse, reluctantly turned first to the law and then to journalism for a livelihood. His acute mental anguish in facing the inevitable, practical course he expressed in "I Cannot Forget with What Fervid Devotion" and in "Green River." Bryant, Longfellow, and Percival were to learn with true travail of spirit that poetry in America of the early nineteenth century was an avocation, not a means of livelihood.

Bryant's literary characteristics were patent by his work in the twenties, and little more than the product of these years is necessary for a rounded view of his philosophy and interests. It is not surprising that Bryant, early inspired by the natural scenery of the Berkshires, expressed in splendidly conceived lines the finest moods and rarest aesthetic sensations which western Massachusetts prompted within him. To the man of high intellect, whose mental energy is not exhausted by the mere spectacle of nature in its wilder, grander aspects, hilltop views and existence stimulate excursions into the higher reaches of thought. Thus it happened in the career of Bryant that the Berkshires increased his range and depth of meaning, and in their rich and rugged features made him the poet of forest-land, of hill-land, and of wind-land. But hills prompt a disparate view of life—a sense of change and a sense of eternity, and these concepts Bryant blended in his combination of the grandeur of the eternal process with a sense of the transitoriness of life. It was this second attitude, stimulated by reading of Blair and Kirke White, which made him lurkingly fond of threnodies. As Whitman said of him, he thought of the forest as a vast cemetery, of June as a pleasant month to die in, of flowers as reminders of the brevity of human life; and poem after poem was overshadowed by the thought of dissolution.

There were other aspects, however, for he described all important features of woodland life: the gentle stream, the calm shade, the retiring flower. Within this world, where the therapeutic power of nature is exercised, the work of Bryant is enduring. He was free from the all too frequent redundance of epithets during the period. "His beauties consist in naturalness, and depth of thought, graceful ease, copiousness of diction, and fitness of illustration."

B. Prose.

1. **Washington Irving** was outstanding essayist and tale-writer. In the history of the short story, the decade of the twenties is all Irving's own.

Only the contributors to the annuals afforded other material for reading in this form, but the relative unfamiliarity of their names reveals how low of stature they were as competitors: C. M. Sedgwick, William Leggett, Grenville Mellen, W. J. Snelling, R. C. Sands. Irving was esteemed not only for his discovery of literary material but also for the even tenor and Addisonian finish of his style. American writing prior to him had been so utilitarian in its ends that it came somewhat as a surprise that a prose delicate, polished, restrained, could be produced here. Above all, the geniality of the author everywhere won for him both readers and imitators.

a. *The Sketch Book* appeared in 1819–20 in periodical form, and almost in a fortnight Irving's reputation at home and abroad was established. The book was made up of a variety of papers, including four sentimental stories, six literary essays, four personal reminiscences, fifteen sketches of English towns and countryside, and three famous Knickerbocker tales. In "Rip Van Winkle," the best known of the stories, his contribution to American humor was marked. *Bracebridge Hall* (which now produces an old-fashioned impression) came out in 1822, *Tales of a Traveller* in 1824 (partly stories and partly *disjecta membra* of a novel), and *The Alhambra,* which shows the short story highly romanticized, in 1832.

b. After having established himself (by 1824) as a "graceful writer of sketches and stories," Irving turned for the rest of the decade to Spanish romance and legend, with which he made a beginning in *The History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus.* This he wrote in Madrid where he lived for the two years prior to its publication in 1828. Its success he followed the next year with what he always regarded as his favorite work, *The Conquest of Granada* (1829). In this decade, all of which he spent abroad, Irving displayed his international view and earned the sobriquet of "Ambassador-at-large from the New World to the Old." Concerning this characterization Spiller comments: "No phrase has ever been invented which so truly represents Irving's importance to the relationships between England and America during this formative period."

c. The influence of Irving in the twenties.

(1) Irving stirred the imagination of younger writers, i.e., "set bells ringing in other towers." He wrote to Brevoort in December 1824: "It is true other writers have crowded into the same branch of literature, and I now begin to find myself elbowed by men who have followed my footsteps; but at any rate I have had the merit of adopting a line for myself instead of following others."

(2) Irving led to pressure upon literary vehicles, particularly the tale, for the telling of old traditions and legends. Quickly the gathering of romantic materials became a sign of the times; and the industry of authors after the *Sketch Book* was probably the most obvious evidence of Irving's success. He stirred the consciousness

of readers to American materials and produced not only enthusiasm in the search for representative cisatlantic matter but also optimism. As Willis declared in the *Legendary:* "No inch of our land is without its peculiar association, its appropriate legend."

(3) The flood of Irving-like sketches in the twenties is apparent in Longfellow's "Lay Monastery" series, Dana's *Idle Man,* Prescott's *Club Room,* Austin's *Peter Rugg,* Dr. Tobias Watkins's *Tales of the Tripod,* Stacy Potts's *Village Tales,* Hawthorne's "Seven Tales of My Native Land" (never published as such), Sedgwick's *New England Tale* (too long to be regarded as a short story), Sally S. Wood's *Tales of the Night,* Neal's *Rachel Dyer* (as prepared for *Blackwood's,* 1825), and the anonymous *Tales of the Passaic.* W. C. Bryant was also no insignificant figure in this tradition; he contributed seven tales in three years to the *Talisman.*

2. **James Fenimore Cooper** became the Coryphaeus of native novelists (see Chapters IX and X). First challenging attention with his *Spy* (1821), a tale of the neutral ground during the Revolution, Cooper turned during the next four years to distinctive fields of romance. In *The Pioneers* he introduced the romance of the forest and demonstrated his fertility of invention. The novel has been termed an Otsego *Bracebridge Hall* because of its glimpse of customs in the eighteenth century and Cooper's fond reminiscences of his own childhood; but late in the volume incidents of adventure came to the fore, and Cooper was off on a trail of frontier and Indian episodes which he was to follow through the years. The romance of the sea appeared in *The Pilot* (1823), an historical tale chronicling the exploits of John Paul Jones and proving Cooper's talent for narrative and his thorough knowledge of seafaring technique. The traditional story of its composition relates that Cooper was stirred to take up his pen in order to show how a genuine sea novel would be written by a seaman as compared with the landsman's technique in Scott's *Pirate.* In Long Tom Coffin, "a Leather-Stocking aboard ship," Cooper created an unforgettable character. *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and *The Prairie* (1827) continued the Leather-Stocking series, Cooper's chief contribution to American fiction, and enlarged the American fictional gallery through new views of Natty Bumppo, representative figure of the frontier. The first of these, while in part an historical novel of the attack on Fort William Henry on Lake George, is more memorably a classic expression of the tragic emotion occasioned by the recession of Indian tribes from the Atlantic seaboard. The sense of guilt which Americans felt at the Indian removals, in the succeeding decade, contributed in some measure to its success. *The Prairie,* in point of action the last of the series, was the first in the creation of a poetic spirit. Natty, now a trapper beyond the Mississippi, goes to his death with his eyes toward uncrowded country and becomes the true symbol of the pioneer who, desiring vast areas of unpopulated territory, moves ever

westward. Though most of the work was a pure product of the imagination, sent to the world from a Louis XIV bedroom in Paris, it was a distinct triumph. The Indian novel Cooper furthered in *The Borderers* (*Wept of Wish-ton-Wish*), an historical novel of King Philip's War and General Goffe. The novel of sea adventure he advanced in a pirate tale, *Red Rover,* and a smuggler story, *The Water Witch,* the last staunchly American in its praise of American shipbuilders. In *The Pilot* and these additional sea novels Cooper demonstrated skill in the creation of an ocean narrative. His technical terms, it is true, are intelligible to very few of his readers, but this is not an item of censure; they convey, even in their strangeness, the atmosphere requisite for the zestful reading of such tales.

Lionel Lincoln (1825) was the product of the author's nationalistic ardor and the first number in a projected series of legends of the thirteen republics, not more than three of which Cooper can be said to have completed. Hampered by its melodramatic structure and feeble characterization, the novel did, nevertheless, offer graphic descriptions of Lexington and Bunker Hill. In the twenties, with the exception of his early society novel, *Precaution,* Cooper was concerned distinctly with American themes and the American scene; he discovered great areas of fictional material and made his own the demesne of the ocean and the backwoods. He became thereby the founder of a Scott-Cooper school of historical romancers: at least his example showed how fiction and history and adventure might be blended, and in this way he shaped and modified the productions of his successors. Cooper's forte was the swiftly moving adventure plot, especially when developed as a pursuit. He was not at his best stylistically; he could not cut his passages down with the unsparingness of a vine dresser, and his verbosity became the subject for numerous strictures. But the reader who has given himself over to the charm of Cooper's story does not notice awkward constructions; and the long-winded passages apart, his pages lure the reader breathlessly to the close.

VI. NON-GOTHAMITES.

A. Poetry of the more important figures.

1. **Richard Henry Dana** was author of *The Buccaneer* (1827), a pirate tale. Its use of commonplace diction and its supernaturalism recall the ablest of the English romantic poets. It has touches of Byronism, too, but for all its imitativeness, the poem is not without merit of its own. Dana also wrote a well-known poem called "The Little Beach Bird."
2. **John G. C. Brainard** is now remembered chiefly because of Whittier's appreciative essay in the posthumous edition of his poems in 1832. He was the first lyrist of Connecticut and gained attention by idealizing its streams and vales. His volume, *Occasional Pieces of Poetry* (1825), enjoyed a wide popularity in the twenties, particularly such pieces as "The Indian Summer," "Lines on the Departure of the Pioneer," and "Salmon River."

3. **James Gates Percival** lives by virtue of a few lyric pieces published early in the twenties, though through the decade he was accepted as the best cisatlantic poet. *Poems* (1823), his first stout volume, was a reprinting of earlier offerings and contained "Night Watching," "The Deserted Wife," "The Coral Grove," "Mental Beauty," "The Broken Heart," "Sonnets," and the widely popular "To Seneca Lake." He appeared in print in *The Microscope* (1820), *Poems* (1821), *Prometheus* (1821, 1822), and *Clio* (1822, 1827). His theory of poetry as prefaced to *Clio* is revelatory of his practice: "Poetry should be a sacred thing, not to be thrown away on the dull and low realities of life. It should live only with those feelings and imaginations which are above this world and are the anticipations of a brighter and better being. It should be the creating of a sublimity undebased by anything earthly and the embodier of a beauty that mocks at all defilement and decay." By his contemporaries Percival was generally overrated although estimates of him varied: Griswold highly esteemed him and Whittier remarked, "We pity the man who does not love the poetry of Percival." The *Christian Spectator* was mildly approving: "Imagination employed in the description of natural scenery is Dr. Percival's forte." This judgment was echoed by the *American Quarterly Review:* "Percival holds more intercourse with nature than with his own race. But Edward Everett was less cautious: "His poetry is too much diluted. . . . There is a super-abundance of images in proportion to the thoughts." Percival was markedly Byronic, versatile, and highly gifted, but lacked the inspiration of a great poet.
4. **Mrs. Lydia Sigourney** enjoyed a long period of popularity in America, beginning in 1815 with her *Moral Pieces, in Prose and Verse.* Characterized as the American Hemans, she poured out a great quantity of dilute and pious verse which drew to her a large audience. By the twenties she had not only successfully survived the "ordeal of the public," but had "arrived." Long before her death in 1865, her poetry suffered a sharp decline in popularity, and it is now dead beyond all resurrection.
5. **Mrs. Maria Gowen Brooks's** early poems (*Judith and Other Poems,* 1820) were imitative in character and influenced by Byron, Moore, and Southey. Her *Zophiel* (1833, but Canto I, 1825) was pronounced by Griswold to be as great as the work of Dante, a judgment which could hardly be sustained, and the poem reappears today only in highly selected excerpts; its sensuous atmosphere seems too artificial. Southey called her the "most impassioned and most imaginative of all poetesses."
6. **Henry W. Longfellow** wrote forty-one poems in this decade, but three-fourths were the product of 1824 and 1825. Of these the most striking (such as "Autumnal Nightfall," "Woods in Winter," "The Angler's Song," "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns") appeared in the *United States Literary Gazette* (sixteen in 1825, of which thirteen were reprinted in the 1826 anthology). All this work was youthful, derivative, but perhaps indicative of the ardor of the poet destined for future eminence.

7. **Edward Coote Pinkney** published a slim volume of poems in 1825 which contained a few lyrics of high rank, such as the much-quoted "Serenade" and "A Health." His attempts at song-writing were almost all successful. His longest poem, "Rodolph, A Fragment," while in the style made popular by Byron, Moore, and Scott, expressed much of his own hot-bloodedness and sensitivity. There has been a "Century" reprint of Pinkney's prose and poetry.
8. **Poe's** earliest work (though not recognized in this period) ought to be noted here. The earliest volumes, rarities then and now, are *Tamerlane and Other Poems* (1827) and *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Minor Poems* (1829). These aroused little notice until his connection with periodicals brought his "E. A. P." to the public.

B. Minor non-Gothamite bards.

1. **Frederick S. Hill's** first volume, *Harvest Festival with Other Poems* (1826), contained "Wanderings," "To Ismersia," and "Persian Songs." The *United States Literary Gazette* recommended subjects with more "animation of real life, and more connected with our own history of manners."
2. **James A. Hillhouse,** with *Percy's Masque,* a poetic drama (1819), and *Hadad* (1825), a dramatic poem descriptive of Absalom's rebellion, indulged in what for an aspiring author was safely conventional subject matter. *The Judgment* (1821) he selected as a spectacle "most susceptible of poetical embellishment."
3. **Charles Sprague,** writer of odes ("Ode to Shakespere," "Curiosity"), was high in the regard of his own contemporaries, especially of Boston. Today he is known only as a one-time Phi Beta Kappa poet whose efforts grew by too much hothouse fostering and were lauded in the absence of crowding competition.
4. **Carlos Wilcox,** a literary figure who spoke to his peers, lived but a short time, dying like Griffin while full of promise. His chief work was a long poem, "The Age of Benevolence," first begun during his college days, of which he completed the first part and sections of three others (of projected five parts). Part I, published at his own expense in 1822, was added to the others in his *Remains* (1828), which contained also "The Religion of Taste." Wilcox was keenly aware of his physical environment.
5. **Henry T. Farmer,** of South Carolina, somewhat read after 1820, made his poetical bow the year before with a volume of imitative verse. Neal thus analyzed him: "six parts fire, two earth, one *lead,* one pure gold."

C. Prose (The New England School).

1. **John Neal** (1793–1876), a self-appointed critic of American letters in English journals, is one of the most unusual characters in all literature. His *Randolph* (1823) and *Errata* (1823) show the spirit of Byron transmuted into prose; the result is the most formless, chaotic, bombastic, melodramatic style imaginable. Neal first gained fame as a poet (by his *Battle of Niagara* in 1818) but soon turned to a series of novels. The first in the decade was *Logan* (1822), a tale of spectral illusions avowedly

written "to convince the pure in heart that he is not a heretic in love who has loved more than one." The pages of feverish emotion reappear in his most famous book, *Seventy-Six* (1823), a tale of the American Revolution which rests against the background of Neal's historical work for Allen and presents battle scenes personally oriented. The work is marked by a stormy-petrel character and by a style breezy and colloquial. Also projected against the Revolution but scarcely running competition with history is *Brother Jonathan* (1825), a study—in its less dramatic moments—of Yankee customs and characters, though speedily lapsing into a narrative of tangled love. Neal, who was as inordinately fond of oracular utterance as James McHenry, gave us heady tempestuous stories in which the hero is manipulated freely by the author and sent through his inscrutable ways amid clouds of mysterious witnesses; mystery and yet more mystery provides the sole impulse for one's wading through pages of explosive prose, inarticulate ravings, and tumult. The plot is a thing of unbalance: small wonder that Willis pronounced *Brother Jonathan* the product of a "mind of overcharged and suffocating fullness." Neal wrote at an unprecedented speed, turning out seven or eight novels in an incredibly short time. One of these, a stout volume of 1,300 pages, he professed to have written in three weeks. By 1832 a critic remarked of Neal: "His romances, from their wildness and extravagance, have been little read, and are now nearly forgotten."

2. **Lydia Maria Child's** (1802–1880) reputation has been preserved chiefly by virtue of her work as an abolitionist. She began the writing of historical novels at the age of twenty-two, issuing two at that age: *Hobomok* (1824), a tale of stoical sacrifice on the part of an Indian youth who has married a white bride, and *The Rebels, or Boston before the Revolution* (1825)—a sensational moral tale dealing with events of the Stamp Tax agitation.
3. **Catherine Maria Sedgwick** (1789–1867) was the most famous woman fiction writer in America before Harriet Beecher Stowe. Unlike her great follower, however, she displayed a harmony and unanimity in all that she did, for her career was unbroken and persistent. She merits distinction because of three aspects of her work: (1) her activity as a moralist—demonstrating thereby that she was the literary lineal descendant of Mrs. Rowson and Hannah Foster; (2) her stress upon sketches of American life and manners; (3) her mild exhibitions of feminism, not in the aggressive fashion of Margaret Fuller but in the quieter insistence of mild prefaces.

   Catherine M. Sedgwick advanced to her audience by way of the moral tract. She was the writer of Hannah More religious stories for children. In no other writer is the evidence of personal background of Puritan character more apparent. In her one finds the typical Puritan: sweet-minded, pious, earnest, benevolent, etc.

   The first of her novels was *A New England Tale* (1822), characterized by the *North American Review* as a "beautiful little picture of native

scenery and manners, composed with exquisite delicacy of taste, and great strength of talent." In *Hope Leslie* (1827) she yielded to the current popularity of the Indian and introduced as fictional material an intermarriage which anticipated Cooper's *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish* by two years.

D. The Western tributary.

1. **Timothy Flint** represents genuine Western and frontier experiences in the fiction of the decade. In *George Mason, the Young Backwoodsman* (1829) he indicated where his heart was: "I feel as much interest in the march of these barefoot boys along the deep forest, as I do in reading about the adventures and ridiculous distresses of the dressed lords and ladies." Pioneer life became his theme. *Arthur Clenning* (1828) advances such backwoodsmen as hunters and frontier candidates for fictional heroes, though the work itself follows Defoe closely. Pioneer characters, we may believe, Flint had seen with his own eyes, for he had wandered widely in the West in the course of his missionary activities, upon which he drew heavily in his first novel, *Francis Berrian* (1826). His last novel, *Shoshonee Valley* (1830), uses what was then the Far West for a setting and is full of salmon fishing, buffalo hunting, Indian festivities, and clashes with Blackfeet Indians. There is the usual noble red man, self-immolating, and the young white hero, and more than the usual supply of villains and schemers. Flint succeeded best in colloquial scenes, though his descriptive passages are also well done. He is chiefly interesting, however, as an illustration of a Cooperesque writer, versed in the Western scene and disposed to write after careful observation, who strove to produce fiction without possessing especially strong narrative power.
2. **Charles Sealsfield's** *Tokeah* (1828) was a novel of Indians and the Southwest, projected against the background of the War of 1812; but in comparison with his later performances it was a jejune piece.

VII. Eloquence and Eloquent Men.

A. Though **Daniel Webster** remained a figure of importance in American oratory to his very death in 1852, he never surpassed some of his first oratorical successes in the twenties, such as the "Dartmouth College Case" (1818), "Landing of the Pilgrims" (1820), "The Bunker Hill Oration" (June 17, 1825)—by which his fame became widespread,—"Ogden vs. Saunders" (1827), the "Reply to Hayne" (1830), and "The Murder of Captain Joseph White" (August 1830). Wide publicity was given to his Jefferson and Adams address:

> This tribute to Adams and Jefferson, which came a year after the Bunker Hill oration, left Mr. Webster's renown as a memorial speaker as high as it ever rose. There were famous speeches later, such as the second Bunker Hill, June 17, 1843, and the Character of Washington, February 22, 1832; but none of them carried his reputation higher. In this tribute the best-known bit is the imaginary speech, "Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote," put into the mouth

of John Adams in favor of declaring independence. Nothing in all his writings shows more clearly his historical imagination, the vividness with which he saw past scenes, became alive with their spirit, and filled himself with the souls of other men. (Hapgood.)

B. Despite his youthfulness **Edward Everett** enjoyed an extensive reputation, and some of his finest orations were of this period. Almost every occasion of public importance in New England after 1824 was graced by his oratory. There were addresses for public celebrations at Concord (1825), Plymouth (1825), Cambridge (1828), Charlestown (1826; 1828), Charlestown (1830: celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Winthrop), Boston (1830). One of the most famous of these was the 1826 address at the public meeting in memory of Adams and Jefferson. The orator's statement of the purpose of the assembly is a definition of eulogy itself: "to contemplate their venerated characters, to call to mind their invaluable services, to cherish their revered memory, to lay up the image of their virtues in our hearts." But not all his utterances were commemorative in character. He spoke on the proposed amendment to the Constitution in 1826, on Retrenchment in 1828, on the Removal of the Indians, in 1830. The *New England Magazine* remarked at the end of the decade that Everett had "composed and delivered more addresses for public occasions than any man in the United States"; and added that he had "done them well."

C. **Robert Y. Hayne's** "Speech on Public Lands" (1830) attracted wide attention.

D. **John Randolph of Roanoke** deserves special note, chiefly because of his speech on Retrenchment in 1828. Also figures of distinction were McDuffie and Tazewell.

VIII. The Development of American Dramatic Literature.

American drama after the War of 1812 was not a prominent literary form, but toward the end of the twenties a definite increase in dramatic output was apparent. The stage itself remained largely English, but some native plays were both written and produced.

A. Most noted of the dramatists was **John Howard Payne,** who became known for a long line of adaptations: *Richelieu, Therese, 'Twas I, Proclamation, The Lancers,* etc. Better were his *Charles II, The Maid of Clari* (an opera containing the famous song, "Home, Sweet Home"), and *Brutus* (a successful, powerful piece (1819) which held the boards throughout the decade).

B. The ablest native dramatist of the period, **J. N. Barker,** came forward in 1824 with *Superstition.* Though objectively the drama of a regicide and alleged sorcery, the play really portrays the power and effects of prejudice.

C. In the homespun tradition was **Woodworth's** *The Forest Rose* (1825), a play successfully introducing the stage Yankee. According to Coad, the piece held the stage for upwards of forty years. Woodworth produced five other plays in the decade, some of which possessed unquestioned merit.

D. Among native pieces were dramatizations of Cooper (three in number) and a series of plays on nationalistic and patriotic themes. Such were

Noah's *Marion* (1821), *The Siege of Tripoli* (1820), and a play about the War of 1812, *She Would Be a Soldier* (1819), produced each year of the decade after 1825. Best of the nationalistic themes were those evoked by the semicentennial celebrations of 1825. **Finn's** *Montgomery* (1825) introduced military figures, though it was primarily a melodrama. **Woodworth's** *The Widow's Son* (1825) was a domestic tragedy of the Revolutionary period. Patriotic motives account also for later pieces, such as *Briar Cliff* (1826), *Paul Jones* (1828), and plays by **Richard Penn Smith** written for special occasions, *The Eighth of January* (1829) and *The Triumph at Plattsburgh* (1830).

E. About the middle of the decade the Indian play began to flourish as a consequence of the demand for American romantic materials. **G. W. P. Custis's** *The Indian Prophecy* (1827) was the first to appear. It was followed by *Pocahontas* (1830), a subject to which Barker had led the way. In 1829 an Indian play by **J. A. Stone,** written for a Forrest prize award, reached the boards. This was *Metamora,* a play which had an immediate as well as a lasting appeal. Other Indian plays included *William Penn* (by Richard Penn Smith), *The Wigwam, Carabasset,* and *The Indian Wife.*

IX. Magazines and Reviews of the Twenties.

A. Magazines.

1. The *Atlantic Magazine* lasted only one year under its own name. **Robert C. Sands** was the moving force behind the magazine and, as his collected prose works show, wrote many of the articles. Joined with him in the enterprise were Dr. McKay, Thatcher Paine, and others. The magazine at the end of the year was converted into *The New York Review and Atheneum Magazine.* The younger literary generation wrote for it—Halleck, Longfellow, Willis, Bancroft, Dana—besides the three editors: Bryant, Anderson, and Sands (the latter for the autumn of 1826 only). It merged in June 1826, with the *United States Literary Gazette.*
2. The *United States Literary Gazette* of Boston was, like its predecessors, a literary intelligencer. It was founded in April 1824, with **James G. Carter** as editor. As the name implies, it was a center for all kinds of miscellaneous literary information, though the review section was large. Highly featured during its short career were poems by Bryant, Mellen, Percival, Longfellow, and others. To it, also, Longfellow contributed his "Lay Monastery" series. The reviews were written with considerable boldness, particularly in the notice of American fiction. The *Literary Gazette* took over, in June 1826, *The New York Review,* and a new title followed in October 1826: *The United States Review and Literary Gazette.* It lasted one year.
3. The *New York Mirror* became a thriving magazine during the decade. For years weekly magazines for women had eked out an existence in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, but not until 1823 did a publication of this sort achieve sufficient distinction to warrant notice. Its merit was its combination of entertainment and parcels of literary, dramatic, and

biographical news. Its speciality was light literature: there was here no freight of heavy philosophical, scientific, or controversial essays nor items about figures one generation dead. The credit for its foundation and early success rests with **George P. Morris,** who not only keyed the magazine but gave encouragement to the young men who became its contributors.

4. The American reprint of *Blackwood's Magazine* during this decade ought to be noted as a significant aspect of our literary culture. Of its then heyday popularity, J. O. Sargent remarked: "the humor of the Shepherd, the elegantly brutal onslaughts upon Whigs and Cockney poets by Christopher North, intoxicated us youths." Peter Nielson, Scottish traveler to America, remarked in 1829: "Several British magazines are reprinted here every month. Amongst the rest, Blackwood's has met with considerable patronage."

B. Sectional representation in the reviews.

1. Prominent representative of New England was the *North American Review,* which maintained its supremacy among American journals. The British traveler, Isaac Candler, said of it: "I believe that no works of the kind can produce finer examples of eloquent composition than the *North American Review.*" C. J. Ingersoll in 1824 described it: "The North American Review, of which about four thousand copies are circulated, is not surpassed in knowledge or learning, is not equalled in liberal and judicious criticism, by its great British models, the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews, of which about four thousand copies are also published in the United States. Written in a pure, old English style, and for the most part, a fine American spirit, the North American Review superintends, with ability, the literature and science of America."
2. The *American Quarterly Review,* founded at Philadelphia in 1827, represented well the interests of the Middle states, and thrived under the editorship of **Robert Walsh.** Frequent contributors were Ticknor, Bancroft, Paulding, Hopkinson, Wharton, Renwick, Dunglisson, Gilpin, and Reed. Chiefly interested in biography, literature, geography, travel, law, and political economy, the contents of the magazine were restricted to these fields, though unusual items such as Symmes's theory, gymnastics, Egyptian hieroglyphics, sometimes appeared. There were papers on German, Spanish, Scandinavian, French, and American literature (poetry, drama, etc.). Biographical items, which ran second in importance, included notices of the lives of Ledyard, Parr, Tooke, and three lives of Napoleon.
3. The *Southern Review* had about the same range of contents as the *American.* A typical issue contained two articles on literature, one on legal topics and political economy, one on biography, one on human physiology, one on internal affairs, and one on science or travel. Literary reviews of interest included two each on Bulwer and Byron, three on Scott, and two histories of classic literature (Greek and Roman). The only articles with a Southern leaning were "The Georgia Controversy,"

"The Manufacture of Sugar," and "The Agrarian System." American authors reviewed included Percival, Walsh, Flint, Cooper, Bryant, and Irving.

4. The *Western Review* had a short but vigorous career. **Flint,** its editor, regarded the files as a "synopsis of what has been said and written, in the Western Country, touching its own natural, moral, and civil nature." In this connection Flint's own history of the Mississippi was printed, with articles on the flowers and reptiles of the valley, the Indians, mounds, canals of the area, and the history and agriculture of Louisiana. One of the finest offerings was a section on the writers of the Western country. Original fictional offerings and reviews (of Beasley, Robert Owen, Schoolcraft, Scott, Irving) swelled the contents. One-third of the pages were miscellaneous in character, but even these, the editor insisted, "have a direct reference to the interests of literature." The review was almost a family venture, though James Hall, E. D. Mansfield, and William Gallegher furnished copy.

CHAPTER IX

THE EIGHTEEN THIRTIES
The Gift-Book Decade

I. The Historical Scene.

A. Nullification controversies, challenges and repulses, constituted the dominant issues for 1832–33. Jackson entered his second term in 1833. For the election campaign, owing to the rise of the Anti-Mason party with its definite program, party platforms were first drafted. Jackson took his re-election as a mandate to destroy the United States Bank which he charged with the exercise of autocratic control and with wielding political influence. The "Removal of the Deposits," which extended over six months, aroused much senatorial opposition and led to satirical literary pieces. In 1836 Congress distributed the national "surplus" to the states but found that in 1837, when an acute financial depression arrived, there was no surplus remaining. The thirties also saw the removal of the Indians, a *West*-inspired policy. Two forces led to it: the pressure of whites upon Indian lands; the unconcealed sympathy of Jackson. Georgia nullified the Supreme Court action in the Cherokee case, and Jackson, who had been stern with South Carolina, indefensibly and inconsistently sustained her. Further pressure upon Indian tribes occurred in the Black Hawk War of 1832, also a land-greedy inroad upon treaty lands. Thereafter began a heavy westward migration.

The thirties was a decade ready to fly away in delusions, manias, isms. It saw the rise of conventions—tract societies, lyceum managers, collectivists, political parties. The decade also saw the beginning of a defiant, uncompromising, unreasoning, and sectional abolitionism. The problem of slavery these reformers thought they had a solution for; for the problem of the negro they had only silence.

B. In 1837 a new type of contemporary literature made its appearance. The depression of 1837 may be charted in the fictional product of the time. The works did not long survive, having shared the fate of all didactic pieces which lack art and imagination to carry them through. But at any rate here were little books such as *Rich Enough: a Tale of the Times* and *The Harcourts; illustrating the Benefit of Retrenchment and Reform.* In themselves possessing no merit, they have some slight interest as social history. Almost modern are the descriptive words of the *New York Review* on this second-named volume: "it presents a lively picture of the insatiable thirst for wealth—the eager haste to be rich, and the mad spirit of speculation, which have pervaded and cursed the country."

II. Leading Works.

1831 Whittier, *Legends of New England.*
1832 Bryant, *Poems;* Irving, *The Alhambra;* Kennedy, *Swallow Barn.*
1834 Bancroft, *History of the United States,* first volume.
1835 *Southern Literary Messenger* founded; Sparks, *Life of Washington.*
1836 Emerson, *Nature;* Holmes, *Poems.*
1837 Bird, *Nick of the Woods;* Emerson, *The American Scholar;* Hawthorne, *Twice-Told Tales.*
1838 Cooper, *The American Democrat;* Kennedy, *Rob of the Bowl;* Poe, "Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym"; Ware, *Zenobia;* Whittier, *Ballads and Anti-Slavery Poems.*
1839 Kirkland, *A New Home;* Longfellow, *Hyperion* and *Voices of the Night.*
1840 Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast;* Poe, *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque;* Thompson, *The Green Mountain Boys.*

III. The Rise of the New England School.

The common texts of American literature define the New England period as extending from 1830 to 1870, and as coming to its highest glory in the fifties. It was more nearly 1840 than 1830, however, when the characteristic voices of New England began to be heard by any considerable audience. Members of the school obviously made a *beginning* in this decade—Whittier in 1831; Bancroft, with the first volume of his *History of the United States* in 1834; Emerson, with *Nature* in 1836; Hawthorne, in his first accepted volume (barring *Fanshawe* which he sought to withdraw); Prescott, in 1838 (*Ferdinand and Isabella*); Longfellow, in 1835 and 1839. These various ventures make clear that the decade was well advanced before the leading New England figures came to the fore, but once upon the literary stage they did not move off for a whole generation. But the decade, while revealing the burgeoning of intellectual life in New England, was not dominantly in the hands of New Englanders. True, there was a perceptible shift from New York to Boston, though in the face of the popular productions of Bryant and Irving in 1832 the shift must not have been very pronounced. In fact, most of the writers of fiction were Southern: Poe, Simms, Kennedy, Caruthers, Tucker, etc.—although Cooper and Paulding, of the Knickerbockers, were still active.

IV. Poetry: Partial Addiction to Sentimentality.

American poetry of the thirties was much influenced by the rise of the Lady's Book and the popularity of annuals and gift-books, which not only provided a medium for publication but also, through their expanding public, set the pace in languishing sentimentality. The index to the times may be found perhaps in the fact that the great favorite among foreign poets was Mrs. Hemans. Other popular foreign models were L. E. L. and, of course, Byron. Among minor versifiers there was altogether too much girlish verse of the "sweet simplicity" order, void of nerve, vigor, and sound sense.

Even apart from sentimentalism, the poets of the decade were not completely free from foreign mannerisms, from "Byron, with his satanism and his

mysticism," as one critic voiced it, from "Wordsworth with his theories and his naturalisms; Southey with his Curse-of-Kehamaism; Coleridge with his metaphysics."

Two big factors which militated against original poetry and literary merit were the absence of leisure on the part of the poets and a sympathetic audience for their lucubrations. A critic in the *Boston Pearl* for 1835 very touchingly described the plight of the poet in agricultural and pioneering America. His comment is interesting, both as literary history and as advancing the bead-roll of those regarded as poets in the decade:

> We are a practical, business-like people. Our poets have no royal road to fame and riches, but must be content to toil on along the same rough thoroughfare which others traverse. . . . Bryant is the travelling editor of a warm political journal; Willis . . . entertains us with letters from beyond the sea; Percival revises an etymological dictionary, or rarely indites a poem for the New England or Knickerbocker; Neal presides over the Galaxy; Mellen plays the Washington correspondent; Whittier is busied with abolition schemes, and Pierpont with phrenological experiments; Prentiss, Nichols, Morris, Benjamin, Fairfield, Clark, Lewis, Brooks, and Dawes, adopt—or have adopted—the editorial We; Longfellow occupies the professor's chair; . . . Ware presides at the sacred desk; Halleck and Sprague are oracles in the temple of Mammon; Hillhouse deals in hardware, and Lunt confines his pen to his law papers; Pike is a wanderer in the wilderness and the prairie of the far-away West . . . ; Allston confines himself to his pallette and easel, and has rarely been heard from since he gave to the world his "Sylphs of the Season"; Dana has hung up his harp in some wild and lonely retreat of the woods, known only to the naiad and dryad; . . . Holmes has dropped his pen and wields the surgical knife . . . Paulding seems to have confined himself to plain prose since his Backwoodsman; Hill, Power, Harrington, Gray, Snelling, Sargent, Tuckerman, Light, Law, and Isley, occasionally tune their harps in our own columns.

A. The "Newspaper Helicon" continued as an institution.
The modern reader of American literature has to be reminded of the days when the readiest medium for publication was the literary corner of any one of a thousand newspapers. All except the most highly commercial journals included poetical sections, and verses sometimes poured into other columns than the corners assigned to them. From one newspaper poems were copied into others, and thus for the individual poet something more than a local reputation was built up.

B. The outstanding poet of the nation during the decade was **W. C. Bryant,** though he was displaying none of the voluminousness of Wordsworth or L. E. L. It was one of the disappointments of the time, judging by periodic laments, that he had by 1832 seemingly silenced his muse and betaken himself to noisier precincts. This was all the more bewailed by the critics as they could extend no praise to such weakly sentimental versifiers as Hannah Gould or Lydia Sigourney. But Bryant's reputation was secure, and the volume that he published in 1832, attractively equipped with a London imprint and an Irving introduction, was enough to keep

his name before the public for many years. Bryant's work was admired for its naturalness, for its chasteness and facility of expression, its manliness and purity of thought, for graceful ease, fitness of illustration, and justness of allusion. Though there were those who thought him more popular among critics than readers, and others who called his poetry "dull placidity," his fame as a poet of melancholy and imaginative vastness was not endangered. Bryant wrote some new poems during the thirties, verses in praise of freedom, and his 1832 volume had six reprintings in seven years. Small wonder that *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine* recorded in 1838: "The poetical reputation of Bryant both at home and abroad is, perhaps, higher than that of any other American." But for the periodical world, ever on the lookout for new volumes to examine, neither the mild exertions of Bryant nor those of his contemporaries satisfied: everywhere the inactivity of Halleck, Percival, and Company was lamented.

C. **Lydia Sigourney,** who had made a brave start in the twenties, poured out with her wonted productivity several volumes of sentimental and religious verse, and made great progress toward her ultimate achievement of 63 volumes, with such items as *Poems* (288 pages, 1834), *Poetry for Children* (1834), *Zinzendorff and Other Poems* (1835), *Olive Buds* (1836), etc., etc. *Select Poems* was in its third edition in 1838. Her works now lie in the limbo of literature made up of the "annuals" and "gift-books" of the period. As Bronson remarked, she is now "useful as an index to the taste of the times," when a wearisome level of moral sentiment guaranteed popularity.

D. Another "melting" poet was "Eliza of Saco, Maine," but more sentimental than the rest was **Hannah F. Gould,** whose *Poems* were printed in 1832 (2nd edition, 1833; 3rd, 1835). The *New England Magazine* noted in 1833: "The poetry of Miss Gould has been remarkably popular," and added by way of critical commendation that her chief literary quality is "simplicity." By their 1839 edition her poems filled 480 pages; they were all short, but sprightly. However, as Griswold noted, "her poetical vein seldom rises above the fanciful." To her generation she was one of the most prominent of the "souvenir" poets.

E. The thirties saw Whittier's first devotion to poetry.

Whittier displayed early in his poetical career the threefold interests that were to divide his attention: abolition, New England's past and present, and simple piety. All three veins were apparent in the thirties.

1. After his severance of editorial connections with the *National Philanthropist,* in 1829, he turned to legendary poetic subjects in *Metacom, Legends of New England, Moll Pitcher,* and *Pentucket,* poems running in the reminiscent vein which Irving and Scott had popularized, but turning, in every instance, to the regions east of the Hudson for inspiration. Of these volumes the first two have never been reprinted, and only the last title was preserved in his collected works, though *Moll Pitcher* was brought out under his own name a decade later. *Mogg Megone* (1835), which sends historical figures through imaginary

events, Whittier consigned to the appendix of his collected works, not only because it suggested to him "a big Indian in his war-paint strutting about in Sir Walter Scott's plaid," but because he had moral objections to it as well. *Pentucket* was a finished piece descriptive of an Indian attack on the village of Haverhill. The peaceful stillness of the night was suddenly disturbed by a fierce yell, followed by shots, screams, and flames, and in the morning all was quiet, with only the ruins as evidence of the disaster. *The Bridal of Pennacook* was a graphic poem describing an Indian bridal and self-effacement. It is apparent that in the thirties Whittier's imagination revolved around the inexhaustible themes of Indian warfare and witchcraft (the latter in *Moll Pitcher* and *Legends of New England*), and that he must accordingly be classified as a retrospective romanticist with his attention fixed upon the local, the strange and the sensational.

2. Between 1830 and 1837 Whittier was also grinding the abolition axe in twenty-one poems which earned him the sobriquet of "the Körner of America." Chief among these were: "To William Lloyd Garrison," "The Hunters of Men," "The Slave Ships," "Stanzas for the Time," "Toussaint L'Ouverture," "Hymn," "Stanzas" (which made much impression). These were printed as "Abolition Poems" by Isaac Knapp in 1837 and reprinted in *Poems,* 1838 (with "The Moral Warfare" added). Of the other poems in this 1838 edition, aside from the reprints, most were biblically inspired, pious in tone, and utterly feeble in execution.

F. After a residence abroad, productive of *Outre-Mer* and *Hyperion,* **Longfellow** did some poetical work (the volume *Voices of the Night* was released in 1839) but did not "arrive" as a poet immediately upon his return; his first extensive popularity was evoked by the "Wreck of the Hesperus," "Serenade," "Excelsior," and other pieces in 1841.

G. **George Hill,** author of *Titania's Banquet,* and *Ruins of Athens,* was generally singled out with favorable comment in the anthologies.

H. **Drake's** *The Culprit Fay* was circulated almost twenty years in manuscript before its issuance in printed form, first periodically and then in an authorized edition with eighteen other poems in 1835. A second edition followed in 1836. Drake, who had sought distinctively literary values in American scenes, was highly praised by contemporary critics, Poe excepted. *The Culprit Fay* idealized the Hudson, and allegedly peopled it with fairy denizens, though there were those who held these were no denizens at all but creatures from any world of fancy.

I. **Jones Very,** mystic poet of Transcendentalism, was one of the earliest sonneteers that American letters produced. His *Essays and Poems* (1839), a slender volume, contained, besides three essays and nine reflective lyrics, a series of fifty-six sonnets inclusive of such favorites as "The Disciple," "Thy Beauty Fades," "The Wind-Flower," "The Song," "The Ark," "Time."

J. **Holmes** was also an exception to the sentimentalism of the period; and during the early years of the decade he went frequently to the journals with such poems as "The Height of the Ridiculous," "My Aunt," "The

Last Leaf." Most famous of all and bringing reputation to the author was "Old Ironsides," printed in the *Daily Advertiser* of Boston in 1830. A number of Holmes's poems were printed in *The Harbinger* for 1833, jointly contributed to by Holmes, Epes Sargent, and Park Benjamin. A full edition was collected in 1836. Holmes by these poems of the thirties launched upon a career which proved to be fairly consistent. It was in this decade that his jocoseria began, poems which hark back to the eighteenth-century pieces of Gay, Prior, Swift, Cowper, etc. Holmes was, like Goldsmith, a born sentimentalist who by humor freed himself from the excesses of the emotional spirit.

V. The Foreign Focus.

A. American idols as popularizers of foreign scenes. Before 1830 America had drawn almost exclusively from England—the common tongue made this easy—but now came Spain, France, and Germany as areas stimulative of American ideas.

1. The absorption in things continental was given impetus by **Irving's** *Alhambra* (1832). Americans, residing for the most part in rural areas, in a land without memorials of antiquity, were strongly impressed by the "Spanish Sketch Book" in which all that was lacking in the American scene was supplied—vestiges of older civilization, ruins, legends, colorful types, pageantry. The glamor which Irving imparted to his work, the sense of romantic wonder and delight which he conveyed, turned the eyes of his now numerous admirers to the older civilization of Europe and they were ready not only for Irving's Moorish works, but for the work of others following in his train.
2. The interest in Europe was also stimulated by the activities abroad of **N. P. Willis** (who was in Europe and the East during the first five years of the decade). It was aided by the conviction rapidly gaining ground among writers that America had no romantic richness, that its aspiring genius had need to escape to the higher levels of romance and poetry in Europe.

B. The travel book.

1. **Longfellow's** *Outre-Mer* was begun in the *New England Magazine* in 1831 as "The Schoolmaster" (book publication, 1835) and designed as a "Sketch Book" of Spain, France, Germany, and Italy, "composed of characters and tales illustrating manners and customs, and tales illustrating nothing in particular": "Martin Franc," "Jacqueline," and "The Baptism of Fire." Some of these are definitely stories, as "The Notary of Perigueux." Others are pure sketches. "I have travelled," wrote the author, "through France from Normandy to Navarre—smoked my pipe in a Flemish inn—floated through Holland in a Treckschuit—trimmed my midnight lamp in a German university—wandered and mused amid the classic scenes of Italy—and listened to the gay guitar on the banks of the Guadalquiver." The book had a well-weeded style though somewhat given to lavender.

2. The letters of **Willis's** *Pencillings by the Way* (1836) appeared in the *New York Mirror* from 1831 to 1836 and were copied (*vide* Morris) in 500 newspapers. The complete edition (1844) contained 139 letters. Gossip of the grand tour, which these papers were, captivated the imagination of thousands of Americans. They were hungry for romance; Willis fed them on *hors d'œuvres* and desserts.
3. **Dewey's** *Old World and the New* (1836), neither supine nor iconoclastic, brought deference and appreciation to the study of the Old World.
4. **Cooper's** *Gleanings in Europe* filled eight volumes. He was well fitted by his residence in two worlds (eight years overseas) to analyze the institutions on both sides of the Atlantic. "As a social critic he antedated Carlyle, Mill, and Emerson, and he was in a better position than any of them to judge and compare both Europe and America." (R. E. Spiller.)
5. Other travel volumes included: DeKay's *Greece,* Tuckerman's *Italian Sketch-Book,* Jewett's *Passages in Foreign Travel,* Stephens's *Incidents of Travel in Egypt, Arabia, Petræa and the Holy Land,* Slidell's *Spain* (a "log-book of his land cruise"). This cumulative record makes it clear that in the thirties, as a producing cause, traveling was inadequate to satisfy the demand of the reading public for good travel-books. Most popular and lucrative of the books of travel were those by Stephens, void of philosophy and poetry; most controversial were those of Cooper, who was absolutely fearless in flying in the face of potential criticism and courageous in reviewing European institutions.

C. Foreign surveys and abuse.

1. Offensive British attacks on American civilization and politics were common. "Miserable, pinched, and poor-spirited have been the minds of the Halls, Hamiltons, Fidlers, *et id omne genus,* who, within the few past years, have travelled in our country, and appear to have taken pleasure, on returning home, in proclaiming us to be a stupid, half-savage race, without literature, arts, taste, or even the common comforts of life." (Timothy Flint.)
   a. **Basil Hall** (satirized by Paulding as "Captain All") was one of the most self-assured of the foreign critics and became a synonym for obtrusive judgment. He had the temperamental limitations which prevent honest observation and accurate statement. His *Travels,* published in 1829 and 1830, was widely read in the thirties.
   b. **Isaac Fidler's** *Observations* (1830) was termed by the *North American Review* "another of those precious specimens of books with which John Bull is now regularly humbugged three or four times a year." Impertinence was his most marked trait. He was called an exotic from "the hot-bed of London."
   c. **Frances Trollope's** *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832), in which her gullibility and economic losses combined to destroy her judgment, presented an unflattering picture of America, but today stands only as an amusing piece of prejudice. The too frequent dis-

play of irascibility and personal disappointment over the social coldness of Cincinnati led her to "reason perversely" and to arrive at ridiculous charges. Flint called her "a lady bankrupt in tape and bobbin paying her outfit and passage money home by ministering . . . to the common appetite for caricature."

d. **Captain Hamilton's** *Men and Manners in America* (1833) is better than the rest in its sincerity, for it was designed as a political warning. But the tone is cocksure and disagreeable, particularly in its criticism of customs, legislative houses, American manners, conversation and education, negro slavery, and American roads. His speculations and criticism were warped by the political prejudices which prompted them.

e. **Captain Marryat,** in a *Diary in America* (1839), aimed to reveal an unprejudiced mind, but became somewhat sneering in the text, particularly with reference to the quizzical, tobacco-chewing American populace. If no purpose of disparagement was apparent, the result was the same.

2. More sympathetic studies of American life (though not free from bitterness) were to be found in Power, Murray (neither shocked nor disgusted), Coke, Stuart, and Grund. **Harriet Martineau's** somewhat kindly *Society in America* (1837) enjoyed considerable popularity in France and England, though she too could remark: "If the American nation be judged by its literature, it may be pronounced to have no mind at all." There is, however, in her work "a warm appreciation of what is humane and progressive in American institutions, right and wise in society, and beautiful or picturesque in nature." (Tuckerman.) Favorable comment of a studious order appeared in **Tocqueville's** *Democracy in America* (1835). Sections of this were reprinted in leading magazines and newspapers throughout the Union.

D. American retaliation.

1. **James K. Paulding** brought his *John Bull and Brother Jonathan* up to date with "the latest anti-American slanders" (1835).
2. **Laurie Todd** (Grant Thornburn), satirist, who produced *Men and Manners in Britain, or a Bone to Gnaw for the Trollopes, Fidlers, etc.* (1834), was summoned into the field by British travelers who had violated the rights of hospitality, etc.

E. The novel with a foreign scene.

1. **Cooper's** European series was a probing of Old World wrongs (see above).
2. **Lydia Maria Child's** *Philothea* (a classical novel) followed the example of Croly and Lockhart.
3. **Simms's** *Pelayo* was doubtless stimulated by Irving's Granada materterial.
4. **William Ware's** *Zenobia* (1837), frequently classified as history, was written in an epistolary style. It lapsed easily into the heavily descriptive, though the usual wordiness of this method did not lure the

author into dullness. Historically the work was sound, as original historical sources—Pollio, Vopiscus, and others—were relied on. *Aurelian* (1838), a sequel, was localized in Rome during the persecution of the Christians. It is, however, as the title suggests, a novel of one main character.

5. **Longfellow's** *Hyperion,* not strictly fiction, signalized an interest in German literature and was influential through its great popularity in preparing an American audience for reviews and translations of German writers. It went through an edition a year for forty years.
6. The anonymous *Zoe, or the Sicilian Sayda,* though enthusiastically received, proved ephemeral.
7. **Herbert's** *The Brothers, A Tale of the Fronde* (1835), a first novel, represented a cross between Scott and Bulwer (see below).

F. The foreign favorites.

1. **Scott,** though dead in 1832, was still a great favorite with all classes. The veneration expressed for him when the news of his death reached America, November 10, 1832, is index of the place he held among American novel-readers. The appearance of biographical volumes by Allan, Cunningham, and Lockhart, speedily reprinted in America, and the kindly reminiscences of Irving in *Abbotsford and Newstead Abbey* (1835)—all within the decade—served to keep his name and work before the public. And though new voices were heard on the literary frontier, they did not shout down his praises. Scott became one of the staple offerings in Harper's *Family Library.* He was brought out in many editions, Carey and Lea continuing their printing of these novels, James Parker of Boston issuing the entire works, one title a month, not deterred by a fire which destroyed most of the plant, and Connor and Cooke featuring a low-priced series.

   Scott's works were appreciated for the manly fervor and the colorful pageantry of life found in their pages. It was generally recognized that he succeeded in producing the illusion of seeing the life of the past as it might have been, of perceiving time and place, real habits and practices in a real world. He demonstrated, too, that truth and fiction might be joined to their mutual advantage; and from his works many readers drew their first notions of history: in order to comprehend what had jolted their imagination through the resistless charm of his romantic narrative, they turned to graver studies. It is of no use, in attempting to understand the temper of the times, for us to disclaim the reality of his pictures, as has been done; such matters are relative, and it is unquestionable that to his own generation, the foundation of incident upon fact, the advancement of the truth of history, and the description of human life in the colors of reality made their appeal. In some circles he was accepted for what might be termed negative merits: the excellence of the moral character, the amenity and purity of sentiment that shine through his pages, and the complete discarding of mawkish sentimentality.

2. **Charles Dickens** began to make an impression on the American reading public after 1836, first as a humorist and then as a full-fledged novelist, and by late 1839 was "endenizened in the national heart," though praise of him was not universal, as one reference to his works as "vulgar absurdities" serves to show. Among the volumes which brought him American fame before the close of the decade were *Sketches by Boz* and *Oliver Twist.* In general he was regarded as a wholesale dealer in the ludicrous, one critic calling his *Pickwick Papers* a *Henry IV* with all but Falstaff and his comrades left out. To his general success the *New York American* testified in its reference to his multifarious coinage as "passing current wherever English is spoken or understood."
3. **Harriet Martineau** startled many readers into attention. In 1834 the *Ladies' Magazine* declared: "Who has not heard of Harriet Martineau? Within the last two years she has probably written more which has been *read* than any other living author. She sends out one of her 'Tales illustrative of Political Economy' every month, besides several other volumes in the course of the year. Why, Scott himself never wrote more rapidly—and he never had such a host of readers." Allowing heavily for feminine overstatement, there is still some truth in the editor's claims.
4. For a time early in the decade it looked as though **Horace Smith,** author of *Brambletye House* and *Tor Hill,* would win a hearing, but of the Scott imitators, only **G. P. R. James,** author of *Richelieu* and *Darnley,* persisted in the public consciousness. "Lone Horseman James" he was called because of the opening of many of his novels: James's characters frequently employed disguises to elude their pursuers and to heighten readers' interest. By an ambitious program James strove manfully to maintain his rank as the high priest of fiction and romance.
5. **Bulwer-Lytton,** with a versatility that amazed his contemporaries, kept pace with popular taste, as evidenced in the extensive circulation which his novels had. Suffering under the opprobrium of *Pelham* and *Eugene Aram,* and sometimes damned in the same breath with Byron, Bulwer maintained an audience undisturbed by his moral and literary reputation. Captain J. E. Alexander could declare as early as 1831 that "the 'author of Pelham' is an especial favourite in the States, the ladies considering him a nonpareil, and certain speculators (forgers and swindlers) having been detected last year with 'Paul Clifford' in their portmanteaus." N. P. Willis remarked in 1835: "A novel of Bulwer's is republished in three days after it arrives in the *swift* packet from Liverpool; and in three weeks, it is read in every settlement and cabin in Louisiana, and criticised in every one of the thousand or two newspapers between the Atlantic and the Mississippi." A reviewer in the *Southern Literary Messenger* could speak, in 1840, of his standing "like noble Hector among his Trojan compeers, tower-

ing, prominent, alone"; and Harriet Martineau remarked in 1837: "I think no one is so much read as Mr. Bulwer. I question whether it is possible to pass half a day in general society without hearing him mentioned." This increase in popularity, however, was the result of the lessened profligacy in sentiment after *Paul Clifford,* and the éclat of *The Pilgrims of the Rhine, The Last Days of Pompeii,* and *Rienzi.*

VI. Novelists of the Thirties. (See also V above)

Harriet Martineau, in her Travels to the United States, pronounced novels the outstanding literary product of American writers and singled out for special consideration the stories of James Hall, works by the author of *Swallow Barn,* and the novels of Catherine M. Sedgwick, which she extolled as possessing moral beauty and quiet charm. Her estimate was decidedly uneven though fair in its geographical distribution.

There is no question about the addiction of Americans to the form in the eighteen-thirties. The *Western Monthly Magazine* remarked: "There are few who do not read novels either openly, or by stealth, either in obedience to the dictates of their own judgments, or in disobedience to the commands of those who control their conduct." The *Western Literary Journal* remarked: "We are a nation of newspaper-readers and novel-readers." Such English travelers as Fowler and Candler sustained these literary judgments.

A. **John P. Kennedy,** novelist of Maryland and Virginia, was purely an episode of the thirties. Although he had begun a literary career with the *Red Book* (1818–19), *Swallow Barn* (1832) was the first work from his hand to gain him distinction. This has been termed a "Virginia Bracebridge Hall" and was the first important document in the plantation tradition (carried on later by Page), though Paulding's *Westward Ho!* of the same year also entered this field in its early chapters. There followed the best of Kennedy's novels proper, *Horse Shoe Robinson* (1835), a Revolutionary novel, celebrating in particular the Battle of King's Mountain and the predatory warfare in the South. The novel survives by its historical interest and the homespun vigor of the scout, its titular hero. The best of the group was *Rob of the Bowl* (1838), a novel pitched in the vein of Scott and going back before the Revolution in Maryland. It was a romantic piece (smuggling, piracy, love), though chronicling historically the fight between the Proprietary and the Protestants at the time of the Protectorate. He ended his novelistic career with an idealistic work, *Quodlibet* (1840), which mildly satirized the political events of the day. It attacked among other things Jackson's maladministration of public affairs and the sub-Treasury bill—in short, the high-handedness of the President.

B. **Robert Montgomery Bird** was a dramatist turned novelist.

Luring the American imagination southward to Mexico with two novels, *Calavar* and *The Infidel,* for which he earned high praise, Bird was quickly pronounced a man of genius. Reviewers were insistent that the material offered distinct possibilities for such romanticists as were weary from repetition of native themes and provided a model for the chron-

icling of old wrongs (a staple in romantic formulas) without offending patriotic loyalties. Though scored at times for faulty characterization and plot structure, both works were commended for effective dialogue and for a style at once rich and ornate. *The Hawks of Hawk-Hollow,* his next work, brought Bird back to more familiar material but with a domestic emphasis—a story of love placed against a background of Tory forays in late Revolutionary days. The work was readily received even though its originality was questioned. *Sheppard Lee,* which followed, was annihilated by Poe, though by a few recognized as social satire and hailed as an original and amusing *jeu d'esprit.* But in 1837 popularity returned with increase upon the appearance of *Nick of the Woods* which turned the author even more toward the dramatic. Bird's Indian, in contrast to Cooper's, was a dirty "varmint," revengeful, unforgetting; and he made appeal to such readers as held that Cooper's Indians belonged on Fifth Avenue. Bird's novel, which scoffed at sympathy for the Indians as sentimental, provided such melodramatic features as later to earn for it, in circles none too accurate in the study of literary origins, a reputation as alleged grandfather of the dime novel. By some it was taken up because nothing was related but had its prototype in actual reality; by others, simply because it was a tale of frontier life and Indian warfare, written by a masterly pen.

C. **William Gilmore Simms** celebrated South Carolina in fiction.

Simms spanned four decades in his novelistic career, though it was in his work of the thirties and fifties that he achieved his greatest triumphs, that of the forties displaying a taste for highly seasoned dishes, for what Paulding termed the "blood-pudding." His first novel of any distinction was *Guy Rivers,* which was greatly overpraised but ran to three editions in a year. It was through his two novels of 1835 that he first really got a hearing. These were in two distinct fields: the Revolution (*The Partisan,* followed by *Mellichampe,* 1836, and *Katherine Walton,* 1851, to complete a trilogy), and the Indian of Colonial days. *The Partisan* applied the formula of Scott to Carolina materials and filled out a drama with names familiar to his readers: Gates, Marion, DeKalb, Cornwallis, and others. Simms had no mere *cacoëthes scribendi;* he was actually stirred by local pride, actually imbued with the spirit of the epic material he cast into novelistic form. He sallied with Marion's men on the nocturnal foray, or burrowed with them into the gloomy swamps and still lagoons, or penetrated the island retreats where the wandering bands sought brief repose after their clashes or foraging expeditions. *The Yemassee* gave him rank next to Cooper, a success in the field of Indian fiction he was not again to equal until his *Cassique of Kiawah* (1859). Simms presented the border Indian rather than the denizen of the wilderness. His work was popular in appeal, for it came at the moment when the Indian removals were on the conscience of more serious-minded Americans. Here was the story of the unselfish Sanutee, the last of the Yemassees, a prototype of heroic leadership. Like Powhatan and Logan,

he lived to regret the friendly reception he had accorded the Europeans and to recall with bitterness the treacherous dealings of the whites in their treaty-making. Many a reader wept dolorously over the death of the chief, the well-beloved of his people, the wisest and most valiant of his tribe.

D. **Cooper** emerged as novelistic critic, as educator of Europe and America. Although Cooper had written *Notions of the Americans* in 1828, it was in the thirties that the second Cooper, the didactic, the fighting Cooper emerged: (*a*) as a critic of Europe, in three novels (*The Bravo, The Headsman,* and *The Heidenmauer*), written to assail oligarchical and to laud democratic institutions, or to "instruct the old world in government"; and (*b*) as a critic of America in *The American Democrat, Home As Found,* and *The Monikins,* packed full of judgments on America and the American experiment, written with considerable acumen and attaining the cosmic detachment requisite in a critique of manners. Cooper's strictures were voiced in the prefaces and the text. Because of the partisanship of the day, many of Cooper's works were adversely prejudged by those who held that a literary man was entitled to no opinions on social or political life. Blight to his literary reputation came, therefore, because of his *A Letter to His Countrymen* and *The Monikins,* which were regarded as mere vagaries by some, by others, as products of frothy pugnacity. His travel volumes, which followed, were called a "breviary of an egotist's woes," "jaundiced sermonizings," and their author termed an "arrant grumbler." Thus through most of the decade Cooper was the storm center of critical attacks. This only meant, after all, that to his contemporaries the works were of questionable merit but came from so famed an author that they could not be ignored. Our generation, however, may stand aloof in time above the controversy and see that Cooper and not his contemporaries was right, that his works, veracious though sometimes blunt, were the expression of candor and sincerity and not the mistaken labors of a blundering egotist.

E. **Paulding** remained authentic Knickerbocker and was, with Cooper and Simms, an important figure in the early novel. With Irving, Paulding was a keeper of the Dutch traditions of the Hudson, as is apparent in his most popular work, *The Dutchman's Fireside* (1831), a novel treating the region about Albany later sketched in Cooper's *Satanstoe* (1844). Projected against the background of the French and Indian wars, it presents interesting views of Sir William Johnson and his Indian allies, scenes of home life in old Dutch families, and an interesting love story of a hero clad in snuff-colored homespun. This was followed the next year by the most puzzling of Paulding's novels, *Westward Ho!,* of which Parrington remarked that "one hesitates to pronounce whether . . . [it] is a sober attempt at popular romance or a *reductio ad absurdum* of the current romantic flummery." In 1835 appeared the collected works of Paulding (including all his earlier satirical works and a revised edition of *Koningsmarke*). Critics of the time regarded this publication with mixed feel-

ings, but all felt a sense of congratulation that a living American author had bulk and reputation enough to go into a collected edition.

F. **Catherine Maria Sedgwick,** high among the native workers, represented feminine New England in fiction. She strove valiantly to live up to her rising reputation, producing four novels in three years—*The Linwoods* (1835), *Home* (1835, but 15th edition, 1839), *The Poor Rich Man* (1836), and *Live and Let Live* (1837). The *New York Mirror* pronounced her the most popular writer of fiction in America, and of her works remarked: "they aim at higher ends than the mere imparting of interest by the arts and graces of fiction." Her novels were instinct with piety; they had simple and useful lessons to inculcate. The homely virtues, the ties of the domestic circle, the conditions of service in the home and the proper relations of master and servant, the qualities of heart and mind that make for domestic felicity and true wealth—these were the themes she celebrated. But not all her appeal was on this didactic level. Like Kennedy and Simms, she aroused patriotic sentiments, especially in such a novel as *The Linwoods,* released in 1835 when it was still almost sacrilegious to introduce Washington's name in a mere work of fiction. But *The Linwoods* was also domestic in character, though projected against a background of historical events, and consistent with the general tenor of her output. Considering the sentimentality and the moralism of the age, the contemporary popularity that she enjoyed is not hard to comprehend, nor in the present decline of the sentimental is it difficult to account for the antiquated effect of her work.

G. **Nathaniel Beverley Tucker** became war prophet. Tucker introduced the first note of sectionalism into the American novel in his *The Partisan Leader* (1836), which sought to infuse the spirit of Calhoun into his beloved Virginia. It argued for the economic freedom of the South.

H. **H. W. Herbert,** generally known as a sports novelist, had the classical training and antiquarian equipment for writing historical novels, though the desire for exactitude swung him into "fictionalized history." He turned to novel writing with *The Brothers, A Tale of the Fronde* (1835), the early chapters of which he printed in the *American Monthly Magazine* (of which he was editor). *Cromwell* (1838) is chiefly interesting as preceding Macaulay and Carlyle in the sympathetic interpretation of Cromwell's motives and career. After the thirties he devoted himself to sporting books and sporting novels.

I. **Lemuel Sawyer,** entertainer, is to be remembered by *Printz Hall* (1839), an amusing novel of the Swedes in Delaware, and *Blackbeard,* a melodramatic piece chronicling piracy and smuggling on the Chesapeake. It joins two of Ingraham's thrillers and *Rob of the Bowl* in building up a pirate library for the decade.

J. Another highly praised novel of the decade was *George Balcombe* (1836), concerning which Poe overenthusiastically wrote: "Its most distinguishing features are invention, vigor, almost audacity, of thought—great variety

of what the German critics term *intrigue,* and exceeding ingenuity and finish in the adaptation of its component parts."

K. Other novels popular in the decade were *Haverhill* (by J. A. Jones), *Kentucky* (by James Hall), *The Insurgents* (by Lockwood), *Norman Leslie* (by T. S. Fay), *Osceola* (by Seymour R. Duke), and *Allen Prescott* (by Susan Sedgwick), a story of the fortunes of a poor New England boy.

VII. The Short Story Writers.

A. Collections from several hands.

1. *Tales of the Glauber Spa,* by Bryant, Paulding, Sedgwick, *et al.* (1832).
2. *Atlantic Club Book.*
3. Mary Mitford's collections of American tales for English readers.

B. The first important writers after Irving.

1. Paulding and the belegended Dutch area.

Paulding's chief activity during the decade was the writing of tales and sketches, forty-eight appearing from his hand between 1830 and 1840, with sixteen in 1831, his banner year. The best of these dealt with the Dutch area and Nieuw Amsterdam, among them such favorites as "Cobus Yerks," "Claas Schlaschenschlinger," "Yankee Pedagogues," "Knickerbocker Hall," etc. Three of these and the best of his stories from the *New York Mirror* were reprinted in Paulding's only collected series after 1830, *The Book of Saint Nicholas* (1836). The *Atlantic Club Book* (1834) was dedicated to Paulding as the "chief defender, promoter, and adorner of American letters." He was the most prolific American story-writer between Irving and Poe.

2. Hawthorne and the chance periodical.

In the thirties **Hawthorne** published where he could, in Goodrich's *Token,* the *Salem Gazette,* the *New England Magazine,* and the *Democratic Review.* The tales from 1830 to 1837 were written in his lonely chamber, though some of the earliest were suggested by excursions to Connecticut, to Niagara, and to New Hampshire. Hawthorne's earliest ambition was to be a romancer, in fulfilment of which he wrote a series of provincial tales, such as "Endicott and the Red Cross," clearly based on seventeenth-century New England material. Some of his finest tales were rooted in colonial life. By 1835, the allegorical vein became pronounced, and from then on to 1844 he achieved some of his best effects in moral allegory, for which he had an inveterate love. To the reading world, it is this type of tale, with its brooding interpretation of the shadows cast by facts, that the name of Hawthorne frequently summons to mind. In 1835 he began his American Notebooks which served him as a storehouse for plot ideas and for "side-scenes and backgrounds." The stories which Hawthorne brought out under the title of *Twice-Told Tales,* in 1837, were many times revised. In these the conscious artist emerged. He wrote with care and with a consideration for the inner significance that fiction might have. His stories give vivid vignettes of life, of sharp conflicts between souls, a sense of symbolical

values, harsh clashes of spirit with reality, and withal, a unity of impression.

3. Poe and the prize competition.
   a. Early in the 1830's, subsequent to his dismissal from West Point, **Poe** was struggling to support himself by writing. Goaded thus by necessity, he submitted five stories to the *Courier* competition in 1831; and though the judges decided in favor of "Love's Martyr" (see below), the publisher brought out his submissions during the following year. These tales, marking for the author a forced shift in literary form, were seemingly Poe's first efforts in the short story. A subsequent contest entry of his, "MS. Found in a Bottle," won a prize in a competition for the *Baltimore Saturday Visiter* in 1833. Even more fortunately, he won the attention of J. P. Kennedy, who became instrumental a year later in establishing a connection for Poe with the *Southern Literary Messenger.* During 1833 Poe planned to publish the "Tales of the Folio Club," including the contest pieces, but the plan came to nought. The earlier compositions (much revised) and new stories (making a total of fifteen) appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* (1834–37), were favorably received in many quarters, and led Poe to bring out the *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* (2 vols.) in 1840.
   b. His earliest tales of the decade were satirical: his "Lionizing" takes off the rage for "lions" and quizzes Willis; "Loss of Breath" ridicules the extravagances of *Blackwood's;* "Morella" and "Berenice," the philosophical vagaries of the time. The latter burlesqued the Gothic tale of terror; "Morella" was Poe's earliest study of the sense of identity.
   c. In his work there are hints of influence from Disraeli, Bulwer, Scott, Hoffmann, Smith, and James, but such manifestations do not negative the essential originality of the man. Some of Poe's stories of this period—"Ligeia," "The Fall of the House of Usher," "Shadow," "Silence," "Assignation," exhibit, declared Campbell, "a richness of color, a weird and mysterious glamor, and a harmony of phrase and tone that few other Americans have equalled."
4. The Western and naval tributaries.
   a. **James Hall** produced a characteristic bit of frontier writing in *The Legends of the West* (1832). This series he bulked larger by *The Soldier's Bride* (1833) and *Tales of the Border* (1835), of which more than two thirds have Western characters and Western settings. Most of Hall's short stories grew out of his experiences in Illinois. Assuming the task of perpetuating the legends and recording the life of the early pioneers, he listened with wrapt attention to the recitals of stirring adventures, to accounts of border warfare, to reminiscences of noted men. He watched the pioneer tilling his fields; he saw him at husking bees, weddings, and elections. He gathered material everywhere from men and things. Author of such a thriller as *Harpe's*

Head, he was the first to advance other distinctive materials drawn from robust trans-Appalachian life, as in "The Backwoodsman," "The Indian Hater," "The Soldier Bride," and "Pete Featherton." Hall conceived of the short story as a sketch, discursive, nondramatic, brief, but palatably presented.

b. **William Leggett** had been a wide traveler on sea and land; he drew upon his varied experiences for four Western tales contributed to *The Critic* in 1828, including "The Rifle" and "The Squatter," tales illustrative of the dangers of circumstantial evidence. These and his subsequent works in the thirties appeared under the titles, *Tales and Sketches, Naval Stories* (including "The Encounter," "A Night at Gibraltar," "The Mess-Chest," and "Brought to the Gang-way"), and *Sketches of Sea Life.* Leggett was one of the authors of the *Tales of the Glauber Spa.*

c. Foremost in the Western tradition after Hall was **Charles Fenno Hoffman,** in *Wild Scenes in the Forest and Prairie* (1839), with such well-known selections as "The Last Arrow," "The Ghost Riders," and "The Missionary Bride." Hoffman, as editor of the *Knickerbocker* during this decade, gave special encouragement to Western writers.

d. Other Western authors were **Albert Pike** (*Prose Sketches*), **Chandler Robbins Gilman** (*Legends of a Log Cabin,* dedicated to C. F. Hoffman), **Alphonse Whetmore** (*Gazetteer of the State of Missouri*), and **Benjamin Drake** (*Tales and Sketches of the Queen City*).

5. Lady's Book contributors and other favorites of the decade.

a. Darling of the tribe among women readers was **N. P. Willis.** An indication of his rapid rise may be seen in the fact of Poe's quiz upon him. The thirties constituted the golden period in his life; during these years he captured the imagination of his generation and kept himself silhouetted upon the literary horizon. He was also the sensational travel-book writer of the decade. Occasionally in *Inklings of Adventure* (1836) such stories as "The Cherokee's Threat" and "Pedlar Karl" achieve a type of identity, but more frequently the travel sketch is the truly classifying term. Willis frequently extended so greatly his sketching of places visited that he lost sight of his narrative purpose, as in "Lake Ontario." Sentimentalism, however, is never absent.

b. **Delia Salter Bacon** is chiefly remembered today for having won over Poe in a prize competition. The story, "Love's Martyr," was submitted to the *Philadelphia Saturday Courier.* Her stories, like those of Stone, show the confusion between the tale and short story that was all too prevalent in the thirties. *Tales of the Puritans* (1831) is her sole volume contribution.

c. **Catherine Maria Sedgwick,** chiefly important as a novelist, collected under the title of *Tales and Sketches* (1835) the stories she had contributed to the *Atlantic Souvenir, The Legendary, The Token,* and

other annuals. These stories are scarcely readable today, but they gave her a great reputation in her lifetime. Contributions almost always bore her name as mark of her high standing.

d. **Eliza Leslie** wrote stories above the average in the gift-book era. She was a steady contributor to *Godey's,* though her popularity in the thirties depended upon her three collections of *Pencil Sketches* from 1833 to 1837.

e. **Richard Penn Smith** won a wide audience by *The Actress of Padua and Other Tales* (1836).

f. **William Leete Stone,** in despair at the "cover" popularity of the annuals, collected from them his tales and legends in a two-volume publication of 1834.

6. Summary of outstanding achievements (from the *Dial,* 1898):

> When this decade came to its close, the "Twice-Told Tales," first collected three years before, had shown the existence of a hitherto unexampled artistic force in American letters, the 'Hyperion' of the year just preceding had given our public a faint but charming reflection of the romantic movement in Germany, while Poe's "Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque" made the year 1839 a landmark in the history of our fiction.

VIII. ORATORY.

Since there was no anniversary nor occurrence of public interest—including the passing of such distinguished individuals as Lafayette, Putnam, Scott—that was unaccompanied by oratorical exertions, it is small wonder that the output of orations was great. Speeches such as Everett's and Webster's were reprinted in newspapers and widely commented upon. Everett in the decade was highly regarded for his oratory, though he aroused some carping criticism.

A. The triumvirate in the Senate were the cynosure of all eyes. "**Calhoun** engaged the attention of the philosophers, **Webster** the ear of the lawyers, and **Clay** the sympathies of the people." Everett, who is not to be regarded as a political orator, remarked: "Calhoun, Clay, Webster! I name them in alphabetical order. What other precedence can be assigned them?" All three were aspirants to the presidency but did not let political advancement stand in the way of principle. The first opportunity for the oratorical flourishes of Calhoun and Webster was during the nullification controversy which Webster treated under the phrase, "the Constitution not a compact between sovereign States." Calhoun's position is well known. They clashed again on the subject of abolition in the District of Columbia. Meanwhile they joined in challenging "The Removal of the Deposits" (1834), in answering "The Presidential Protest" (1834), and in censuring the "Spoils System" (1835). Calhoun about this time delivered several long speeches on the Vermont Memorials in an attempt to bring about the repeal of the Force Bill. Calhoun, Webster, and Clay had an oratorical contest in 1838 over the sub-Treasury Bill, with Webster and Clay arrayed against Calhoun. Thus during the decade these three men held the center of the stage.

B. The rise of the Lyceum.

One of the marked changes from 1830 to 1839 in the American cultural scene was the expansion of the Lyceum, which gave an audience to many publicists who, with their masterful command of the spoken word, might not otherwise have found a forum. Here was a new medium for the expression of ideas, a medium which demanded superlative performance.

IX. The West in Travel and Retrospect.

A. **Flint's** *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* came out in 1826, but it was in the decade following that the bulk of such writing appeared. **James Hall's** *Sketches of the History, Life, and Manners in the West* (1835) was his second volume dealing with such material. **H. J. Brackenridge** had produced a similar volume the year before—*Recollections of Persons and Places in the West.* More famous was **Charles Fenno Hoffman's** *A Winter in the Far West* (1835).

B. Irving turned to the West.

Had **Irving** written nothing new, his readers would have gone on reading and re-reading his *Sketch Book* because of his light, buoyant, and graceful manner in the vein of eighteenth-century prose. His *Alhambra,* romantic masterpiece, came before the public in 1832. All of his better known works, including *The Conquest of Granada* and the mock-heroic *A History of New York,* were brought out in three editions each during the thirties (besides the collected series in 1836). These were appreciated for their geniality; their author was praised for his refinement and extensive reading, his susceptibility of impression to objects about him, and for his power of detecting the ludicrous.

But so restless a literary spirit as Irving could not stop in mid-career, even if his European peregrinations were over. He soon interested himself in illustration of subjects connected with the history of America. His *Tour of the Prairies* was written at a time when the work of Flint and Hall had turned readers to the West, and was extensively read not only because travel and Western literature were in great demand, but also because Irving's reputation as a literary wanderer heightened expectation. His *Astoria,* extolling the career and exploits of John Jacob Astor, was the first of heroic biographies of financial buccaneers, though its celebration of predatory acquisitiveness was more attuned to the temper of the thirties than to that of our present world, when it would be stigmatized as truckling hack work. Feebler was *Captain Bonneville,* once glanced at for its frontier material, its glimpses into the character of the Western Indians, and for its diverting episodes, at once colorful and varied. If these works were ungreeted by the excessive applause that attended Irving's earlier productions, it is probably true that anything he wrote would assuredly have evoked a circle of admirers: in that sentimental and gift-book era none could withstand his genial style nor resist the romantic mood his works induced. But it is not on the basis of his books of Western adventure that he lives, although he was shrewd enough to capitalize on the current popularity of frontier materials. Even his

reputation founded upon his earlier exertions has dimmed to a quiet, sunset glow.

X. The Flourishing of the Annuals.

The annual was a highly ornamented, fancy leather publication, richly bound, superbly printed, graced with poetry and copper-plates, fit decoration for the boudoir, abounding in all varieties of sentiments of the inamorato vein. It was designed for the gift-giving public, and for their convenience was issued two or three months in advance of the holiday season. The lover of the thirties, no longer limited to "the rival merits of Young's Night Thoughts, Zimmerman's Solitude, Gregory's Letters, Milton, Thomson, Gay's Fables . . . ," found in any annual that he picked up the "select thoughts" of twenty poets or essayists and was only confused by the multiplicity of offerings before him. The annuals made their American appearance in 1826, and reached the maximum in quantity in 1845. The height in influence and quality, however, was attained by 1835. They were edited by almost all the prominent literary men and numbered among contributors Bryant, Hawthorne, Poe, Sedgwick, Willis, Mrs. Child, Leggett, Hall, Simms, Longfellow. As an institution they (1) gave outlet for writing to timid and aspiring literary men, (2) provided financial return for authors who could not afford to write for fame alone, (3) helped build up a national literature, (4) made possible the growth of the magazines. Most famous of American annuals during the decade were *The Talisman, The Token, Atlantic Souvenir, The Religious Souvenir, The Pearl, The Boston Book, Youth's Keepsake* and *The Lily.* A complete set of these constitutes a considerable chapter in American literature. In these annuals the editors practically drew their material from American authors. Their titles were colorful, hinting sometimes—as in Gifts, Tokens, Souvenirs, Keepsakes—the gift-book aspect, or suggesting the store allegedly set by them in a name from a gem, flower, or evanescent object of nature, such as *Garland, Magnolia, Morning Glory, Opal,* and *Pearl.*

Not all writers were agreed upon the real literary role played by the annuals. Almost all were certain that they were looked at rather than read, and one editor of a volume or two, W. H. Herbert, voiced doubt as to the permanence of the annual as a literary repository: "It is perhaps well enough for Allan Cunningham and Leitch Ritchie, *'et hoc genus omne,'* who, although clearly possessed of some talent, will as clearly perish like the ephemerae whom the premature heat of an unseasonable day has forced into existence, to be frozen on the morrow." Premonitions such as these led others, Stone and Simms, to rescue their work from the annuals, lest they prove literary graveyards.

XI. The Rise of *Godey's Lady's Book:* Magazine Companion of the Annuals.

Godey's came, as an evolution, from the Philadelphia periodical center. It had in it the feminine appeal—everything that a lady wanted in a magazine: poetry, stories, songs, fashion plates, and all. Godey summoned a New England lady to edit it, **Sarah Josepha Hale.** This brought a New England clientele and an irreproachable moral character. It was found on every table.

XII. Arrival of the Tribe of "Funny" Men.

A. The first of these, "Jack Downing," came from "down east" in Maine and carted with him a load of axe-handles. Critic of manners and political life, he caught the popular fancy and brought about, by pointed humor, what the bludgeon of the party boss could never achieve. **Seba Smith** thus started the tradition of the illiterate and naïvely humorous character. He was quickly imitated in **Charles A. Davis's** *Letters of Jack Downing* (1834).

B. The "Autobiography" of **Davy Crockett** (*A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett. Written by Himself,* 1834), which advances him as a prodigious bear-hunter and campaigning Congressman, was not without indebtedness to Smith in its more naïve passages and touches of drollery. The tradition of ignorance was continued. With its yarns and oral tales, interspersed with frequent episodes, the Mike Fink humor of Crockett was racily and convincingly Western; the account of Crockett glimpsed the backwoods life and built up a myth of the rawness and resourcefulness of the transappalachian settlers. The alleged autobiography of 1834 was stimulated in large measure by the work of a Whig propagandist responsible for the *Sketches and Eccentricities of Col. David Crockett* (1833, but 12 editions in the next seven years), in which Crockett was introduced as "fresh from the backwoods, half-horse, half-alligator, a little touched with the snapping-turtle" and as boasting that he "can wade the Mississippi, leap the Ohio, ride upon a streak of lightning, and slip without a scratch down a honey locust; can whip [his] weight in wild-cats—and if any gentleman pleases, for a ten-dollar bill, he may throw in a panther—hug a bear too close for comfort, and eat any man opposed to Jackson."

C. Humorous descriptions of the vagrom and rough-and-tumble frontier in the *Georgia Scenes* (1835) of **A. B. Longstreet** make it one of the most distinctive volumes of the South, and the first in a definite literary tradition. Advertised as "By a *Native* Georgian," the book sought to give diverting and somewhat realistic touches of life and character; balls, fights, horse-swaps, gander-pullings, turn-outs, and other Georgia happenings, from plantations to piney-woods sections, afforded the subject matter for provincial, wholly local tales. The manner ranged from that of Irving's sketches to the oral anecdote.

D. **Joseph Clay Neal,** unlike the others, found his humor in urban centers, as in *Charcoal Sketches* (1837), which were reprinted in the Peterson series in the next two decades.

E. **Henry Junius Nott's** *Novelettes of a Traveller, or Odds and Ends from the Knapsack of Thomas Singularity, Journeyman Printer* (1834) contained seven humorous sketches, the best of which was "The Dwarf's Duel." The decade of humor following his work pretty effectively buried all claim his volumes might have had to being funny.

F. Other humorists of the decade who published in the *Spirit of the Times* and elsewhere were Captain Martin Scott, Albert Pike, M. C. Field, Col. Mason, Col. C. F. M. Noland, General Gibson.

XIII. Resurgence of Drama in Philadelphia.

The thirties inaugurated the romantic play. The decade was an important one in the history of American drama, and much real genius was devoted to this literary form.

A. **Richard Penn Smith** produced a series of superior plays which brought home to American audiences the romantic tragedy which was to find even greater expression in the work of Bird. Smith's *The Deformed, Caius Marius,* and *The Actress of Padua* were his triumphs in this form.

B. Possessing a keen understanding of romantic tragedy, **Bird** wrote plays which mark a distinct forward movement in American drama. He was a tireless and painstaking workman, and skilled in the creation of towering characters who seem to control the action. He achieved pathos without sentimentality. His most notable success was a romantic tragedy, *The Broker of Bogota,* which was probably the outstanding achievement in the form before Boker. Distinctive pieces from his hand included also a series of heroic plays: *The Gladiator* (widely popular as a stage play because of its high spirit and rhetorical speeches); *Pelopidas;* and *Oralloossa* (localized in Peru during the period of Spanish colonization).

C. **Conrad,** who followed Smith and Bird in skill and power, should also be considered. His most important play was an historical one, *Jack Cade.* This play, like Bird's, was democratic and American in feeling rather than in subject matter.

D. **N. P. Willis's** (New York) plays surpass in merit the anthology pieces by which he is known. His most famous are the two he published whimsically as "Two Ways to Die for a Husband": *Bianca Visconti* and *Tortesa the Usurer.* His works had a wide circulation despite their structural weaknesses.

E. *Velásco* was **Epes Sargent's** (Boston) famous play. This, like many novels and plays of the period, had a foreign setting and was similarly romantic. What dignity there was to the work came from the intensity of great passions depicted. *Velasco* enjoyed a high contemporary reputation.

F. **J. S. Jones** (Boston) produced five comedy plays during the decade, including *The Liberty Tree* (1832) and *Carpenter of Rouen* (1840).

G. **James Hillhouse's** poetic dramas were not stage pieces, but three of them were printed in his *Dramas, Discourses, and Other Pieces* in 1839. These included his *Demetria,* written in 1811 but revised in 1837, his *Percy's Masque* (first printed in 1820), and *Hadad,* the latter based on the Book of Tobit.

H. The thirties was the period when the Indian drama rose to its greatest popularity and probably most genuine success. Twenty such dramatic pieces were on the boards, including (among others not named in this account) *Miantanimoh, Lamorah, The Pioneers, Oronaska, The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish, Kairrissah, Outallissi, Pontiac, Pocahontas, Nick of the Woods,* and *Tippecanoe.*

I. Quinn cites as evidence of the strength of the democratic feeling in the thirties the themes selected by the best dramatists: "It was not accident

that Robert Montgomery Bird should take as his heroes Spartacus, the gladiator who rebelled against the tyranny of Rome, Pelopidas, the Theban who rebelled against the tyranny of Sparta, and Oralloossa, the Inca who revolted against the tyranny of Spain; that Richard Penn Smith should celebrate Caius Marius, the democratic leader of Rome; that Robert T. Conrad should select Jack Cade, the leader of the peasant revolt against the tyranny of the nobles of England; that John A. Stone should choose Metamora, the Indian chief who fought against the colonists for the liberty of his race."

XIV. Futile International Copyright Agitation.

Although Verplanck succeeded in getting a copyright bill through Congress in 1831, it did little more than extend the rights of an author an additional fourteen years and at the same time included the notorious foreign disqualification clause. American authors still felt their property rights oppressed, and soon closely argued works appeared on the subject. Two full-fledged volumes came from the press: **Philip Nicklin's** *Remarks on Literary Property* and **Neale's** *Copyright.* Numerous were periodical articles after Neal's *Yankee* articles in 1828: the most famous appeared in the *Knickerbocker* (Oct. 1835; Feb. and March 1837); the *New York Mirror* (Feb. 1837); the *Southern Literary Messenger* (Jan. 1837; April 1838; Jan. 1840); *North American Review* (Jan. 1837); *American Quarterly Review* (March 1837); *Gentleman's Magazine* (Sept. 1837); *The Plain Dealer* (Jan., Feb. 1837); the *Democratic Review* (Jan. 1838); and the *New York Review* (April 1839). The *American Monthly Magazine* published six articles from January to October, 1837. In February 1837, a petition was addressed to Congress by fifty-six of the most eminent British authors. Their appeal was backed up by a number of American authors, both parties relying upon the "liberality and justice" of the government. The bill passed only the Senate.

New hardships were felt by American authors after 1838 when England denied copyright to any book coming from a nation that did not reciprocate in protection. An American author could not gain any profitable remuneration in England and could hope, in turn, for little profit at home when English volumes of science and literature could be reprinted and sold without direct compensation to authors or cost of copyright. It was, under these circumstances, more profitable for publishers to pirate English works than to pay American writers. Thus many authors, Cooper, Paulding, and the rest, had to accept relatively small returns for their works, despite their tremendous popularity. Many publications meanwhile, like Willis's *Corsair* (1839), were established with the avowed purpose of pirating "the cream and spirit of everything that ventures to light in England, France, and Germany." Outraged spirits such as Cooper, Hillhouse, Simms, and others could only express their sentiments in discourses, magazine articles, and correspondence; and for many decades the agitation went on.

XV. Literary Anticipations and Companions of "The American Scholar."

A. **Longfellow,** writing in the *North American Review* for 1832 (in "Defence of Poesy"), pleaded for more national character in the writings of Ameri-

cans. This he felt they could achieve by writing "more naturally . . . from their own feelings and impressions, from the influence of what ought to be, caught by reading many books and imitating many models." The spirit of imitation abroad he reprehended and urged native writers to "throw their fetters off, to fathom the recesses of their own minds, and bring up rich pearls from the secret depths of thought." The same idea is apparent in his review of Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales* and in a chapter of *Kavanagh.*

B. **James Fenimore Cooper's** *Letter to His Countrymen* (1834) contained a declaration of literary and mental independence. "The practice of deferring to foreign opinion is dangerous to the institutions of the country." Cooper's message to his generation was substantially this (Spiller): "Learn to stand on your own feet and rely on the poise inherent in your free principles." The *Gleanings in Europe* (*England*) (1837), primarily a travel volume descriptive of Cooper's reactions to England, printed a second declaration on Cooper's part. He spoke in the preface of the "mental emancipation which alone can render the nation great, by raising its opinion to the level of its facts."

C. **Peter S. DuPonceau** (in *A Discourse on the Necessity and Means of Making Our Literature Independent of that of Great Britain*) commented: "The government is one of opinion, and the world does not contain a set of political maxims, or of social views, more dangerous to its permanency, than those which characterize the greater part of the literature of the country from which we import our books."

D. A series of articles on "American Literature" in the *Knickerbocker Magazine* for 1835 took up the theme. The first reprehended the American devotion to foreign models in literature: "We seem to have exhausted our independence in resisting the Stamp Act, for we receive every other stamp with a most exemplary submission." The second number took up the subject more directly with definite exhortations:

1. In the light of foreign abuse, every American writer "should infuse into his work more or less of the spirit of patriotism."
2. "A decided leaning towards our country ought to be the distinguishing characteristic of the writings of every native," especially in the matter of national character and social principles.
3. Imitation of foreign works leads to an imitation of foreign manners, and thus socially wars against democratic institutions.
4. The love of country, not exclusive or bigoted, is "the great basis on which a national literature is to be erected."

In conclusion the author assailed the foreign eclecticism of American periodicals.

E. **James Hillhouse** in a discourse (April 1836) before the Brooklyn Lyceum ("On the Relations of Literature to a Republican Government") sought to show that the "highest intellectual attainment can coexist with republican equality." He adverted to the passion for politics and the love of money as the crowning defects in American life, but for the all too

marked *excess of liberty* he felt there was hope in the discipline of literature. "Instructed Reason is the necessary conservator of free institutions."

F. Two articles in the *Western Monthly Magazine* for 1834 attacked English literature, especially of a popular variety, for its pernicious influence upon American writers and its silent corruption of the American press.

G. **Verplanck's** *The American Scholar* (1836) was also a plea for mental self-reliance. He pointed out to the scholar the dangers of materialism, excessive ambition, subserviency to foreign scholarship. His address was in the main optimistic, but he was not blind to the fact that the American student was "familiarized from youth with the glories and beauties of European literature," and "early fired to imitate or to rival its excellence," though the exploits and projects he forms be incongruous with the state and taste of his country. He reprehended the imitativeness of American genius, pointing in particular to Joseph Dennie as a man who confounded imitation and creation.

H. The most familiar utterance of the decade was **Emerson's** *American Scholar* (1837), and to him, no more than to the others, the American people gave attention. Emerson's essay was not as his Massachusetts contemporary, Holmes, called it, our literary Declaration of Independence. If such a declaration could be made by a solitary individual, it had been inscribed a score of times. It was the first and probably finest expression of Emerson's enunciation of the problem of genius in his grappling with traditionalism, with the dictates of the crowd and commercialism, and even more broadly, with the epistemological problem of the relation of the individual to truth, which is wide as Nature and unending as eternity.

I. **Robert Bartlett** of Plymouth, in an M.A. oration of 1839, queried: "Is everything so sterile and pygmy here in New England, that we must all, writers and readers, be forever replenishing ourselves with the mighty wonders of the Old World?" He said further: "We are looking abroad and back after a Literature. Let us come and live, and know in living a high philosophy and faith; so shall we find now, here, the elements, and in our own good souls the fire. Of every storied bay and cliff and plain, we will make something infinitely nobler than Salamis or Marathon."

J. In a long editorial in 1839, **W. C. Bryant** discoursed on American "Sensitiveness to Foreign Opinion" with a view to rousing American freedom from the plaudits or censure of overseas critics.

K. **Alexander H. Everett** appended to a lecture (1839) on the influence of German letters an earnest plea for national literature in the United States.

L. At the same time there was considerable analysis of the obstacles to American Literature (see a series in the *Knickerbocker* in 1835, and another in the *Boston Pearl*) and citation of the reasons for American indifference to native productions (*vide Western Monthly Magazine,* 1833–37).

XVI. History and Biography.

A. Mather's *Magnalia* was rediscovered in this decade. Especially in New England the historical imagination, quickened by Scott's romances, had

begun to turn to the past for legends. It also discovered glimpses of a glorious past in such volumes as Mather's.

B. **Bancroft** began his history in 1834. The first volume was in a rather oratorical style, one much demanded in the self-conscious days of Andrew Jackson; but such unnecessary exuberance did not survive the revision of more restrained days.

C. **William Hickling Prescott** not only surprised his contemporaries but produced permanently valuable work in *The Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella,* a volume reproducing the atmosphere of the times it portrayed. Its brilliant color, its glamorous pageantry, its well-planned, well-constructed narrative commended this volume to hosts of readers. The author, thoroughly grounded in the historical method, was the master of a readable style.

D. In the 1830's three Washington items appeared. **Sparks** brought out the complete edition of the *Letters and Papers of Washington,* the first volume of which was a *Life* of George Washington. **Paulding** contributed a two-volume work, which presented Washington as the boy, the man, the husband, and the Christian. Paulding's edition appeared in 1835 and was reprinted in 1836 and 1839. In the same year in which Paulding's work was issued a Latin Life appeared which, *mirabile dictu,* was in its second edition within a year. **S. G. Goodrich** brought out a *George Washington* for schools, "illustrated by tales, sketches, and anecdotes." In this decade the seventh edition of Ramsay's *Life* was being read though it was almost swamped by its rivals.

E. In 1834 a series of American biographies, issued under the editorial direction of **Jared Sparks,** began to appear and by 1840 had reached a total of ten volumes, with one to three biographies per volume. Sparks was the first professor of history in America. In this series he began a "pantheon of American heroes," a list which in six years included Armstrong's *Anthony Wayne,* Bowan's *Baron Steuben,* Peabody's *Cotton Mather,* Renwick's *Rittenhouse,* Hillard's *Captain John Smith,* Sparks's *Ethan Allen,* Miller's *Jonathan Edwards,* and thirteen others. The editor aimed at a biographical series which would attain accuracy in fact and finish in literary execution, but the volumes are interesting today chiefly as marking the beginning in America of an interesting literary form. None of the biographies can be regarded as definitive. The series was reissued under a Harper imprint in 1853.

XVII. The Rise of the Magazine.

In the mid-decade there were in America six quarterlies, two bi-monthlies, twenty-two monthly magazines, and about ten semi-monthlies.

A page from a magazine of the times gives a summary of the typical contents of a current periodical: "You sit down after tea with the last number of the * * * * and find at the beginning a long article upon a subject which, as the writer says, 'cannot be examined too closely, nor meditated too profoundly'; anon you have an essay on the 'Beautiful,' turn over; 'The Bloody Bodkin,' turn over; 'to ——,' turn over, sir; 'On the Genius of Milton,' turn over; 'Parallel be-

tween Byron and Scott,' for heaven's sake turn over, sir; 'Verses suggested by the burning of Moscow,' 'Lafayette,' 'Hope and Fear, an Allegory,' 'The Bandit's Grandfather,' 'Time,' 'Thoughts on Bonaparte' . . ."

A. *The Southern Review* died after two years of the decade had passed. The *Southern Quarterly Review,* its remote successor, wrote its obituary:

> *The Southern Review* was, at its commencement, under the editorial control of that profound and elegant scholar, and fine writer, the late Stephen Elliott, LL.D. Upon his death the work passed into the hands of his talented son, Stephen Elliott . . . a gentleman . . . admired for his rare attainments. Mr. Legaré finally took charge of the work, and while under his management it fully sustained the high reputation it had already attained. Among its principal contributors were Dr. Cooper, Professor Henry, Professor Nott, Professor Wallace, Mr. Grimké, General Hayne, General Hamilton, and Mr. Turnbull, constituting a galaxy of literary luminaries of the first magnitude, besides other writers of approved scholarship and eminent attainments.

B. The *Ladies' Magazine,* which had begun under the aegis of **Sarah Josepha Hale** in 1828, continued for seven years its specialized appeal. In 1836 it combined with *Godey's Lady's Book*. Devoted to the cause of the "mental, moral, and religious improvement of Women," it aimed to "inculcate all womanly virtues and found the influence of the sex upon the moral elevation of feeling and a deep sense of religious duty." In fulfilment of this objective, it offered in 1835 alone six articles: "Influence of Females," "End and Aim of the Present System of Female Education," "Formation of Domestic Habits," "Female Character," "Woman's Sphere," and "Incorporate Female Seminaries." In Volume VI it announced that for six years past it had numbered "almost all the distinguished literary ladies of our own country: Sigourney, Sedgwick, Gilman, Embury, Smith (author of 'A Winter in Washington'), Child, Gould, Wells, Willard, Phelps, Locke, and others who have preferred to remain incognito, but whose writings are not among the undistinguished."

C. The *Knickerbocker Magazine* purposed to provide instructive and entertaining reading, especially of a native order, "to mingle erudition with wit." In the first two and a half years the circulation grew from 500 to more than 4,000. For entertaining features it afforded popular series—such as Ollopodiana, Loaferiana, the Country Schoolmaster—Travel Sketches, Domestic Tales, Sea Tales, stories of pathos and humor, and poetry. For solid and useful aspects it provided discussions on literature, eloquence, antiquities, copyright, historical sketches, botany, astronomy, natural science, miracles, philology, philosophy, etc., etc. The review and editorial sections were rich and full. The contributors of articles, of tales and sketches, really constituted a list of leading American literary persons during the period, numbering about forty for each division. The magazine comprised about 1,200 pages per annum, almost entirely original. At the close of the decade it was the oldest literary monthly, "a reputation it possessed though it had not passed its eighth birthday by 1839."

D. The *New England Magazine* was established in 1831 by **J. T.** and **E. Buckingham** and ran a distinguished career until 1836, when it was merged with the *American Monthly Magazine.* Literary topics were chiefly featured. There was a series of Literary Portraits, including Halleck, Bryant, Percival, Sprague, Gould; a number of travel series from Europe, such as "Americans in Italy," "Scenes in Europe," etc.; and essay series such as the Limping Philosopher, the Idler, and the Story Teller. "My Books" and Longfellow's "The Schoolmaster" were the most distinguished. Famous contributors included O. W. Holmes, J. W. Francis, and Mathew Carey.

E. The *Southern Literary Messenger* was founded by **Thomas W. White** who served as editor from 1837 to 1843, but who was early assisted by **J. E. Heath** (nine months) and Edgar Allan Poe (twelve months). While the magazine was Southern in interest, it was representative of American literature, and its columns were open to contributors from every section of the country. Longfellow, Adams, Marshall contributed, as did Poe, Tucker, Longstreet. It was self-styled "the first attempt to establish a literary periodical south of the Potomac." It aimed at a pleasing variety and achieved a wide catholicity of taste. Of its political interests the *Southern Quarterly Review* remarked:

> It has indulged, more or less, in political speculation, nor could it have done otherwise, considering the character of the spot from which it emanated, and the influences by which its writers are from their infancy surrounded. Virginians are a race of politicians, born so, educated such, feeling, each man for himself, that he has a deep interest in his country and in his country's laws and institutions; nor is it probable that any work, professedly literary, would thrive in that region unless politics, the analysis of government and laws, and of state affairs, . . . were to have a considerable place in it.

F. The *New York Review,* which began in 1837, was not one of the distinguished magazines of the period, but it conducted an excellent review column. Though Episcopalian in origin, it was not restricted to the ecclesiastical. Here were articles on philology and the philosophy of language, on internal improvements, on trade unions, acoustics, and civil law. But to the student of literature it made the fullest appeal, with extended notices of older seventeenth- and eighteenth-century figures such as Giles Fletcher, George Herbert, Chatterton, Goldsmith, Crabbe, Lessing, and even fuller notices of such contemporaries as Carlyle, Lockhart, Mrs. Hemans, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Bulwer, Prescott, Cooper, Longfellow, and Keble.

G. The *Western Monthly Magazine* ran a brief but brilliant career from 1833 to 1837 under the editorship of **James Hall.** It could proclaim in one of its last issues: "Notwithstanding the devotion of Ohio to pork, railroads, and banks, and of Kentucky to tobacco, hemp, and stock, we are doing a pretty fair business out here in the literary line." The extended reviews demonstrated a lively literary interest. As for its Western pretensions, these were borne up by articles on Internal Improvement, Western Steamboats, First

Settlers, Trade, Geological Features of Ohio, Sketches of Kentucky, Daniel Boone, Emigration, etc.

H. The *Western Messenger* ran from 1835 to 1841. Though published by the Western Unitarian Society, it became a literary organ for the expression of occasional Western ideas and materials. Its Unitarianism was apparent in the list of contributors: Mann Butler, R. W. Emerson, Elizabeth Peabody, Jones Very, James Freeman Clark, Dr. Lyman Beecher, Calvin E. Stowe, Margaret Fuller. It was the Cincinnati counterpart of the *Christian Examiner* and in some ways the anticipation for the *Dial* of the next decade.

CHAPTER X

THE ADVENTUROUS FORTIES

I. The Political Scene.

Among the events of the decade that drew public attention and kept life from paralyzing calm were the controversies at the nation's extremities: in the Northeast the Maine-New Brunswick boundary dispute, which was peaceably settled by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty; in the Southwest, the controversy over Texas; defeated in the Senate in 1844, the annexation of Texas became assured after the election of Polk with his expansionist policy. Meanwhile the Oregon question also loomed large, and the westward movement went on, resulting in the famed exodus of the Argonauts of '49, seeking gold and adventure.

II. Leading Works of the Decade.

1841 Cooper, *The Deerslayer;* Emerson, *Essays,* first series; Longfellow, *Ballads and Other Poems; New York Tribune* established.

1842 Hawthorne, *Twice-Told Tales;* Longfellow, *Poems on Slavery.*

1843 Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico;* Webster, "Second Bunker Hill Oration"; Whittier, *Lays of My Home.*

1844 Emerson, *Essays,* second series; Margaret Fuller, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century.*

1845 Poe, *The Raven and Other Poems.*

1846 Emerson, *Poems;* Hawthorne, *Mosses from an Old Manse;* Melville, *Typee;* Whittier, *Voices of Freedom.*

1847 Cooper, *The Crater;* Longfellow, *Evangeline;* Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru.*

1848 Lowell, *Biglow Papers,* first series; *A Fable for Critics; The Vision of Sir Launfal.*

1849 Parkman, *The Oregon Trail;* Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers;* Melville, *Mardi.*

1850 Emerson, *Representative Men;* Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter;* Whipple, *Literature and Life.*

III. The Literary Scene.

A. Continuance of international copyright publicity.

1. Periodical flourishes were noticeable in several journals of opinion: Controversy broke out in 1843 in the columns of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review.*

J. R. Eakin took the negative side of the question of literary property in the *Western Literary Journal* for 1845, and was spiritedly answered by **E. P. Norton;** and throughout the decade the *Southern Literary Messenger* kept up the fight for the "Rights of Authors."

2. **George Ticknor** pointed to Scott as an author who would have been greatly benefited by an international copyright (especially after the failure of the Ballantynes).

B. Charles Dickens and his survey of America.

The first visit of **Dickens** to America was made in 1842. Everywhere he was the "literary guest of the nation" and everywhere he was feted to weariness. Upon his return to England he wrote his *American Notes,* which raised a great storm on this side of the ocean. "The first copy reached New York on the steamer *Great Western,* at six o'clock on the afternoon of Sunday, November 6. In nineteen hours the *New York Herald* had the whole book reprinted. Fifty thousand copies were sold in the city alone during the next two days, while in Philadelphia the first consignment of three thousand copies was disposed of in half an hour." The furor caused by the book was general throughout the United States. The excitement was repeated the following year when *Martin Chuzzlewit,* eagerly awaited, came off the press. The satire on Western land fever, speculation and mendacity, American boardinghouses, and literary receptions made the book a sensation. Dickens's idea of misrepresentation, clearly apparent in the published *American Notes* as well as in his novel, was anticipated in the remarks of the elder Weller to Samuel (in *Pickwick*): "Have a passage ready taken for 'Merriker. Let the gov'ner stop there till Mrs. Bardell's dead, and then let him come back and write a book about the 'Merrikens as 'll pay his expenses, and more, if he blows 'em up enough."

C. The revival of interest in the Indian.

The raging controversy about the Cherokees from 1827 to 1833, the Black Hawk War (1831–32), a decade of Indian removals (Shawnees, Ottawas, Wyandots, Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles), Seminole troubles from 1835 to 1842, and ninety-four Indian treaties (mostly of cession) between 1829 and 1837, focused attention on the Indians, their hunter civilization, and their inevitable westward movement. Equally responsible for the stimulus which the Indian theme received in literature was the appearance of several historical, legendary, and philological volumes, such as Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches* and books by Catlin, Bradford, Goodrich, Drake, and others.

This revival was stimulated by the presidential candidacy of William Henry Harrison, who, as an old veteran of the frontier, turned national enthusiasts to a consideration of the glories of the Indian Wars and the Indian chieftains connected with them. Thus there was a reawakened interest in Indian life, customs, and eloquence, in heroic figures of the border, such as Tecumseh, and in the beauty of American scenes.

1. Fictional employment of the aborigines.

a. **Cooper** came back in 1840 to the material of his early successes with *The Pathfinder,* a novel projected against the background of the French and Indian War with action centered near Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario in 1760. *The Deerslayer,* the last of the "Leather-

Stocking Tales" to be written, must be counted high among Cooper's achievements. It is the most romantic of his narratives, both in its fictitious action and in its idealization of character. The scenery was utterly familiar to Cooper. Localized in the Otsego Lake region, the story gave him opportunity to employ both his land and sea technique in its composition. Cooper's defense of his portrayal of Indians is to be found in the preface of this novel.

Wyandotté relates a siege of the hut and features the titular character who combines all the good and bad qualities to be found in the Indian touched by civilization. The author aimed to show "the evil and pernicious aspects of the American Revolution." In *Satanstoe,* the first of the Anti-Rent Novels, Cooper upheld the sanctity of title at a time when such a stand meant defense of inherited tenure of large sections of land against squatter seizure. Although historical material is neglected, except for a blockhouse attack and the defeat of Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, the book has social interest in the description of the region about Albany in the mid-eighteenth century. It did little to advance the purely controversial material that loomed large in the last two books of the trilogy. *Satanstoe* is one of the best novels Cooper ever wrote.

The Oak Openings returned to Cooper's favorite formula of the chase. It is a story of fugitives seemingly entrapped at the opening of the War of 1812 among Indian tribes of central Michigan, and the vicissitudes of their escape; also the story of the conversion of Scalping Peter, a fictional parallel to Elkswatawa, from inveterate hatred of the whites to Christian love of peace.

b. There appeared in 1840 **Hoffman's** *Greyslaer,* a mild historical novel of "The Valley" during the Revolution with the usual gallery of Whig and Tory protagonists. It went through four editions in its first decade. Griswold remarked that it "gives a truer idea of the border contests of the Revolution than any formal history of the period that has been published."

c. Several unimportant volumes by **P. Hamilton Myers** were consumed by the public, a reception predictive of Myers's success in "Beadle and Adams" jackets.

2. Metrical romances of Indian life.

a. In the field of poetry the revival was especially marked by the appearance of the famous *Powhatan,* by **Seba Smith,** and the Pocahontas poems of **L. H. Sigourney** (1841), **Mrs. M. M. Webster** (1840), and **William Watson Waldron** (1841).

b. Other metrical romances were: *Tecumseh,* by **G. H. Colton** (featuring the battles of the Wabash and the Thames and the great league of Tecumseh)—best of the longer metrical romances and undeservedly neglected; *Ensinore,* by **P. H. Myers** (a maiden's capture and recapture on the Mohawk); *The Forest Rangers,* by **Andrew Coffinberry** (commemorating border strife of the West in 1794); *Yonnondio,*

by **W. H. Hosmer** (affording glimpses of the past in the Genesee region after the pattern of Walter Scott); *Alhalla,* by **Schoolcraft;** *Vigil of Faith,* by **Hoffman** (one of a series of poetic tales of the Hudson); *Tewinissa,* by **J. M. Janney;** *Ni-nah-min* (contributed to *Graham's Magazine*); *Legends of Montauk,* by **Ayres; E. H. Smith's** *Black Hawk; Maintonomah,* by **S. A. Barrett;** *Frontenac,* by **A. B. Street**—all narrative predecessors of Longfellow's *Hiawatha,* all bulky in composition and romantic in temper. Schoolcraft in *Onéota,* commenting on the work of Mrs. Oakes-Smith and C. F. Hoffman, spoke of the "tendency of the public taste to avail itself of the American mythology as a basis for the exhibition of 'new lines of fictional creations.'"

D. The triumph of the anthology.

The anthology had been established among American bookbuyers before the forties, the years from 1823 to 1830 having yielded minor poetic and prose collections, and the late thirties having witnessed the rise of the "localized anthology," the Boston and Philadelphia, the New York and Baltimore books. Moreover, the popularity of the gift-book and of weekly periodicals featuring short pieces prepared the way for a deluge of anthologies in the forties.

1. The activity of Rufus Griswold.

   Indefatigable popularizer of literature, **Rufus Griswold** appeared before the public of the forties as the editor of eight stout volumes, seven of which were anthologies of verse: *Poets and Poetry of America* (1842, ten large editions by 1848); *The Poetry of Love* (Philadelphia, 1844; Boston, 1846; New York, 1848); *The Poets and Poetry of England* (1845); *Gems from American Female Poets* (1844); *Readings in American Poetry* (1843); *The Sacred Poets of England and America* (1849); *The Poetry of the Sentiments* (1846); *The Female Poets of America* (1849, two editions).

2. Selections from Germany.

   Interest in German literature was apparent in such anthologies as Hedge's Selections of the *Prose Writers of Germany* (1848, followed six years later by Baskerville's *Poetry of Germany*), Menzel's *Specimens of German Literature* (tr. by C. C. Felton, 1840), Austin's *Fragments from German Prose Writers* (1841), Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe* (1845), and four volumes of George Ripley's fourteen-volume series of *Specimens of Foreign Literature.*

3. Miscellaneous volumes.

   Other compilers of anthologies during the period included Bryant, *Selections from American Poets* (1840), Morris, *American Melodies* (1840), Keese, *Poets of America* (1840; 1842), Gallegher, *Poetical Literature of the West* (1841), Cheever, *Poets of America* (1847), Reed, *Female Poets of America* (1848), and Caroline May, *American Female Poets* (1848).

IV. Fiction. (See above for Indian fiction.)

A. Out of the sea.

1. **Dana's** *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840), the one noted book of this author, a narrative of his cruise to California for his health, has been termed "one of the best boys' books in literature." The story gives an imperishable picture of the life of the common sailor in the old days, for it is an actual transcript of real events.
2. **James Fenimore Cooper,** after a somewhat sterile period in the thirties, came back to the novel with fourteen titles. In 1839 he published his *History of the Navy of the United States* and followed it with a series of sea novels, some of which, like the earlier *Water Witch* (1830), were undisguised glorifications of American shipbuilding skill and American seamanship: *The Two Admirals* (1842), *Wing-and-Wing* (1842), *Afloat and Ashore* (1844), *The Crater* (1847), *Jack Tier* (1848), *Sea Lions* (1849). In these volumes Cooper again displayed his skill in the description of storms and battles at sea, and in imparting the feelings of the common sailor.
3. The briskest breeze of the forties was that sweeping in from the South Seas. **Herman Melville,** incurable wanderer in worlds both real and imaginary, gave romantic descriptions of native life on Pacific islands and set American imaginations stirring with the exotic delights of tropic existence. *Typee* (1846), the first of the series, is a romance of the life led by the author during a four months' residence among the natives of the valley of the Typees on the island of Nukuheva, one of the Marquesas. It presents a contrast between the barbarity of ship-life and the idyllic life of the barbarian, between that of civilized man and that of a land without money. In this book he lauded the South Sea Islands and the humanity of the Polynesians, but though he held up the glories of that existence as challenge to current American assumptions, it is significant that he would not remain there. *Omoo* (Polynesian word for "rover") (1847) continues in Tahiti and Imeeo: it treats of consuls, mutinous sailors, half-Christianized natives, beachcombers, pagan dancers, and other romantic ingredients, with satirical jibes at habits and institutions of the world that have somehow established themselves. In 1849 appeared *Redburn,* which chronicles the author's life on his earliest voyage to Liverpool. The next year he published *White Jacket,* the record of his life on board the frigate *United States* and an allegory of the civilized world. Also of the forties, but only partially real sea experience, is Melville's allegory of the world, *Mardi* (1849). (For discussion see VIII, c, 3 below.) Not within the decade but a culmination of his interest in the sea and its romantic life is the epic of the whaling industry, *Moby Dick* (1851). "This is a strange mixture of adventure and philosophy, of realism and fantasy, invested with the poetic coloring of romance." It is one of the greatest books in literature and the author's chief claim to immortality. (For more extended note see Chapter XI, Section x below.)

B. History and blood-pudding: Simms.

Simms's best work was done in the thirties and fifties, when he dealt with matters of the Revolution and the Settlement. During the forties, with the exception of his short stories in *Wigwam and Cabin* (1845), Simms became inartistically and almost hopelessly melodramatic. Witness his *Richard Hurdis* (1838), *Border Beagles* (1840), *The Kinsmen* (1841) *Beauchampe* (1842), and *Count Julian* (1845). These, excepting the last, deal with the frontier and display all the excesses of the sensational school.

C. Secondary novelists.

1. Most popular of the minor novelists was **D. P. Thompson,** whose *The Green Mountain Boys* (1839) and *May Martin* each went through some fifty editions.
2. **William Ware** concluded his series of Biblical romances by the publication of *Julian; or Scenes in Judea* (1841). This had been preceded by *Zenobia* (1837), in its eighth edition by 1850. Their elevated style and their blend of morality and fiction made these novels popular.
3. **Sylvester Judd's** *Margaret, A Tale of the Real and the Ideal, Blight and Bloom* (1845) was eagerly read especially by those who were repelled by the gloomy Old Testament theology of certain New England divines. Advancing brotherly love as the central doctrine in true religion and expounding by the "exemplum" method optimistic faith in the inherent goodness of mankind, it everywhere aroused discussion, particularly among those who still clung to a fierce Calvinism. The novel is the story of a "natural" who grew up largely unaffected by the influence of the village contiguous to her home, uncontaminated by the grosser features of home life, tutored partly by erudite Master Elliman and even more by the forest and pond. She arrived, through internal development, to a perfection of soul which the novelist devoted half of his 625 pages to describing. Her faith was "life-giving, noble, luminous, purifying."

D. Sentimental pieces.

After the rise of Dickens sentimentalism went to extremes. Although it is the fifties which are most frequently described as sentimental, yet the emotional tendencies were becoming cumulative through the forties in the gift-books and the feminine stories and poetry of the Embury-Sigourney school.

In the field of the novel there was much trash written, such as *Belle Martin, The Heiress; Diving Nell; The Fatal Feud;* and *Ellen.* This group was parodied by Herman Melville in *Mardi* (Chapter CXIII) when Babbalanja went down into the catacombs to see Oh-Oh's manuscripts: "King Kroko, and the Fisher Girl"; "The Fight at the Ford of Spears"; "The Devil Adrift, by Corsair"; "A Most Sweet, Pleasant, and Unctuous Account of the Manner in which Five-and-Forty Robbers were torn asunder by Swiftly-Going Canoes"; "The Belle"; "The King and the Cook, or the Cook and the King"; "Are You Safe?"; "A Voice from Below"; "Hope for None"; "Fire for All." For similar remarks see Melville's *Pierre.*

1. Chief among these sentimental writers was **Caroline Lee Hentz,** whose popularity in the forties was unbounded. 1846 was the date of her first real success, and by 1850 reviewers could speak of her as having won a public.
2. The ladies' books, by giving outlet for women's energies, were one of the causes for the high tide of sentimentality. The publisher of *Godey's,* for instance, could boast the names of eighteen women contributors. This group of workers, addicted to emotionalism, to romanticism, to dreams, and to gloom, set the pace in the production of sentimental fiction. Thus began not only a feminine uprising in fiction, but the uprush of the sentimental which was to reach unprecedented heights in the fifties.

E. Cheap paper and the Paper-backs.

1. The economic transformation.
   a. The monetary pressure of 1836 started the process of cheapening books, with the utilization of every method for lowering the cost.
   b. By 1840 the Fourdrinier machine was in general use and revolutionized the making of paper, reducing the cost to one-fourth its original amount.
   c. The substitution of wood pulp for rags opened up vast cheap sources of raw material.
2. The effect on magazines and magazine fiction.
   It encouraged magazines—such as *Graham's* and *Godey's*—to pay well for fictional contributions and thus gave a fillip to ambition; it led to the practice of issuing complete novels as "extras"; it led to cheap weekly periodicals of a trashy order; it brought out "mammoth weekly papers" with cheap fictional contents. These—*The Albion, The New World, Brother Jonathan*—devoted half an octavo page to the news of the week and appropriated all the rest of their space to "tale, essay, narrative, descriptive poem, etc., etc.,—with an occasional loud outblast of trumpet in laud of [their] own excellence; or dispraise of some rival's turpitude."
3. The rise of the pre-Beadle novel.
   a. The status of the novel was precarious.
      "Native authors were neglected, despised; foreign authors were mutilated, pillaged." Serial publication of foreign authors by magazines led to ten-cent pirated paper-backs and in turn to other cheap reprints in quarto size. Foreign "spicy" novels like those of Paul de Kock and Paul Féval were widely disseminated.
   b. The rise of the pre-Beadle novel, antecedent to the dime novel, was marked in this decade. The most popular author was Professor **Joseph Holt Ingraham,** who was once seriously referred to as a "novelist of enviable celebrity." Equally popular and perhaps less flashy was **P. H. Myers,** whose later efforts also made their way into Beadle dime-novel jackets. The adventure tales of **Emerson Bennett,** better known perhaps, were tales for rapid reading. Series of hair-breadth escapes make these a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Cooper pattern. In the

forties Bennett wrote such thrillers as *The Prairie Flower, Leni Leoti, Forest Rose, Bandits of the Osage,* and *League of the Miami.*

F. The foreign importation.

1. Despite adverse criticism which **Dickens** directed at America, he continued to be read by a wide American audience, especially after the popular appeal of *The Old Curiosity Shop.* Strictures upon *Martin Chuzzlewit* doubtless gave advertising to his work in new circles. On the other hand, it led to many reversals in literary judgments and prompted some readers to declare that they preferred Jack Downing and Judge Longstreet to Boz. But for the general verdict mark the words of John Godley in 1844: "The favorite author with the mass of Americans is beyond question, Dickens; with the 'literary circles' I should say Macaulay and Carlyle, whose 'Miscellanies' are published (as are Scott's, Wilson's, etc.) in separate volumes."
2. T. W. Higginson, writing in 1864, spoke of **Fredrika Bremer** sweeping across the land in a great wave of popularity twenty years before. Repercussions of this vogue were apparent during her visit to America in the fifties. Her novels included such titles as *The Bondmaid, The Home, Brothers and Sister, The Neighbors, Life in Dalecarlia,* and *The President's Daughters,* (all of which were published in the Mary Howitt translations).
3. E. P. Whipple remarked in 1847: "Not many months ago the New England states were visited by a distressing mental epidemic, passing under the name of 'Jane Eyre fever,' which defied all the usual nostrums of the established doctors of criticism."
4. The most popular writer of the forties and early fifties, according to *Harper's,* was **G. P. R. James,** who was pronounced "far ahead of any other author." "He turns out a novel every six months and the success is always the same and tremendous." The inoffensiveness of his works, both in matter and manner, accounted for their wide acceptance.
5. "The blunt sensualities of **Paul de Kock"** had made their way to an American audience before 1835, but with the advent of cheap paper he made even a greater stir, particularly in circles where the indecencies of his presentations were likely to prove shocking. Fortunately for his reputation, he read better in translation than in the original, which was somewhat crude. Many of his novels were issued in the twenties; several others appeared in cheap form in the early forties, though by the end of the decade his works had lost their relish.
6. **George Sand** aroused considerable comment in the decade, particularly as ecclesiastical groups became aware of the "subtle infiltrations of deism" in her work. As for her literary popularity, the *Literary World* remarked in 1847 that her name "is fast getting familiar among us." Among the moralists she was accused of immorality and of possessing a "licentious imagination." Others found her representative of the unhealthy morals of the French nation. *Jacques* and other works of hers were regarded as full of gross indecency; and on the strength of this

and additional volumes in which the marital state was held up to honest but withering scrutiny, George Sand became one of two or three figures responsible for the wholesale attacks on cheap French reprints in America.

G. Short story writers.

1. **Willis,** says Quinn, was probably the most popular American writer of the forties. He wrote no less than forty tales and sketches between the years 1842 and 1844. "He was the best paid magazinist of his generation; in 1842 he was receiving from four magazines $100 a month each for tales and sketches; he had other literary income as large." (Quinn.) Willis's volumes of short stories during this decade were *The Romance of Travel* (1840) and *Dashes at Life with a Free Pencil* (1845), the last of which contained nineteen tales.
2. The decade saw the best short work of **Nathaniel Hawthorne.** His reputation as a short story writer rests primarily on a volume partly produced in the thirties (*Twice-Told Tales*). During the forties, however, he published twenty-seven tales which he collected in *Twice-Told Tales, Second Series* (1842), *Mosses from an Old Manse* (1846), and *The Snow Image* (1851). The short stories of the forties were characteristic of Hawthorne's genius. All the themes which were popular with him here appear: (*a*) outcasts by isolation ("Wakefield," etc.); (*b*) the ubiquity of secret guilt ("Young Goodman Brown," "The Minister's Black Veil," "Roger Malvin's Burial," etc.); (*c*) spiritual pride that is divorced from the heart ("Lady Eleanore's Mantle," "Rappaccini's Daughter," etc.); (*d*) the seeker after perfection ("The Birthmark" and "The Artist of the Beautiful"). There was occasional satire in his work, as in "Mrs. Bullfrog," "Feathertop," and "The Celestial Railroad," but it was satire written in the shade. Hawthorne has sometimes been called a "ghostly" writer; more accurate characterization would note his metaphysical phase, his introspection, his perception of the world within and his twilight wrestling with it. Hence tales which are "elaborate studies of the centrifugal"; hence absorption with the allegorical, the symbolical.
3. **Edgar Allan Poe** was important in the development of the technical short story. Poe as a writer of short stories was the chief literary contemporary of Hawthorne. Both had begun their careers within a few months of each other a decade before. During the forties Poe published forty-three tales, of which twelve were brought out by Wiley and Putnam in a volume of 1845. Uncollected stories made their appearance in the leading magazines, newspapers, or annuals of the period. As a prose writer, Poe not only defined the laws of short fiction but actually illustrated its principles in artistically finished pieces. Sometimes, of course, his effects seem almost those of trickery, as in some of his detective stories; at other times his stories verge so far toward lyric utterance as to result in poetic prose. In general his merits may be listed as consistent practice of technical principles, unparalleled boldness of invention, and masterly structure.

a. The world of Poe in the short story is an eerie world, with atmospheric similarities to the cosmos of Hoffmann and Brown. Yet there is considerable diversity in his work. The stories may be classified by type:
   (1) Tales of physical horror (in which terror is evoked by frightful adventure): "The Pit and the Pendulum," "MS. Found in a Bottle," "The Cask of Amontillado," "A Descent into the Maelstrom."
   (2) Tales in which terror is evoked by mysterious workings of a decaying or maniacal mind: "The Fall of the House of Usher," "The Black Cat." "The terror is not of Germany, but of the Soul."
   (3) Tales after the manner of the romantic balladists. In this classification may be included supernatural tales in which the soul is divided between two bodies ("William Wilson"), and others in which the sense of identity is strong (as "Colloquy of Monos and Una," "Morella," "Ligeia," and "Mesmeric Revelation").
   (4) Excursions into science: "Hans Pfaal," "Some Words with a Mummy," etc.
   (5) Mystery tales: "The Murders in Rue Morgue," "The Gold Bug," "The Mystery of Marie Rogêt," "The Purloined Letter."
   (6) Fantasies of beauty: "Eleonora," "The Domain of Arnheim," "Shadow," etc.

b. Theory of the short story.
   Poe was primarily interested in the principles of brevity and unity. Length militated, he felt, against an atmospheric tale because of the difficulty sustaining a mood in protracted tales and because the multitude of details would blur the impression intended. Not intrigue but effect was the objective of most of his stories. His aesthetics of the short story may be broadly summarized under three heads.
   (1) It exists to achieve a preconceived effect, and every portion of the story must contribute to the dominant impression.
   (2) Instead of employing rhythm it uses:
      (a) Plot.
      (b) Atmosphere. It is cast in a highly wrought poetical prose, the purpose of which is to achieve some mood, a unity of impression (i.e., a totality), thus making a lasting effect.
   (3) It appeals to the intellect or the emotions and is intended to terrify or to fascinate.

4. **William Gilmore Simm's** ***Wigwam and Cabin*** was one of the short story classics gathered up by Wiley and Putnam in their series of American Authors. "Grayling, or Murder Will Out," the first story in the series, Poe pronounced the best short story in America. Three of the pieces, "Jocassée," "Lucas de Ayllon," "The Arm-Chair of Tustenuggee," are Indian legends after the manner of Hoffmann, Schoolcraft, and Jones, and prove Simms's sustained interest in the red man.

Most of the tales of *Wigwam and Cabin* were originally printed in the annuals, but warranted collection because of the notoriously ephemeral character of gift-book literature.

5. Lesser writers of the period were important in the development of localism.
   a. **Caroline M. Kirkland** in *Western Clearings* (1845) produced a volume of sketches and tales chiefly interesting for their realistic painting of Western life. Politics, bee-hunting, schoolteaching and spelling schools, land speculation, river-boating, are all given representation. In such local-color detail rather than in artistic form lies the strength and value of her writing.
   b. Other short story writers of the forties, without reference to merit, are as follows:
   Lydia Maria Child: *Facts and Fiction* (1846).
   James Hall: *The Wilderness and the Warpath* (1841, 1846).
   Harriet Beecher Stowe: *The Mayflower and Miscellaneous Writings* (1843).
   (For other short stories see section on humor, VII below.)

V. POETRY.

A. The Rise of Longfellow. (See also Chapters XI, XII, XIII.)
Longfellow's reputation was widely established in the forties even if he cannot be said to have achieved any great popularity until the appearance of *Evangeline* in 1847. He did make, as a competent friend remarked, a "prodigious leap forward" by *Ballads and Other Poems* (1841), a volume containing some of his stirring narratives in fifteenth-century spirit. It went through ten editions in seven years, though it was not quite so popular as *Voices of the Night,* which was in the tenth edition as early as 1844. These volumes marked the romantic vein which he never abandoned. With the publication of *The Belfry of Bruges and Other Poems* (1846), he definitely turned aside from the German strain which had prevailed in his work since 1835. In his Journal on December 31, 1845, he wrote "Peace to the embers of burnt-out things" as indicative of his escape from the excessive twilight romanticism of his earlier work. The first collected edition of his poems appeared in 1845. *Evangeline* followed, and his success as a narrative poet began to be felt.

B. Whittier and twofold poetic interests. (See also Chapters IX, XI, XII.)
The same duality in poetic interests which marked **Whittier's** poetry in the thirties was apparent in his work of the fifth decade. The legendary vein, the earliest and most persistent in his literary career, was made broadly visible by the reprint in 1840 of his *Moll Pitcher* and the publication of *Lays of My Home* (1843), a slender volume (bulked to 122 pages by occasional poems) containing several distinctive pieces descriptive of old New England: "The Merrimack," "The Fountain," "Cassandra Southwick," "The Funeral Tree of the Sokokis," "St. John," "Extract from 'A New England Legend.'" Later in the decade appeared the finely conceived legendary poem, in five parts, "The Bridal of Pennacook."

His abolition interests were also apparent, chiefly in reprints of poems current during the thirties, though "Massachusetts to Virginia," "The Branded Hand," "Lines, 1845, 1846" "Texas," "The Relic," "The World's Convention," and six other anti-slavery poems were added to his collected volumes in the decade. The 1849 volume of *Poems* was a slightly enlarged reprint of the 1838 and 1843 volumes. It was the first substantial collection of his work in embellished form.

C. Lyrical achievement in Edgar Allan Poe.

By his poetry written after 1842 **Poe** proved himself an outstanding lyrist. Many of his famous poems appeared in his last five years: "The Raven," "The Bells," "For Annie," "Annabel Lee," "Ulalume," "Eulalie—A Song," "Eldorado." Thus it was in the forties that Poe discovered that he was pre-eminently a poet and produced the poems that not only establish him as a master of verbal music but as a skilled technician as well.

Poe had the genius of the best romantic poets, the ability to produce wandering melodies and to shadow forth the strange impalpabilities of human consciousness. He avoided the subjects of broad daylight and sunny fields. Dream visions of climes "out of Space—out of Time," elegiac stanzas full of melancholy regret and mourning for a lost fair one, strange vistas in a spirit-world constituted, if not his sole, at least his dominant, inspiration. Love, Beauty, Death were the springs of his imagination, and to lost, beloved beauty he wrote many threnodies, such as "To Helen," "The Sleeper," "Lenore," and "The Raven."

Believing that the end of art is pleasure, Poe avoided didacticism in his work and stressed the objectives of unity and brevity. These qualities he adhered to in his own practice and accepted so fully that he came finally to deny the possibility of genuine long poems. Poe's declared principles relate primarily to the pleasure which comes from the evocation of strange moods. In the formulation of theory he placed the limits of poetic practice within the narrow confines of pure lyricism. His tenets may be summed up under six heads.

1. Only in the contemplation of beauty is it possible to elevate or excite the soul. Poe terms the thirst for celestial beauty, instinctive within man, the poetic principle. All the arts are means to "Supernal Beauty," though music most nearly approximates it. Consequently when poetry is united with music—when words become music—the poet comes closest to achieving his aim. Poetry is then the "rhythmical creation of Beauty."
2. "He is silly who declines" the assistance of music in the composition of poetry, who rejects "a concord of sense and sound."
3. The poet should aim at a "vagueness of exaltation," not at absolute imitation of sound.
4. In the song there should be indefiniteness, rhythm, melody, refrain, and *abandonnement.*
5. The poem must be of a length to permit unit reading. For "The Raven" he set the length at one hundred lines, and held that greater length prevented, in general, the creation of a tone or mood.

6. "Beauty of whatever kind, in its supreme development, invariably excites the sensitive soul to tears. Melancholy is thus the most legitimate of all the poetical tones." To the achievement of this or any other desired tone, all the details and imagery of the poem should be devoted. Material should thus be fascinating melancholy; we can achieve luxurious sorrow, particularly in the contemplation of the death of beautiful women. This feature of Poe's thought was most clearly set forth in *The Philosophy of Composition,* in which he pointed out that the effect attained in "The Raven" was pleasure from sad beauty, the death of a beautiful woman, and that the piquancy was increased by the use of refrain, sonorous and brief and variable.

D. The range of James Russell Lowell.

Lowell's chief field of literary expression before 1857 was poetry; for though he wrote some articles for the *Anti-Slavery Standard,* he was chiefly interested in the lyrical expression of romantic ideas and in giving voice to the humanitarian enthusiasms aroused by Maria White. Thus it was that in the early forties he produced such poems as "The Shepherd of King Admetus," "Ode," "Rhoecus," "To the Dandelion," "Stanzas on Freedom," and a series of twenty-seven sonnets, poems revealing his lively sensibility to human suffering, his faith in humanity, and his sense of the high calling of a poet. These and other poems previously contributed to periodicals appeared in collected form in *Poems* (1844). Lowell's concern with radical movements did not keep him from somewhat general but fiery appeal to truth in "Prometheus," "Columbus," and "A Glance behind the Curtain," poems in which he voiced his fundamental democratic faith. *A Fable for Critics,* a humorous poem satirically viewing the American literary scene, appeared in 1848. Not only did he express a series of judgments that sound like the voice of time, but he displayed his skill in the blend of humor and criticism as well. His verbal dexterity and ingenious rhyming were the means whereby he produced his tumbling, witty, journalistic effects; the style Lowell himself characterized as "neither good verse nor bad prose." In this year, which Greenslet called Lowell's *annus mirabilis,* there appeared *The Biglow Papers* (first series; see below) wherein he was revealed as the astute critic of political developments, and a second series of *Poems* which demonstrated that Lowell as a poet had arrived. Most famous of the volumes in this year, and representative of a fourth phase of his literary interests, was *The Vision of Sir Launfal,* for the materials of which Lowell followed Tennyson into the field of Arthurian romance, thus producing a blend of medievalism and Victorian humanitarianism. A romantic creation, it fails to display its real strength because of its moralizing, and the over-devotion to it upon the part of high school teachers. Meanwhile (1847) there had been tragedy at home: grief for his deceased daughter Lowell voiced in "She Came and Went" and "The Changeling."

E. The verse of the war with Mexico.

Whittier's verse of the period was concerned with New England or the abolition movement. He did produce several lyrics, however, critical

of the Mexican War, of which "The Angels of Buena Vista" might be singled out. A few short poems appeared also from the hands of **Theodore O'Hara,** the Kentucky bard, notably *The Bivouac of the Dead* (battle of Buena Vista), and from **Charles Fenno Hoffman,** now chiefly remembered for "Monterey." **William G. Simms's** *Lays of the Palmetto,* a tribute to a South Carolina regiment in the war, were confessedly improvisations. **Emerson** in his "Ode to Channing" spoke of the States "harrying Mexico with rifle and with knife!" Aside from these the Mexican War inspired but one masterpiece—the first group of the *Biglow Papers.* Feeling that the conflict was one of false pretenses and that "it would result in widening the boundaries and so prolong the life of slavery," **Lowell** protested in vigorous satire and "hit such heads as he had a mind to." Because of this fear of the extension of slavery, Lowell, in his series of poems, pilloried jingoistic editors and politicians, parodied debates in the Senate, and ridiculed recruiting officers. Outstanding sections were those caricaturing the military career of Birdofreedom Sawin, a Yankee who went trooping after drum and fife only to return months later to Jaalem Center with wooden leg and "without a blasted mite o' glory." Authentic is his dialect, and that of Hosea Biglow; in passages where the purpose of the author is not too marked, there is to be found the best verse illustration of Down East dialectal humor.

F. Secondary poets.

1. **Philip P. Cooke,** a Virginia bard who published *Froissart Ballads* (1847), was a leading writer of love lyrics, his "Florence Vane" and "Rosalie Lee" rising superior to anything Bartley and others produced. "Ugolino" he regarded as his best poem.
2. **N. P. Willis** published three volumes of poetry in 1843 and 1844 and in the latter year brought out his collected edition: *Poems, Sacred, Passionate, and Humorous,* which contained not only the biblical paraphrases but all the miscellaneous poems he had published in the thirties, poems which, though careless, sentimental, and full of pathos, were still written with grace and lightness. "Love in a Cottage," "The Annoyer," and "An Apology" have a modern sound. The volume went through six editions in the year, a popularity indicative of the sentimental taste of the mid-century.
3. **George P. Morris's** *The Deserted Bride and Other Poems* appeared in an enlarged edition in 1843. Willis wrote of him: "Morris is the best-known poet of the country by acclamation, not by criticism." Griswold remarked of his work: "Several of the songs of Morris, whether judged of by their success, or by the application of any rules of criticism, are nearly faultless." Among these might be included: "I Never Have Been False to Thee," "Near the Lake," "When Other Friends Are Round Thee," "Where Hudson's Wave." Modern critics are chiefly impressed by the highly sentimental character of the sentiments advanced.

4. **A. B. Street,** who early gained fame for his descriptive pieces, probably the only bard of the forties to achieve distinction in this field, published two collections before his complete edition in 1845. His best-known poem is "The Gray Forest-Eagle," though "The Burning of Schenectady," "A Forest Walk," and "The Settlers" exhibit the peculiar strength of one whose poetical faculties have been awakened by the natural scenery of his native county. Of his landscape painting Henry Tuckerman remarked: "He is a true Flemish artist, seizing objects in all their verisimilitude." He has perhaps been more submerged than his true worth warrants.
5. Other poets who might be mentioned are Albert Pike (*Hymns to the Gods,* 1839), Frances Sargent Osgood (*Poems,* 1846), Epes Sargent (*Songs of the Sea,* 1847).

VI. Literary Historians.

A. The first name of importance to the forties is that of **William Hickling Prescott** (1796–1859) who began in 1838 with *Ferdinand and Isabella,* a monumental work which assured him a place in American literature. This he followed with his "most famous and most belittled work," his *The Conquest of Mexico* (1843), for the writing of which he had literally to import a library. *The Conquest of Peru* (1847) was for him a kind of by-product and the most rapidly composed of all. In every one of his works Prescott was an honest, self-conscious artist greatly concerned about both fact and style. He imparted a romantic fervor to his work, a quality joined with polish, readability, and dignity. Thus all that he wrote, regardless of its evolution, possesses distinct literary merit.

B. While **Francis Parkman's** major work was completed late in the century, his most famous volume, *The Oregon Trail,* appeared in book form in 1849. It was written in part to keep the memory of the Wild West alive with interesting information, individually pointed, about the old trading posts on the Trail and broad aspects of Indian character and life in areas remote from white settlements. In this work Parkman took up the story previously handled by Irving, Gregg, Farnham, Minto, Nesmith, Winter and others, but in a style that makes it a classic of travel. It was the record of a summer excursion undertaken both because of Parkman's liking for mountains and his earnest preparation for what he had already determined would be his lifetime literary endeavor. He pursued the Oregon Trail along the Platte to Fort Laramie, reeling weakly in the saddle as he sought the rendezvous at La Bonté's Camp; he was domesticated with the Ogillallahs and moved with them as they hunted buffalo and replaced lodge-poles; he visited the hunter's paradise in the Black Hills and traversed the uncivilized regions of Colorado; he returned over a trail beset with danger from Pawnees, Comanches, and Arapahoes. Into the narrative he poured the buoyancy and imagination of his youth; he chronicled the hazards and trials of following a plains trail, the life and rites of hospitality in an Indian camp, the exertions of

the Indians in securing food and replacing their tepees, noting that all the necessities of their life came from the buffalo. He conveyed an impression of the wilderness of dreary plain and mountain over which the spirit of loneliness and silence brooded, pictured the wild cavalcade defiling down the gorges and steep declivities of the mountains and described endless prairie storms with rain pouring down like cataracts.

VII. Emergence of Imitators of Longstreet and other Humorists.

A. Yankee letter-series featuring, in the vein of Seba Smith, a humorous homespun philosopher were very popular in the forties. Fictional characters such as Ethan Spike, Obediah Squash, Uncle Toby, and other semi-illiterates followed in the wake of Jack Downing and Sam Slick. Highly praised by Griswold was **J. W. McClintock,** whose "Sleigh Ride" infused with humor the portraiture of local manners, and **Ann Stephens,** who introduced Jonathan Slick to *High Life in New York.* Dialect, droll characterization, and bizarre adventure constituted the appeal.

B. The lineal descendents of Longstreet, without the historical warrant he had for his sketches, were nevertheless popular in the forties. Best of the group was **William Tappan Thompson,** whose *Major Jones's Courtship, Major Jones's Sketches of Travel,* and *Chronicles of Pineville,* interestingly illustrated by Darley, were immensely popular. Thompson was chiefly concerned with presenting specimens of mid-Georgia characters, in catching and recording the manners and peculiar features of the "genus Cracker."

C. The illiterate tradition and the creation of a rascally type as the center of the action went far in the work of **J. J. Hooper's** *Some Adventures of Simon Suggs* (1845), a blackguard. The book gave, as Colonel Watterson said, a full-length picture of a vulgar, shifty, frontier rogue: "Without a virtue in the world, except his good-humor and his self-possession, there is something in his vices, his indolence, his swagger, his rogueries, which, in spite of the worthlessness of the man and the dishonesty of his practices, detains and amuses us."

D. In St. Louis writers of Western and Southwestern humor were to be found: **Sol Smith, John S. Robb,** and **J. M. Field.** The oddity and originality of backwoods characters and the humorous incidents of Western communities afforded material for Robb's *Streaks of Squatter Life* (1847). Field's stories, partly based on oral tales, were gathered up in *The Drama in Pokerville* (1847).

E. Other humorists of the Old Southwest, as the area from Alabama to Arkansas was called, included the Louisiana writers, **Madison Tensas, M.D.** (pseudonym), author of *Odd Leaves of a Louisiana "Swamp Doctor,"* **George M. Wharton,** *New Orleans Sketch Book* (1845), **D. Corcoran,** *Pickings from the Picayune* (1846), and **T. B. Thorpe,** author of the *Mysteries of the Backwoods* (1846), who sprang into popularity with his "Big Bear of Arkansas" in 1841. Thorpe sought to convey definite ideas of the Southwest: his volume contained the piece by which

he first gained his fame, "Tom Owen, the Bee-Hunter," and fifteen other sketches of the characters, scenery, incidents of the Southwest (buffalo hunting, alligator killing, bear hunts, etc.). He wrote straightforwardly with considerable literary merit. None of these sketches equalled the broad exaggeration which made him so popular in "The Big Bear of Arkansas."

F. Anthologies of Southwestern humor also appeared. The authors selected were almost all from the new country where bears, turkeys, and alligators were plentiful and where the primitive and the grotesque were racily described by skilled raconteurs. Most of the Southwestern humorists were gathered up in the forties by Carey and Hart (T. B. Peterson) in the Library of Humorous American Works, though not all collections appeared in this series. The most famous were brought out by William Trotter Porter, editor of *The Spirit of the Times,* the most popular outdoor and humor magazine of the period. His *Big Bear of Arkansas and Other Tales* (1845) (illustrative of the humorous phases of Southwestern life), included besides the titular story: Colonel Pete Whetstone's "Jones' Fight" and "Old Sense," Pike's "Anecdotes of the Arkansas Bar," Hamilton C. Jones's "Cousin Sally Dilliard" (which had been appearing in newspapers for ten years or more) and John S. Robb's "Swallowing an Oyster Alive." The second collection appeared a year later. *A Quarter Race in Kentucky and Other Sketches* (1846) contained among other tales: "Old Singletire" by Robert Patterson; "Breaking a Bank" by Sol Smith; "Bill Dean" by George Kendall; "Bob Herring, the Arkansas Bear Hunter," by T. B. Thorpe; "A Bear Story" by William P. Hawes; and "Playing Poker in Arkansas" by Pete Whetstone. Equal in popularity in this decade to Thorpe, Colonel Noland and George W. Kendall are especially to be remembered from these and other collections.

VIII. The Ferment of the Forties.

A. The decade of the seekers.

Every schoolboy knows the history of the Argonauts of '49 and their continental trek. Out of frenzied prospecting came gold and adventure. But there were other mad pursuits in the decade, sometimes into the regions of the past, sometimes into the realm of the metaphysical. The Transcendentalists sought truth in their intuitions which they relied upon implicitly. The Fourierists confronted social wrongs in phalanxes and associations, organized with a view to shaping society after their own idealistic longings. Others, critical of their own generation but not to the point of separation, dreamed of far-off Utopias which were beautiful contrasts to the life they saw about them and idealistic in their reversal of social and governmental formulas. Poets, not innocent of the nympholepsy which afflicted Shelley, hunted for their Blue Flowers, their Rimas, through known and unknown realms: Melville searched for Yillah through all the worlds there be, religious, social, political; Poe, with even more exoticism, sought lost loves in mystic regions where threnodies are the only poems heard, and dirges the only music.

B. Transcendentalism.

1. Definition.

This was a belief which held that our deepest knowledge transcends the sense, that there are sources of wisdom which have not poured in upon the spirit through eye or ear. With some parallels in Neo-Platonic doctrine, it advanced the idealistic conception of reality. The Transcendentalists abandoned Locke and experimental knowledge and turned to introspection, to the knowledge that fills the soul from God. They glorified the things of the spirit, in the face of America's material resources, and recognized that the basic solution of the problems of life must be spiritual. Much of this thought goes back, of course, to Immanuel Kant who, in his *Critique of Pure Reason,* had argued that what seem to be palpable realities, space and time, are but creations of the mind. "I call all knowledge *transcendental,*" said Kant," which is concerned, not with objects, but with our mode of knowing objects so far as this is possible *a priori.*" Thus transcendentalism stressed the authority of those intuitions that stem from within and are not the products of sensory experience. Theodore Parker, who defined the fundamentals of transcendental belief, ranged them under three heads: (1) the intuition of the Divine, (2) the intuition of the Just and Right, (3) the intuition of the Immortal.

2. Important aspects of the transcendental movement.

a. The prose of **Emerson** was the chief medium whereby his transcendental ideas were expressed. In "The Transcendentalist" he defined transcendentalism as "Idealism as it appears in 1842." Others have defined it for him as "romanticism on Puritan ground." Fundamentally Emerson held that in the science of knowledge, ideas that come from the soul or spirit have greater validity and importance than those which come from the external world through the reports of the five senses. In this insistence upon ideality, he did not deny the world of matter, but exalted physical and moral laws of the universe as symbols of the great cosmos of spirit. Outstanding among the works of Emerson that advance his doctrine of the indwelling of spirit within individual man are: *Nature* (1836), the fullest expression of his central ideas and phrasing most adequately his transcendental philosophy, and *Divinity School Address* (1838), the leaven of which was working in this decade. His *Essays* appeared in 1841 and 1844 (first and second series) and contained, with reference to his metaphysical outlook, such distillation of his thought as "The Over-Soul," "Circles," "Intellect," "Experience," "Nominalist and Realist." In these he presented the conception of the Universe and Man as parts of a vast Unity all interpenetrated by divine inspiration, goodness, and peace. And yet the whole creation had no greater divinity than that which was centered in man. Thus Emerson's belief that both the physical universe and the mind of man are revelations of divinity. Thus

the basis of his essay on Self-Reliance; thus his trust in the instincts of man. From this background issued his famous utterances: "Nothing is sacred but the integrity of your own mind," "Do not conform," "I wish to break all prisons." Emerson protested against the insignificance of old views of things. He suspected that every man might have an individual apocalypse. From the beginning to the end he fortified the idea of individual freedom. He chafed at the thought of any restraint imposed by society. The more popular essays, of course, were more concrete, more direct, gauged to a slogan-loving American audience, and upon them his vogue rested. Any appeal to self-trust in the forties, almost symbolic of the spirit of the age, could not fail. In such essays as "Compensation" and "Love" the dreamer in the clouds came down to the level of daily life and proved that, though he sometimes indulged in fancies, he was sane and calm, without eccentricity.

b. Frederick H. Hedge was the moving force behind the Transcendental Club.

The personal influence of **Frederick H. Hedge,** who created an interest in Fichte, Schleiermacher, and Schelling, was important in supplying German thought. Thus in conversation and in reviews Hedge brought the contribution of German philosophy to a focus. The club lasted about three years and included such members as Theodore Parker, William E. Channing, R. W. Emerson, James Freeman Clarke, A. Bronson Alcott, and Margaret Fuller. Some of these thinkers were influenced not only directly by Goethe and the Germans, but indirectly through Coleridge and Carlyle.

c. *The Dial,* an unsuccessful quarterly publication, ran for sixteen numbers (1840–1844).

The so-called Transcendental Club came toward the end of the decade to the point where they felt the need of an organ of their own for the publication of free-will offerings in the new spirit. For the first two years the venture was published under the editorship of Margaret Fuller. The remaining issues were in charge of Emerson, with the help of Thoreau. *The Dial* was the literary journal of the movement in America, expressing the concepts of Idealism held by its leading American exponents.

d. Transcendental communism was revealed in the Brook Farm experiment at West Roxbury. The community stands out for the unusual intellectual stature of the people who banded together and for their literary qualifications. Of the leading Transcendentalists, **Margaret Fuller** was the only one to settle, **Emerson** remaining at Concord. **Charles A. Dana** and **Hawthorne** joined the community. The farm project continued from 1841 to 1847, though after a time it became definitely Fourieristic in its organization. Its original stimulus, however, was not economic organization (though Ripley was influenced by Owen and Fourier) but a socialized experiment

in high thinking and brotherhood. It has been called (by unsympathetic critics) a congeries of cultural incompetents.

C. Associationist dreams.

1. The theory.

Emerson to Carlyle: "We are all a little world here with numberless projects of social reform. . . . Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his pocket." The Associationists, each a romantic individualist, were seekers after the Ideal by special routes of their own. Some hoped to achieve perfection by abstemiousness, by asceticism, some by mutual love, by vegetarianism, by abolition of property and inequality, by every variety of experimental impracticality. Text: "Old things are passed away; all things are become new."

2. The geographical dotting.

The forties witnessed the greatest appearance of experimental communities in history.

a. Leading sectarian communities.

(1) In existence at the opening of the decade: Rappists at Economy; Zoar Separatists (under Bimeler); *Putney Community* (Oneida after 1848).

(2) Among the sectarian communities founded during the decade may be listed: *Amana* (at Ebenezer, New York); the *Bethel Community* (under Dr. Keil); *Bishop Hill Community* (under Eric Janson).

b. Non-sectarian communities.

(1) Idealistic communities included Ballou's *Hopedale* (Massachusetts), an attempt to found a Christian commonwealth; *Fruitlands,* organized by Bronson Alcott; *Skaneateles Community* (J. A. Collins, organizer).

(2) The great influence of Fourier was from 1841 to 1850.

By 1843 "Phalanxes by the dozen were on the march for the new world of wealth and harmony." In 1844 a National Convention of Associationists was held. Most of the communities of the time were Fourieristic, either at their inception, as the *North American Phalanx* (at Red Bank, New Jersey), or eventually, as *Brook Farm.* In addition to these famous communities there might be singled out: *Marlboro Association* (Ohio), the *Northampton Community* (Massachusetts), *Sylvania Association* (Pennsylvania), *Lagrange Phalanx* (Indiana), *Ohio Phalanx, Prairie Home Phalanx* (Ohio), *Trumbull Phalanx* (Ohio), *Wisconsin Phalanx, Clarkson Phalanx* (New York), *Alphadelphis Phalanx* (Michigan), *Clermont Phalanx* (Ohio), *Integral Phalanx* (Illinois), etc. There were seven communities in New York, six in Pennsylvania, six in Ohio, two each in Massachusetts, Illinois, New Jersey, and Wisconsin, and one in Michigan.

3. The literary reflection of Utopian thought.
   a. The great source of textual material for American reconstructions of society was the *Traité de l'association agricole domestique* of **François Charles Fourier,** discussions of which agitated America in the mid-thirties. The most ardent American disciple of the "Association" idea, **Albert Brisbane,** provided in 1840 a scheme of cooperative enterprise which had wide acceptance among those who were ready to reshape society. Brisbane's work, *Social Destiny of Man: or, Association and Reorganization of Industry,* followed the Fourier scheme of phalanxes, "self-sufficient economic and governmental units," based on the principle of mutual responsibility, which sought to dignify labor and make it congenial, to reduce the evils of competition, and end stark drudgery.
   b. Fictional expressions of Utopian thought included some of the important novels of the period. **James Fenimore Cooper** displays independence of view and Utopian questionings in his *Crater,* written to point out the possible disruptions to an ideal community that may result from the New England gospels of law, sects, the press, and competitive acquisitiveness. The community is wrecked, and the author, after these forces have come to prevail, can do nothing more than tumble it into the sea. **Melville's** *Typee,* pitched in the same vein, condemns nineteenth-century civilization and lauds the tropical virtues of the Typees on the island of Nukuheva. In particular, money and the feverish predatoriness of a profit-mad age are reprehended. *Mardi,* no less Marquesan in outlook, is full of torrential attacks on money, slavery, profit-taking, gold-seeking, despotism, equalitarianism, and other fads and abuses, all introduced through the medium of allegory and symbolism. All the dangers of the day, mob rule, "stake in society" theories, etc., are held up to the light (*vide* Chap. CLXII). Thus Melville challenges current democratic, economic, and religious assumptions. Utopian thought is by implication: Melville measures the known nations, creeds, philosophies, cultures in terms of ideal truth and happiness, revealing their shortcomings as active forces in the world.

   There is also **William Starbuck Mayo's** *Kaloolah* (1849), which gives a doctor's dream of what a glorified New York City might be if constructed on the plan of an imaginary Framazugda, with sanitation the first ideal of an enlightened community and urban pride the guiding principle. **Sylvester Judd** presents in the third part of *Margaret,* a "Livingston Beautiful," a description of the village as it should be when the principles of Christ have been set into force in community enterprise. Believing "much of the folly of men to be preposterous and remediable," the residents, under the leadership of the heroine, institute a regime based on industry, economy, productive variation, music, art, education, a Christ-like church, temperance, and love. To

perfect themselves, their institutions, their town, becomes the life-work of each villager. The description gains force by the contrast with the abysmal conditions erstwhile prevalent.

D. The reform ferment.

1. The impression of chaos in reform movements.

The sweeping in of a wave of reform movements was perceptible in the mid-thirties, as De Tocqueville noted in 1835. By 1840 the reforming zeal was everywhere apparent: there was growing temperance sentiment (using the term with a Xenophon slant); there were all kinds of programs and isms: mesmerism, "progress," and outshadowing all others, abolition. Emerson was among the first to classify the groups. Allowing for platform overstatement, one still finds something more than cleverness in his description of the reformers as "ultraists, seekers," socialists, projectors for the "salvation of the world." Their ranks were made up of homeopaths, mesmerists, phrenologists, Godwinians, educational reformers, Fourierists, and Owenites. Elsewhere Emerson analyzed a famous gathering of choice reform spirits known as the Chardon Street Convention under the heads of "madmen and madwomen, men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come-outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-Day Baptists, Quakers, Abolitionists, Calvinists, Unitarians, and Philosophers." The *Dial* in 1841 expressed the current temper: "The trump of reform is sounding throughout the world for the revolution of human affairs. The issue we cannot doubt, yet the crises are not without alarm."

2. The cumulative literature of abolition in the forties.

Considered in the light of a movement with a program, abolitionism may be said to have had its genesis in New England alone and without great popular support. While the movement reached high circles and received literary notice, it was not a concerted bombardment. Even the oratorical flourishes as exhibited in the Senate were over the doctrine of unity, not of abolitionism.

3. The Lyceum as the medium of reform.

Agents of reform demand a pulpit or a desk, and the persistence of the Lyceum movement in the forties was an encouraging sign; the Lyceum was just the proper expansion of the means of publicity for the need of reformers. The movement had made a beginning as early as 1826. But although there were three thousand Lyceums widely distributed throughout the United States in 1835, and a National Union (until 1839), the Lyceum was essentially a local affair, as its continued spread after the breakdown of the organization demonstrated. Barnard (speaking of 1838–1842) remarked: "In all the cities and in many of the large villages, courses of lectures on various topics of public interest have been delivered to large assemblages of people." The Lyceum Bureau System was established late in the decade. The Lyceum, not always liberal, still provided a guaranteed audience. Wendell Philips delivered "The

Lost Arts" two thousand times before such groups, and Emerson remarked: "The lecture platform is my pulpit. Lyceums—so that people will let you say what you think—are as good a pulpit as any."

IX. Drama in the Forties.

Though there were no outstanding figures in the history of the drama in this period, comparable to those of ten years before, there was considerable dramatic activity. Plays on national themes continued to stir public consciousness, partly in recollection of the triumphs of Harrison: James Rees's *Anthony Wayne* (1845), Anon., *Battle of Lake Erie* (1842), Steele's *Battle of Tippecanoe* (1840), Sherburne's *Osceola* (1843), J. S. Jones's *Siege of Boston* (1841). If most of these dealt with military expeditions against the Indians, at least one important play handled the red man theme romantically. *The Forest Princess* was one of a memorable line of Pocahontas dramas. Its author, Mrs. Charlotte Barnes Conner, published her plays in 1848. Other plays partially historical in character included the work of Cornelius Mathews, *Witchcraft* (printed in 1852 but produced earlier) and *Jacob Leisler* (1848). *The Bucktails,* which **J. K. Paulding** had written shortly after the War of 1812, was included in the plays of the Pauldings, printed in 1847, but it never was put on the boards.

During the decade the local play emerged, especially the play dealing with life in the big city. **Benjamin Baker's** *A Glance at New York* (1848) was the most popular (celebrating the fire force and an effective stage type, Mose); it was followed by another Baker play, *New York As It Is,* and in turn by similar pieces for other cities. Yankee plays also enjoyed considerable vogue. Cornelius A. Logan's *The Vermont Wool Dealer* (1840) and *Chloroform, or New York One Hundred Years Hence* (1849) were in this pattern, as was S. S. Steele's *Yankee in Poland* (1841) and Durivage's *The Stage Struck Yankee* (1845). Such plays were largely comedies with little purpose beyond the advancement of a humorous type. Not so the social satire involved in *Fashion* (1845) by **Anna Mowatt.** So effective was her presentation of the social scene in New York that even today, in reading or revival attempts, some of the gaiety of the piece survives.

X. The Periodicals of the Decade.

Niles' Register for November 19, 1842, noted publications in the United States as follows: Dailies 135, Weeklies 1,141, Semi-weeklies 125, Periodicals 227. The outstanding quarterlies and monthly magazines to be noted are: The *Knickerbocker, Littell's Living Age,* the *Dial,* the *New York Mirror,* the *Democratic Review,* the *Southern Quarterly Review,* the *North American Review,* the *Southern Literary Messenger, Peterson's National Magazine, Graham's Magazine,* and *Godey's Lady's Book.* Important magazines not elsewhere noted are herein singled out:

A. *Graham's Magazine,* created out of Atkinson's *Casket* and *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine,* could not only boast longevity but soon could claim distinction as well. During the forties it was probably the most popular monthly publication in the country, claiming among its writers the greatest *literati* of the day: Poe, Bryant, Dana, Longfellow, Hoffman, Fay,

Embury, Kirkland, Mrs. Ellet, Mrs. Anne Stephens, and N. P. Willis. "A typical number of Graham's during the forties contained three or four short stories, a light essay on manners, a biographical sketch, a literary article, a considerable amount of poetry, narrative, lyrical and didactic, an out-door sketch by Frank Forester, a travel article, fine arts and book-review departments and a chat with the editor; besides the colored fashion plate and one or two art plates by well-known engravers." (Mott.) It was significant in this decade and to some extent in the fifties as providing generous payment for articles and as a publishing medium for some of the struggling American authors of the Golden Day.

B. The *Southern Quarterly Review* thrived through most of the forties. It sought to carry on the work for which the old *Southern Review* had been famous, and in format and design it was not greatly dissimilar. It averaged about nine articles an issue; space was about equally devoted to history, criticism of fiction, poetry and general literature, biography, travel and geography, ancient Greece and Rome, political science, current political and economic interests, and law and jurisprudence. The work averaged a circulation of about two thousand and existed longer than any other quarterly review in the South, though it had trouble collecting subscription money. The aim of the proprietors was to establish an organ of domestic opinion, and by mid-decade the disposition to use its pages occasionally as a weapon of opinion in defense of the South and its institutions became marked. Among its distinguished contributors were Tucker, Grayson, Meek, Porter, Garnett, Reynolds, Nott, Gwynn, Gibbes, Ellet, Nesbit, and Minor.

C. The *Southern Literary Messenger* had three editors during the forties: **Lieutenant Maury** (associate, 1840–42), **B. B. Minor** (1843–47), and **J. R. Thompson** (after 1847). The first was inclined to advance naval affairs, the second the historical, and the third whatever might maintain the literary and controversial on a high level. The *Messenger,* though it had its difficulties with the accounts of subscribers, maintained its literary ascendancy with a fine list of contributors which included Simms, P. P. Cooke (from the South), and Paulding, Lewis Cass, Mrs. Seba Smith, and others. Occasionally the magazine became a forum for the discussion of international copyright, naval affairs, slavery, etc.

D. The *Knickerbocker Magazine* was one of the substantial forces. A literary periodical of distinction in the thirties, it lived on vigorously in the forties, a little shorn, perhaps, of its pristine grandeur but a periodical to be reckoned with, nevertheless. It numbered among its contributors many leading *literati* of the decade: Irving (who wrote for a stipend), Paulding, Hoffman, Verplanck, Stoddard, and Curtis. From New England came contributions by Longfellow, Hawthorne, and Whittier. Western writers also, such as Pike, Kirkland, Hall, etc. were encouraged, as was the young historian Parkman. The reputation of the magazine was maintained on a high level during most of the decade, but as Mott says, "by 1850 it had plainly deteriorated."

E. The *Democratic Review,* founded in 1837, was moved to New York in 1840 where for five years it carried out a literary and political program. Hawthorne had earlier been a steady contributor and following him Whittier, Longfellow, and Lowell made regular appearances in its columns. J. C. Neal, H. W. Herbert, Sedgwick, Mrs. Ellet and others contributed frequently. Politically the journal was concerned with the problems of unionism. The most significant period was under the editorship of **J. L. O'Sullivan** (1841–46). (Mott.)

F. The *Ladies' National Magazine,* like its rivals in the decade, featured items of interest to women: The Home department, numerous short tales, fashions, poems (by Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Ellet, Mrs. Welby, R. S. Nichols, and Anne Dinnies), stories (by Anne Stephens and Charles J. Peterson *et al.*), and engravings.

CHAPTER XI

THE ANTE-BELLUM DECADE (1850–1860)

I. Historical Background.

Most memorable in the fifties were the events growing out of sectional controversy over slavery which became acute after 1850 though greatly disruptive of American life long before. National life was in a turmoil, first because of the Compromise of 1850 and its violation and the non-co-operative spirit toward the Fugitive Slave Law, and then because of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill which undid the sectional truce. Virtual civil war followed in Kansas. The Republican party emerged as a power in politics. In 1857 came the momentous Dred Scott decision; in 1858, the Lincoln-Douglas debates; in 1859, John Brown's raid; and in 1860 came the triumph of the Republicans with only forty per cent of the popular vote.

II. The Fifties: Essentially a Decade of Expansion.

It was the "gorgeous" period of American life and letters, "when opulence was to have a riotous sway in a thousand new enjoyments which had long been denied." (Rourke.) The mood of the time was reflected in such disparate figures as Henry Ward Beecher and P. T. Barnum. Beecher, in both his editorial chair and his famous pulpit, hymned the joys of the senses in his gospel of love; Barnum's Museum under its tags of "education" and "morality" opened the way for mass enjoyment of the arts of showmanship. Sheer size continued the shibboleth and floods of language poured forth on every hand.

A. The growth of the West.

By the end of the forties "a sweeping and tempestuous march seemed the very pattern of existence." (Rourke.) In 1810 the population of the United States was 7,000,000; by 1850 it was 23,000,000, of which 5,000,000 were foreign immigrants, and the settled area had been trebled. California in 1850 had 92,000 inhabitants; it boasted 380,000 by 1860.

B. European recognition of American laurels.

While the vast American self-confidence was by no means accepted at its face value, Europe began to drop its supercilious indifference to American phenomena. From Irving onward various works and authors had been accorded the accolade of British approval: the sage of Concord was well known; Longfellow's gentle tempering of scholarliness with democracy was loved in England as in America. The acerbities of the Paper War were greatly mollified (though the lack of international copyright still served to aggravate old sores on both sides of the Atlantic), and American authors and their works were increasingly known abroad.

C. The immense public consumption of words.

1. "The popular mind was intoxicated by words." The effort to weld a "social identity" in the midst of change expressed itself partly in floods of

oratory, and the Lyceum, child of New England, spread over the West. Beecher, Parker, Phillips, Emerson, Greeley, Curtis, Gough and a dozen others "took the Rocky Mountains for their sounding board," as was said particularly of Beecher.

2. Besides the "scullion diet" provided by the sentimentalists, books were in great demand. Stephens's travels in the Holy Land (*Incidents of Travel*) sold 80,000 copies; Headley's *Napoleon and His Marshals* sold 200,000; the *Encyclopedia Americana,* in 14 volumes, 280,000—at $2.00 apiece; *Notes on the Gospel,* 300,000; Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico,* 160,000. Royalties from his law books netted Justice Isaac Storey $8,000 a year, and a *Medical Dispensatory* sold 60,000 at $5.00 each. Histories, geographies, classical texts, and *Webster's Dictionary* sold from 25,000 to 330,000 during the decade. Frontier newspapers were crowded with advertisements of books on hydropathy, phrenology, and physiology, besides Holiday Books, "beautifully bound in Morocco with splendid steel engravings."

III. The Literary Scene. (For leading works see VII below.)

A. The reading of the fifties.

Goodrich in his *Recollections* (1856) remarked: "Longfellow, Bryant, and Tennyson are the exponents of the public taste in poetry, and Hawthorne, Dickens, Thackeray in romance." Of these Bryant, "pulsing the first interior verse-throbs of a mighty world—bard of the river and the wood," has twice been noted; and Hawthorne, prime novelist, receives adequate notice under the New England school. Dickens's popularity had back of it a decade and a half of American familiarity, and was advanced month by month in the serials in *Harper's Magazine.* Tennyson became a model for Timrod, Hayne, Lowell, W. R. Wallace, and others, and succeeded, *ironic fate,* to the place once occupied by Mrs. Hemans in American popularity.

Thackeray was the author of *Vanity Fair, Pendennis,* and *Henry Esmond* before his tour of America; the American edition of the latter volume was not issued, however, until 1852. He lectured here on the "English Humorists" in 1852–3, and on the "Four Georges" in 1855–6. *The Virginians* appeared in 1857–9. Thackeray was popularized, not only by his American tour which paid for itself handsomely, but by cheap reprints vended at fifty cents a copy.

B. Literary biography in the Duyckinck *Cyclopedia* (1856).

Not only to its own generation but to ours the work of the two Duyckinck brothers in making available biographies of and literary excerpts from both leading and obscure literati was a very serviceable one; for many of those included, the work today constitutes our only ready source of information.

C. The Knickerbocker tradition waning.

1. "There was never anything quite like the Knickerbocker and there never will be again. . . . It was the easy writing of gay and cultivated men

for one another." So wrote one of its editors years after "Knick's" decease in 1864. In that praise lies the story of its downfall, well begun in the fifties with the passing of the old leaders.

a. **Cooper** died in 1851; **Irving** was devoting himself to his *Life of Washington;* **Paulding** had published his last novel; **Willis** was merely re-issuing old works.

b. The *New York Mirror,* Willis's earlier plaything, was hectic with decay. The *Knickerbocker Gallery,* an elaborate collection of fifty-five antiquated tales, failed in its purpose of galvanizing the fading tradition. Put forth to provide money for a poet's hermitage for Clarke, it proved the dying salute of the older group of good fellows.

2. The tradition was cherished still by younger men.

a. **George W. Curtis,** one of the Brook Farm group, began the *Potiphar Papers* in 1851 as an avowed successor to Irving's *Salmagundi* series of light social satires. The Irving tradition was continued in *Prue and I,* and his *Easy Chair* papers, for forty years a feature of *Harper's,* were "of Knickerbocker texture."

b. **Donald G. Mitchell** was also inspired by *Salmagundi,* in *The Lorgnette.* He became famous for the beautifully written *Reveries of a Bachelor, Harper's* first American-made success and the advance wave of the sentimental surf so audible by the end of the period.

D. The passing of the annuals.

The annuals afforded an outlet for much of this sentimentalism characteristic of the age. In quantity there was no let-up before 1852, fully thirty of these gift-books having been published in 1850 and again in 1851, but thereafter the decline was rapid. In 1853 *Putnam's Magazine* could comment:

> We have never known a less prolific holiday than that which has just passed. Have our publishers been indolent or is the taste of the public changing? It used to be the custom to issue, when Christmas approached, an almost endless variety of 'Gifts,' 'Remembrances,' 'Gems,' 'Tokens,' 'Wreaths,' 'Irises,' 'Albums,' etc., with very bad mezzotint engravings and worse letter-press—ephemeral works destined to perish in a few weeks, but the custom appears to be rapidly passing away.'

Simms declared in 1856: "the annuals have gone the way of all mortal productions! Gold and glitter could not save them!—the pomp of heraldry, or the gorgeous blazonry of art."

IV. The Era of "Billowing Luxuriance in Feeling."

A. Reasons for renewed sentimentalism.

The causes were various: two decades of lady's books, (including the famous *Godey's*), the work of Dickens and of the Brontë sisters, the emotionalism of religion, the influence of Mrs. Stowe. The editor of *Putnam's* remarked: "Charles Dickens and Mrs. Stowe are answerable for a large number of these offenders. The Little Nell and her old Grandfather of the one, and the Uncle Toms and George Harrises of the other are the

parents of an immense progeny of similar personages." The graceful sensibilities of the Knickerbocker tradition did little to check this growing tendency.

B. The extent of the sentimental outburst.

It was signalized by an avalanche of female authors without originality and with a stereotyped flux of sentiment. They invaded fiction with "milk-and-water, puling, superficial and nauseous sentimentalism." Confronted with such a spectacle Hawthorne wrote: "I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash—and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed." Pattee characterized the decade as an "orgy of feminine emotionalism and sentimentalism, a half-savage rioting in color and superlatives and fantastic fancies, an outburst of wild desires to reform all abuses and to bring the world swiftly to a golden age of love and beauty and feminine dreams."

1. **Fanny Fern** was the sister of N. P. Willis, who refused to publish her writings in the *Mirror*. She married James Parton, associate and biographer of Greeley. Her *Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio* (1853) sold 100,000 copies the first year. After her example Fanny Forester, Grace Greenwood, and a whole half-acre of botanical authors burst into bloom. O'Brien satirized the school in Sister Anne—"Story lichens under the name of Mathilda Moss."
2. **Eliza Wetherell (Susan Warner)** was the "reigning female novelist" of the day. *The Wide, Wide World* (1850) sold 80,000 copies in its first year. *Queechy* (1852), another from her pen, Mary Austin called the earliest and best regional novel of New England.
3. **Maria S. Cummins** wrote *The Lamplighter* (1854). It had a sensational history and provided a formula for countless others: select a heroine of fascination and moral integrity, hound her through six hundred pages and finally marry her rapidly. The scheme of moral divagation was rudimentary.
4. After fifteen years, popularity came to **Caroline Lee Hentz** in 1846 with her humorous tale, *Aunt Patty's Scrap Bag*. By 1850 she was an established novelist, and though dead by 1856 she lived to see the sale of her novels mount to hundreds of thousands.
5. **Emma D. E. N. Southworth** was born in 1819 and lived to the end of the century. She was "Queen of the Killers," wrote seventy novels, created two hundred arch villains, "persecuted approximately five hundred heroes and heroines through interminable agencies. It is likely that Mrs. Southworth held the all-time mortuary record." (House.)
6. **Mary J. Holmes (Bertha Clay),** "Queen of the Tear Compellers," was the most voluminous member of the "lamplighter" school. *Tempest and Sunshine* (1854) is her most familiar title, though she is known to a wide class of readers through a whole series of paper-backs still issued by a Cleveland press.
7. **Eliza Ann Dupuy,** author of a score of novels, vied with Mrs. Southworth and Mary J. Holmes in popularity and in melodramatic sensa-

tionalism. Foremost among her titles are: *The Conspirator* (written at the age of twenty-two)—a novel about Aaron Burr which sold 24,000; *Ashleigh; The Huguenot Exiles;* and *The Planter's Daughter,* which drew upon pirates and plantations for engaging material.

8. Scarcely sub-literary in her career, **Marion Harland** was early active in sentimental, pious tales, though many of her works were of historical cast. *Alone,* her first book, went through six editions in a half year. By 1860, six years later, 500,000 copies of her books—so aver her publishers—had been sold.

C. The *New York Ledger* was a great purveyer of popular material. The paper was read extensively, and Bonner, who founded it, became a millionaire, spending his fortune on horse trotting. One of the most popular contributions was the *Gunmaker of Moscow* by Sylvanus Cobb.

V. The Dominance of the New England School.

The New England School was at its height in the fifties. Its spirit, centered in the "hub of the universe," the "Athens of America," expressed itself in a movement of liberalism and in an "awakening of the ethical passion of Puritanism." The leaders of the school were in full career; its ranks knew no break save for the death of Margaret Fuller. It was in this decade that American literature found itself, and upon these years the Cambridge and Concord writers left the impress of their personality. Some of those outside the New England tradition were not so fortunate, particularly when their work flouted the conventions. **Whitman,** who appeared in 1855, sold almost none of 800 copies of *Leaves of Grass,* and the adventures of those he sent out were not such as to encourage any timid creative spirit. The volume created no sensation; it was ignored.

A. Significant works in the decade—starred titles are from New England:

1849 Thoreau, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers.**

1850 Whittier, *Songs of Labor.**
Emerson, *Representative Men.**
Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter.**

1851 Simms, *Katherine Walton.*
Mitchell, *Dream Life.**
Hawthorne, *The House of the Seven Gables.**
Melville, *Moby Dick.**
Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac.**

1852 Hawthorne, *The Blithedale Romance.**
Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin.**

1854 Thoreau, *Walden.**

1855 Longfellow, *Hiawatha.**
Mayo, *Flood and Field.*
Irving, *Life of Washington.*
Whitman, *Leaves of Grass.*

1856 Emerson, *English Traits.**
Curtis, *Prue and I.*
Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic.**

1857 Whittier, *Collected Poems.**
1858 Holmes, *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table.**
Longfellow, *The Courtship of Miles Standish.**
1859 Stowe, *The Minister's Wooing.**
Simms, *The Cassique of Kiawah.*
1860 Emerson, *The Conduct of Life.**
Holmes, *The Professor at the Breakfast Table.**
Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun.**

B. The ideal of refinement.

Certain genteel ideals were current in the decade, ideals of culture, of scholarship, of belles-lettres. Their essence was refinement. Of this spirit of aestheticism Longfellow, with his stress on feeling and sentiment and his mildness of soul, stood perhaps as the most representative figure. Under the spell of European culture and mysticism he adapted foreign traditions to American life, and at the same time set up for himself and others an ideal of inward serenity and unvexed faith. Coarseness, frankness, the Continental realism of Paul de Kock, indecency, never found their way into the libraries of the Brahmin school. This aristocratic school was little taken in, moreover, by the modern devices of stunted adolescence, or by strictly undergraduate methods of securing attention.

C. Achievements by leaders of the New England School.

1. **Hawthorne** brought the novel home to a New England audience with four studies in sin and conscience.

Let out from the custom house in 1849, Hawthorne turned to the composition of *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), a novel dealing with his favorite theme (the effect of secret guilt upon its agent, the study of pride and its effect upon the earthly tabernacle), and presenting a psychological study, in a restricted environment, of a Puritan subject. Thus the study of sin receives the emphasis it might properly have received in a Puritan community: the final action of the minister is in accord with the inner life of the time portrayed—he can find final calm not by escaping the colony and Puritan convention but by expiation. But if the need of public confession is strong in Dimmesdale, it does not well up in Hester, for she has learned the freedom of great love. The attitude toward sin, therefore, is not single: Hawthorne makes clear by the forest scene and the inner emancipation of Hester that there is a larger philosophy to which he subscribes and to which, by graphic detail, he would lead his readers.

The House of Seven Gables followed the next year, called by the author a romance in order to free it from the demands of domestic tales; but it is not free from contemporary life and the gingerbread shop. It chronicles the events which follow the belief in an inherited curse and the romantic agency by which it is removed. It is equally interesting as presenting Hawthorne's philosophy of the past.

Blithedale Romance (1852) is a product in part of Hawthorne's life at Brook Farm and his following of the career of Margaret Fuller (hinted

at in Zenobia). Hollingsworth, the villain of the piece, is the embodiment of the intransigent spirit of reform, and Hawthorne, in delineating him, shows how reforming zeal can identify itself with ambition to become a force for evil, breaking the harmonious bond of heart and head. Other elements are present: a fantastic mystery (with mesmerism and Veiled Lady interlardings), a suicide episode, and social experimentation. There is self-portraiture also, for despite Hawthorne's disavowal of autobiographical elements in the romance, he quite clearly made use of some of his own observations and experiences, though never transcribing happenings directly as a chronicle. From his journal and his own memory he drew the characters of Priscilla, Zenobia, and Miles Coverdale, and gathered such plot incidents as the upturned haycart, the picnics and masquerades. Many of the experiences of Coverdale were clearly Hawthorne's own, and the views of the two have much in common. Portions of the setting, including the house, were from Brook Farm and its vicinity.

The Marble Faun (1860) was the last of Hawthorne's completed romances. Laid in Rome, whither Hawthorne confessed turning because the air of reality was not there so insisted upon, it becomes a fourth volume in the subtle analysis of evil, suggesting the educative influence of a great sin when it is a product, not of vaunting ambition, but of love. There are other elements, for the author was obviously giving expression to his own delight in the romantic scenes of the imperial city. This he did so extensively that not inappropriately the work has been termed "a guide-book to Rome."

2. Emerson's fame was high. (See also Chapter X, VIII, B.)

Following his return from England, **Emerson** lived in constant motion, lecturing East and West, and sending each composition forth on double duty as lecture and as essay. Of his works during those years the most distinctive was *English Traits* (1856), product of a trip to England in 1847. *Representative Men* (1850) with the revealing essays on Plato, Swedenborg, Napoleon, etc., contributed to the building up of Emerson's reputation. He rounded out the decade with *The Conduct of Life* (1860), which he had delivered as Boston lectures in the winter of 1851–52 and repeated many times on lyceum tours. This volume represented some of his maturest and most distinctive thought, as in his essays on "Fate" and "Illusions."

3. Thoreau published his most characteristic work.

Thoreau's earliest book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849), made its way very slowly before the public. With all its medley of comments on literature, its descriptions of nature, and its judgments on human life, it fell dead from the press. In his journal for October 1853, Thoreau recorded that only 219 copies had been sold. His most famous book, *Walden* (1854), was scarcely more successful from a sales point of view, though the book was an apter expression of the author's ideas on the relation of nature and happiness and a fuller articulation

of his thoughts on the higher laws whereby man gains an elevation of soul. The volume is a sermon of transcendental economy (especially parts I, II, V, VIII, XVIII); but though it preaches a gospel of simplicity, it is not a message to deny all the demands of civilization, even if in his hermit existence Thoreau for a time seemed to do so; it aims to suggest, rather, that the road to human happiness is not gained by an ever feverish advance upon an ever widening circle of extravagances. But the book is more than a protest against acquisitiveness, wealth, waste, and institutional complexity. It is also a sound document in nature appreciation, revealing Thoreau's concern with the question of how intimacy with nature may be won. Thus there emerges the poet-naturalist who discourses on the wild, and on the essential lessons of the outdoor world: "Every morning was a cheerful invitation to make my life of equal simplicity, and I may say innocence, with Nature herself." At Walden there was "No yard! but unfenced nature reaching up to your very sills." Here he caught glimpses of the woodcock trying to decoy him from its young, of the battle of ants carried on with the heroism of an epic contest, of the diving and maneuvering of the loon, of the pond in winter, and of the fish beneath its surface. And yet, as the third chapter reveals, Thoreau did much reading, though not to the point of making him bookish. Thus the work preaches a gospel of simple living and searches for the reality beneath the fluxile surface of life. Simplicity and freedom from industrialism were his themes; a harmonious dwelling with Nature and mystical experience in the contemplation of external beauty were his chief longings. Though Thoreau did not make an impression on his age, he became one of the notable voices of the "Golden Day."

4. Holmes established his literary name beyond cavil as a poet, essayist, and wit.

At the opening of the decade **Holmes** was known as a poet of grace and academic humor, a reputation reinforced by his 1849 volume, by "occasional" poems from 1850 to 1856 (including "The Moral Bully," "The Old Player," "The Banker's Dinner"), *Vignettes* (1853), and the very famous poems included in the *Autocrat* ("The Chambered Nautilus," "Latter Day Warnings," "The Deacon's Masterpiece") and the *Professor* ("The Living Temple," "Hymn of Trust," etc.). Some of his most famous Class Poems also appeared in this period: "Remember-Forget," "Our Indian Summer," "Mare Rubrum," "The Boys."

Holmes's most characteristic vein, that of a brilliant talker, received full illustration in *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* (1857–58) and *The Professor at the Breakfast Table* (1858–59), both volumes combining humor and fancy with the strong tonic of the medical professor and written in a "language of conversation transferred to a book." The rationalism and wisdom of the author are marked. "The talks," the author declared, "are like the breakfasts, sometimes dipped toast, and sometimes dry." Verisimilitude in conversation demanded that

Holmes brought an intellectual reserve to the work, especially in *Autocrat* passages on youth and age, trees, books, conversation, boating, poets and poetry, town pride, and intemperance. There are smaller topics innumerable: affinities, audiences, thought-sprinklers, puns, staring, intellectual bankruptcy, etc. The same talkative disposition appears in *The Professor,* though the speeches are longer and the interruptions less frequent. The sections on creeds, good-breeding, localism, the Great Secret of Life, and portrait-painting are memorable. Both volumes combine humor and knowledge; the axiom is heightened to a literary device by the 'Professor,' as are the aphorisms by the 'Seven Wise Men of Boston' masks behind which Holmes parades his wisdom.

5. **Whittier** was well and favorably known in the North by the 1850's and came before the public with three volumes (1853, 1856, 1857). The 1853 volume contained some of his most violent anti-slavery verses, virtually tracts filled with his crusading ardor, his moral earnestness. "Ichabod" poured burning rage upon Webster for his "Seventh of March" speech because Whittier and his fellow abolitionists, non-realists in political matters, preferred the dissolution of the Union to compromise on slavery. "A Sabbath Scene," no less fiery, appealed to man's finer sense and the indwelling Light against such Scriptural interpretations as sought to justify slavery. "First-Day Thoughts" carried forward the same idea of reliance upon individual inward experience but without propagandist purpose:

> Read in my heart a still diviner law
> Than Israel's leader on his tables saw!

At no time in his career did controversial writing exclusively hold Whittier's attention; by 1857, as Scudder says, the "new opportunity afforded by the Atlantic, and the increased association with the other great writers of the day [were] . . . consonant with if not the cause of a broadening of Whittier's mind, a sunny burst of full life, finding expression in such poems as 'Skipper Ireson's Ride,' 'The Sycamores,' 'The Pipes at Lucknow,' 'Mabel Martin,' 'The Garrison of Cape Ann,' 'Telling the Bees,' and 'The Last Walk in Autumn.'" The very titles make clear that Whittier had turned to local-color verse, as signalized in 1855 by "The Barefoot Boy" (appealing to homely boyhood memories). These poems gave faithful nature and character descriptions. "Maud Muller" celebrated social equality; "Skipper Ireson's Ride" was a Yankee ballad with all its provincialism; "The Last Walk in Autumn" exalted New England, where "Old home-bred virtues hold their no unhonored place." "Telling the Bees," based upon an Old Country custom and a lovers' tragedy, induced poetic credulity against major obstacles. In such works of localism, which stressed definiteness of mood and atmosphere, Whittier achieved real success. His later anti-slavery verses, written to a platform formula, did not equal them in merit.

Whittier's forte was probably his idyllic nature verse, though because of

his color-blindness, his black and white studies surpassed those calling for an harmonious blend of rich colors. Unlike Byron, he separated himself too sedulously from the scene in many of his poems, but even so, in the field of humanized pictures, he achieved definite objectives. Whitman's later comment concerning Whittier's work would have seemed true to his readers in that decade: "Whittier stands for morality (not in any all-accepting philosophic or Hegelian sense but filter'd through the Puritanical or Quaker filter)—is incalculably valuable as a genuine utterance, (and the finest)—with many local and Yankee and *genre* bits—all hued with anti-slavery coloring. . . ."

6. **Longfellow** was tremendously popular in the fifties. The first work of the decade was *The Golden Legend* (1851) a lyrical drama. But it was with *Hiawatha* (1855), the culmination of three and a half decades of Indian romances, that he reached the acme of his poetical fame, and so established was his position that until the nineties there was no diminution in the number of his readers or in their esteem for him. Longfellow, ransacking Schoolcraft for names, constructed a kind of *Edda* of Indian mythology, or an epic compounded of legends and traditions centered about Hiawatha, the Deliverer of the Nations. These he told with simplicity and strength, though much of the work is too fanciful for any identity with the aborigine. The poem is illustrative of originality as well as imitativeness. Even though his range of subjects was as wide as Europe, he handled his themes as an American (at least one of his generation) would handle them; his point of view was American, but not defiantly so; and he afforded adequate glimpses, along with an interest in Continental matters, of native subjects. The combination of these factors guaranteed an audience. By 1857 over 300,000 of his books had been sold. Overseas vogue was as great: in 1858 as many as ten thousand copies of *The Courtship of Miles Standish* were sold on the day of its appearance in London. This was a pleasantly humorous story which domesticated continental romance and invested American scenes with "those imaginative . . . associations so seldom met with in our new country, but which live like charms and spells about the cities of the old world, binding the heart of the native inhabitant to his home."

Longfellow unquestionably captured the attention of that generation, not as some seemed to think because of a polished elegance, but because he dealt in a winning way with subjects his contemporaries were interested in, or which appealed to their basic emotions. Among the causes for his popularity the following might be cited:

He gave a distinctive treatment of Indian myths during a period when romantic legends were the staple of poetry; he cast the spell of the story-teller about much of his work; he wrote effectively of the sea; he supplied a culture-hungry generation with materials that the immediate contemplation of their own scene did not suggest; he successfully avoided unpoetic effects and triumphed in the skill and variety of his figures of speech.

D. The romantic school of Boston historians.

1. **John L. Motley's** *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856) was hailed in three countries as the definitive study of its subject—the struggle for liberty in the Netherlands. From American political bickerings and struggles he kept more or less free. Motley, like Prescott, whose important work appeared in the forties, was from Boston and was reared in the school of great masterpieces. "Motley was a colorist. His compositions were large and well lit up with line and pigment."
2. **Parkman's** monumental series on the history of the French in America and the international struggle that took place in New France was presaged by *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851), the broadest chapter in his "epic of North America." Here flowered the union of exact scholarship with romantic delight in the wilderness. It has been recorded of the period and area he selected: "Here the forest drama was more stirring and the forest stage more thronged with appropriate actors than in any other passage of our history." Parkman's attempt to understand the Indian from within is also distinctive, both in his *Oregon Trail* (1849), where he portrayed the Indian as he actually lived in the wilds and remote fastnesses, and in his historical record of the "Conspiracy."

E. America's most sensational best-seller.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, of New England lineage, wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which in things sentimental was rivaled not even by *Queechy* or *Reveries of a Bachelor.* It was the most important volume in the polemic outburst about the "plantation on trial"; its successors, Stowe's *Dred* (1856), Mayne Reid's *The Quadroon* (1856), and the Beadle *Maum Guinea's Children,* had at the time a wide audience but have not survived.

1. The slavery question was filled with dynamite. Sumner, the Dred Scott case, and the Fugitive Slave Law had brought abolitionist and slavery sentiment to the kindling point. The appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Washington Era,* abolitionist organ of Whittier and others, was scarcely noticed; Houghton Mifflin refused to handle it, as did other publishers. Jewett, of Boston, finally undertook its publication, and within a year it had sold 275,000 copies and set a nation on fire.
2. The book was more than a timely tract. Its intense and flowing emotion gave it something of an epic sweep: slavery and the broken pattern of escape have a significance beyond the Emancipation Proclamation. The time's emotional reaction against Calvinism's unbending dogma may have prepared the way for the miracle of the book, in both author and audience.

VI. Humor in the Fifties.

A. Down East humor.

In the decade early works of **Seba Smith** were still widely circulated. The same is true of **Thomas Haliburton,** who furnished some new items such as *Sam Slick's Wise Saws and Modern Instances* (1853). The death of **Frances M. Whitcher** in 1852 only increased an interest in her Widow Bedott, who had been popular for some years, and led to a collected edition

in 1856. Aunt Maguire and the Widow were living creations, who with their mannerisms and eccentricities gave humorous but revealing impressions of Yankee households. The second feminine creation of a New England humorist was Mrs. Partington, whose malaprop absurdities were chronicled by **B. P. Shillaber** in the Boston *Carpet Bag,* and thence transferred to a collected volume, *The Life and Sayings of Mrs. Partington* (1854). The second volume of Shillaber's sold 10,000 pre-publication copies. Other eastern humorists of the period include **William E. Burton** with his *Yankee Among the Mermaids* (1854) and **Howard Paul** with *Dashes of American Humor* (1852).

B. Humor of the Southwest.

In the year 1854 a second volume of **Thomas Bangs Thorpe,** author of the "Big Bear of Arkansas," appeared, *The Hive of the Bee Hunter,* the general level of which is not quite up to his best performances. Most famous of the frontier volumes was **Baldwin's** *Flush Times in Alabama and Mississippi,* mostly descriptive essays of the rough and tumble life of the new country employing little dialogue. He does succeed in conveying the spirit of speculative times and of lawless areas. **Johnson J. Hooper** renewed his activity of the previous decade with *Widow Rugby's Husband,* a series of tall tales. **Marcus L. Byrne's** *The Life and Adventures of an Arkansas Doctor* (1851) and *Rattlehead's Travels* (1852) also belong to this Southwest tradition. Reprints of **Robb's** *Streaks of Squatter Life* and of the works published under the pseudonym of **Madison Tensas, M.D.,** helped sustain the interest in tall talk, yarns, and other oral humor.

Many of these authors might properly be called *Spirit of the Times* humorists; to its columns contributions were sent by J. J. Brent (author of "Stirrup Papers"), Henry P. Leland, "Fitzacorn," Hazel Green, Weston Fisher, "J. Doe," etc. In feverish competition the best product of frontier story-telling was here to be found. A collection of Southwestern humor was brought out in 1851 by T. A. Burke under the title *Polly Peaseblossom's Wedding,* which included reprints of Thorpe, W. T. Thompson, J. B. Lamar, John S. Robb, "The Turkey Runner," J. J. Hooper, and others.

C. Humor of conscious literary devices.

One of the earliest in the field was **Frederick Swarthout Cozzens** whose *The Sparrowgrass Papers* appeared in 1855. For its humor it depended upon broad exaggeration and contrast. **Mortimer Thomson,** author of *Doesticks What He Says* (1855), highly conscious of the ingredients which made for success in humor, referred to the sketches he wrote (widely popular in the newspapers in which they were printed) as "dressed up in a lingual garb so quaint, eccentric, fantastic, or extravagant, that each lender will be sadly puzzled to recognize his own. It is undoubtedly this trick of phrase, this affectation of a new-found style, which has caused their widespread notoriety."

George Dennison Prentice produced *Prenticeana or Wit and Humor* late in the decade, a collection of mildly diverting editorial passages. In the same year **Charles Godfrey Leland** began literary activity with his

Meister Karl's Sketch-Book and *Pipps among the Wide-Awakes* (1860). **George H. Derby,** who in *Phoenixana* and *Squibob Papers* (1859) gathered up the scattered fragments of the comic tradition—exaggeration, wild paradox, sober relation of nonsense, irreverence, etc.,—provided the best combination of the humor pattern before Artemus Ward, with whom he is to be connected. "John Phoenix" was the invented individual whose artificial characteristics Derby celebrated.

VII. Creditable Work in the South.

A. Continuation of historical romance. In the vein of Walter Scott two novelists were active down to the Civil War.

1. **William Gilmore Simms** glorified South Carolina as the repository of all romantic and chivalric traditions. His publication and best appreciation came from the North, but he was passionately devoted to Charleston and active in the literary circle there. Five of his novels appeared in the decade, including *Katherine Walton,* the third volume of a trilogy, and *The Cassique of Kiawah,* a last novel that may stand among his very best.

2. **John Esten Cooke** followed the Cooper tradition even in his titles. This is obvious in his frontier romance, *Leather Stocking and Silk* (1854), which was suggested by a family account of Hunter John Myers. The attempt to convey the spirit of the times, however, carried the author into a definitely Irvingesque vein. His best known work is *The Virginia Comedians* (1854). "My aim," said Cooke, "has been to paint the Virginia phase of American society, to do for the Old Dominion what Cooper has done for the Indians, Simms for the Revolutionary drama in South Carolina, Irving for the Dutch Knickerbockers, and Hawthorne for the Puritan life of New England." In addition to the characterization of the classes of individuals who formed the Virginia of 1765, there was much love complication.

Henry St. John (1859) completed the charming picture of the prewar days in the Old Dominion. The love interest centered about forged letters and an abduction, but the volume had confessedly two themes: "the story of a man and a woman; the history, also, of a period in the annals of a nation." In clarification of this second aim there was advanced Charles Waters, designated as the brains of the Revolution in Virginia as Washington was its sword. Cooke succeeded in his aim of presenting "portraits of the Virginian and his household." Serial publication of *Estcourt, Falkland,* and *The Shadow on the Wall* occupied him during the closing years of the decade.

B. The Charleston poets.

1. **William Gilmore Simms** had been publishing quantities of poetry since 1827, in magazines and in volume publication. In 1853 a New York house brought out a two-volume collection, *Poems,* containing in all 708 pages. This failed dismally to fulfil Simms's lifelong ambition to be recognized as a poet.

2. **A number of writers joined together in Charleston, South Carolina, be-**

fore the war. Simms was the center around whom gathered a little group which included Timrod and Hayne. **Timrod** was one of the finest young poets, but the promise of his first volume (1860) was blighted by the war. **Paul Hamilton Hayne,** son and nephew of Southern poets, never quite realized the anticipations of his enthusiasts, though he appeared in nearly every magazine in the country. In the fifties he published three volumes—in 1855, 1857, and 1860. The 1857 volume showed mastery of the sonnet form. He was probably the third American poet to gain distinction in this field.

3. **William Grayson** answered Mrs. Stowe (whom he called a scandalmonger) in *The Hireling and the Slave.* This is an idyllic defense of a slave economy and a realistic criticism of wage slavery. *Marion,* a later poem, glorifies the South's Revolutionary hero.
4. **Thomas Holley Chivers** is noteworthy chiefly for recent discussions of his Poe-worship and alleged plagiarism. He excelled in technical manipulation of artificial, highly musical verse-forms, but was devoid of ideas. Swinburne ridiculed him but copied some of his rhythms. Rossetti was enthusiastic and influenced by his pure-sound verse. *Eonchs of Ruby* (1851) was his first volume with publisher's imprint (*Lost Pleiade* and two earlier volumes had been privately printed). He followed it with three others in 1853, of which *Virginalia* is the most striking. "The Vigil in Arden," "The Soul's Destiny," "Avalon," "Lily Adair," "Rosalie Lee," "Apollo," "To Allegra Florence in Heaven," and "Isadore" are his chief titles, though not even these achieved popularity.

VIII. Transition Poets in the North.

A. **George Henry Boker** became noted for *Plays and Poems* (1856). Of the poems in these volumes the most famous were "To England" (six sonnets) and "To America." A sequence of sixty sonnets was also included. He stands as the most ambitious sonneteer before Longfellow.

B. **John G. Saxe's** *Poems* (1850) quickly found a ready audience in the fifties. To the slender ten pieces of his first volume he added in 1854 the satire, *The Money-King.*

C. **Richard Henry Stoddard's** early poems appeared in 1852. It is *Songs of Summer* (1857), however, upon which his chief claim in poetry rests. "Out to Sea" and "Persia" are two favorites from his hand.

D. **T. Buchanan Read,** already popular in the late forties, added to his reputation with *New Pastoral* (1855), a topographical poem touching Pennsylvania scenes.

E. **Bayard Taylor,** traveler and lecturer, published his second poetic volume, *Poems of the Orient,* merely successful studies, in 1855. After that, silence for a decade.

IX. Groups of Literary New Yorkers.

A. Pfaff's cellar comrades.

Eddying together in Pfaff's cellar was a company of self-styled Bohemians —jolly good fellows who slept all day and lived all night, were callous to

daily necessities, accumulated debts as they went, and claimed general superiority to the stolid bourgeois.

1. The center of the group was **Fitz-James O'Brien,** author of new and distinctive short stories. He was a Dublin University man and had squandered a fortune in the Bohemias of London and Paris. The best of his work appeared in *Harper's* but he contributed to almost every magazine of the time. His flashes of imagination transformed the short story, but he lacked the careful workmanship of the true artist: he remained always the improviser, the journalist. Despite his avoidance of local setting, his addiction to the florid in style and the exceptional in incident, he did produce stories that will continue to give pleasure, such as: "The Diamond Lens," "The Wondersmith," "What Was It?" and "The Pot of Tulips."
2. The nucleus of the Pfaff group was a number of young journalists: Frank H. Bellew, E. G. P. Wilkins, George Arnold, N. G. Shepherd. Others came and went: William Winter, Bayard Taylor, Stoddard, Stedman, T. B. Aldrich, even Whitman. The meetings were described in Taylor's "Diversions of the Echo Club." They were a gay lot, but they left little permanent imprint. It is interesting to note that Whitman was hardly considered by the others, and Melville was unknown; thus New York's most considerable writers of the period went their way apart from the self-avowed literati.

B. The Cary Salon.

Much more genteel was the salon established in 1856 by the **Cary** sisters, who had come to New York from Cincinnati at the opening of the decade. Their drawing room was their bower, and here **Alice** and **Phoebe** gathered most of the casual part of Pfaff's group as well as more substantial figures: Curtis, Beecher, Whittier, Greeley, Barnum, Fanny Fern, Susan B. Anthony. The sisters' slender poems, novels, and Clovernook sketches were decorously of the genteel tradition.

X. MELVILLE'S LAST IMPORTANT DECADE.

True, in the sixties **Melville** wrote a volume of sketches and an obscure allegorical poem, but to literature he was almost lost after 1857 though he lived on to 1891. *Moby Dick,* begun early in 1850, Melville saw through from his retreat in the Berkshires. As an epic of whaling it was the culmination of the work he had begun in the forties. On the strength of it Melville became a classic; and though not widely acclaimed, the book added materially, in limited circles, to the somewhat general notoriety he had attained in the mid-forties as a South Sea novelist.

Moby Dick is a famed tale of a crazed sea captain whose leg was bitten off by a white whale. Outwardly the story of mad Ahab and the whale, it speedily verges into man's symbolic struggle with the forces of nature, pessimistically viewed as a horrible vulturism. Ahab is human passion pursuing nature and man filled with hatred against one of the world's great creatures, hailed as the incarnation of evil, as the tangible mask through which he might strike at the malignity of the Universe. The crew, cosmopolitan in character, represents

mankind's feeble force hurtled against an infinite and baffling power. But Ahab holds the center of the stage withal; and there results an expressionist interpretation of the skeptic's spiritual torture. Thus the strangeness and exoticism of the novel. It has in it some of the spirit of Ecclesiastes, the Odyssey and Rabelais, mingled, too, with something of the madness of William Blake. It is a strange admixture, descriptive of the sea, seamen's omens and portents and fears, the quarterdeck, and the whaleboat; a study of marine fauna; an encyclopedia of the whaling industry; a nautical anthology. It ranges from a sketch of cetology to the realistic art of the whaleman and the fire and spirit of the chase as the oars cut oily water and the cockleshell boats race through fluketorn seas after the most powerful of God's creatures. Narrative passages there are, too, of marine adventure, of the capture of a whale, of the activities of the cannibal Queequeg, but these are combined with history, sea yarns, sermons in whale-skin, poetry, metaphysics, dramatic monologue, fantastic musing, soul anatomizing, exotic gastronomics, and ominous warnings into a loose whole, all bound with whalebone links to Ahab.

Pierre, which followed in the next year, is full of questionings of his own Soul. It is a novel for the psychologist, with its glimpses of mental torment and confused twistings of spirit. Its baffling and incestuous plot prepared the way for Melville's decline as a novelist. After that he contributed the series of sketches known as "Piazza Tales" to *Putnam's Magazine;* though they are well-written, they cling too definitely to the loose, discursive type of short story then popular in America. Definite marks of weariness and flagging imagination are perceptible. Then Melville, in 1855, attempted for the first time a semi-historical novel in Israel Potter, a tale of adventure celebrating the activities of John Paul Jones on the high seas.

The works of the next decade, not published until 1876, were the products in part of an extended tour of the Mediterranean and the Holy Land. Everything that he wrote after 1855, with the possible exception of *The Confidence Man* (1857) is "anticlimax."

XI. Oratory in the Fifties.

A. Veteran orators who passed from the national scene.

Henry Clay, to the end an advocate of compromise, passed away in June 1852. Four months later **Daniel Webster** died, spending his last days in bitterness because of undeserved abuse and carping criticism. **Rufus Choate,** his apologist, who had been active for twenty years, did not live out the decade.

B. Anti-slavery oratory in the fifties.

1. **Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner,** and **Henry Ward Beecher** were most active in anti-slavery agitation, and repeated were their oratorical flourishes of the period. Wendell Phillips, with such orations as "Public Opinion," "Surrender of Simms," "Harper's Ferry," "Burial of John Brown," and "Lincoln's Election," gave full utterance to his abolition sentiment. Charles Sumner is remembered for "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional," and "The Crime against Kansas."
2. **The Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854) induced oratorical controversy in**

which **Salmon P. Chase, Edward Everett, Stephen A. Douglas,** and Charles Sumner participated.

3. Douglas and **Lincoln** carried on their famous "Debates" in 1858.

C. Eulogies.

The orator is the representative of each serious auditor at a memorial meeting, and his thought or sentiment allegedly suggests the ultimate in individual response to the occasion. Many were the orators who attempted during the decade to live up to the high ideal of eulogy as a commemorative art. Such an art lends itself to the staunch defense of the traditional, particularly in times when sectionalism threatens. Thus the appeal of **Edward Everett's** "George Washington," first delivered in 1856. But the chief subject of eulogy (and attack) in the fifties was Daniel Webster. While **Parker's** unique speech was attack, not eulogy, true appreciation of his renown may be found in the two orations by **Rufus Choate,** at Suffolk (October 1852) upon the occasion of Webster's death and at Dartmouth (1853); the last of these, "one of the grandest threnodies of English speech," has been pronounced memorable "for its sympathetic touch, its comprehensive grasp, its able defense, its scholarly treatment, and its mournful eloquence." (Shaw.)

XII. THE THEATRE AND THE DECADE'S EXPANSIVENESS.

Stock companies grew up in nearly every city, and traveling troupes and showboats throve. California became an actor's mecca. "Tom Shows" began their incredible career, and "Rip Van Winkle" and "Ten Nights in a Bar Room" became stage favorites. By 1860 no less than seven hundred plays by American playwrights had appeared on the American stage. Some were mere adaptations of European successes; some were authentic though crude studies of local types and situations.

The fifties, however, represent the culmination in American dramatic history of the romantic comedy and tragedy. In this form **George Henry Boker** was the most distinguished playwright. Five of his plays were produced; the best, *Francesca da Rimini* (1855), a poetic drama, sustains the severest scrutiny. Cannon, Pilgrim, Levy, even Howe, all of whom essayed with Boker the romantic tragedy, were on a distinctly lower level of achievement.

It was the period also of **Dion Boucicault,** an Irish actor and dramatist who became an American success. Frequently employing timely materials in his plays, he produced *The Poor of New York* during the panic of 1857, and *Jessie Brown* shortly after the defense of Lucknow, and dramatized the popular works of Dickens soon after their appearance (*Dot* and *Nicholas Nickleby*). But his best-known play, *The Octoroon,* though on the stage following John Brown's raid, was more the result of Boucicault's sense of highly dramatic material than of objective factors that might have given rise to it, such as the contemporary debate or a novel of Mayne Reid. Boucicault, after an adaptation of Scott, turned to Irish material in *Colleen Bawn* (1860), a play that was carried to great popularity because of its highly successful dramatization of real Irish life.

On a lower level of achievement was **John Brougham,** author of sixteen plays

during the decade: adaptations from Brontë, Bulwer, and Stowe; burlesques, such as *Pocahontas;* comediettas (*A Divided Case*) and comedies, such as *Game of Life* and *Game of Love.* Other dramatists included C. W. Taylor (*Dred*), G. H. Miles (*Mary's Birthday*), H. O. Pardey (*Nature's Nobleman*). About fourteen Revolutionary plays were produced in ten years, of which five might be instanced: *The Swamp Steed, The Patriots of '76, Horse-Shoe Robinson, The Golden Eagle,* and *Blanche of Brandywine.* Best of these Revolutionary plays, if not of all plays dealing with the events of the War of Independence, was **Oliver B. Bunce's** *Love in '76.*

XIII. The Service of Magazines in the Fifties.

Magazines served important functions in American letters: they afforded support and encouragement to writers who would not otherwise have gained an audience (partly because of the copyright situation); they developed a reading public hospitable to American works.

A. Philadelphia's three magazines.

1. *Godey's,* famous and beloved monitor of ladies, grew from 80,000 to 98,000 in the decade, under the decorously progressive **Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale.** Longfellow, Holmes, Bayard Taylor, and Mrs. Stowe were some of its famous contributors. Pauline Forsyth and Grace Greenwood, of the sentimental tradition, also appeared here. A. B. H. Neal was active in its columns.
2. *Graham's* was the chief resource of aspiring American authors. Its proprietor boasted that he paid as high as $1,500 a month to American authors. It failed in 1855, to the regret of many illustrious writers.
3. *Sartain's,* flooded out early in the decade by cheap reprints of foreign works, was another purely American publication, much blessed and blessing in its support of native writers. It is supposed to have paid $80,000 to its contributors in the last decade of its existence.

B. New York, metropolis for literary periodicals.

Knickerbocker's had long flourished there, besides a succession of more ephemeral publications. During the fifties two famous magazines made their appearance.

1. *Harper's,* founded 1850, was "to place within the reach of the great mass of American people the unbounded treasures of the periodical literature" of the day, supplanting the "silly love stories, rhymes, and fashion plates" of the Philadelphia magazines.
   a. It was, however, so strongly committed to English writers that American authors derived little comfort from its early years. *Great Expectations* ($6,000), *Bleak House,* and *Little Dorritt* by Dickens; Wilke Collins's *Woman in White* ($3,750); a novel by Reade ($5,000); Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* ($8,500) and *Romola;* Thackeray's *The Newcomes* and *The Virginians*—these are some of the famous novels presented in the first decade. As the figures quoted suggest, *Harper's* paid well for the advance sheets they used and were praised as being even more liberal than English publishers.

b. It was enormously successful from the first, and its columns gave **Ik Marvel** his first popularity. Curtis contributed to it even while he edited *Putnam's,* and the best of O'Brien's stories appeared in *Harper's.* **Caroline Chesebro',** was another of the regular contributors in the field of the short story. During this decade it had no relations with the most illustrious of our writers. So thoroughly did it follow public taste that the elder Henry James spoke of its "stupid Methodism," and it was commonly said that where the public was unanimous *Harper's* was happy to agree.

2. *Putnam's* lived only four years, with a brief revival after the Civil War, but it was looked upon in its own day as epoch-making. Only original American compositions were used, and they were liberally paid for. Moreover, it ventured into the discussion of current controversial topics, becoming one of the first journals of opinion. It absorbed much of the "high purpose and rare genius of the *Dial,*" and its table of contents was a beadroll of illustrious ones. Bryant, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell (both James and Maria), Hawthorne, Thoreau, Ripley, Melville (with his Piazza Tales), Stoddard, Stedman, Mrs. Kirkland, J. P. Kennedy, and a host of lesser names are there. Curtis, as editor, somewhat overdid Knickerbocker's conscious superiority, it may be—he counseled Melville to study Addison to improve his style!—but the early passing of *Putnam's* caused deep regret; its end may have been influential in opening *Harper's* to native talent.

C. Boston's temporary lack of a lively magazine.

The time-honored *North American Review* had settled into a "very respectable and very dull" embodiment of Boston omniscience. It did not encourage newcomers, even of Boston origin, and the younger literary men felt the need of an organ of their own.

1. The *Atlantic* appeared in 1857. Phillips, its publisher, consented only after Mrs. Stowe had promised to contribute; and **Lowell** accepted the editorship on condition that Holmes should write for the new magazine. Thus began one of the brilliant careers of American publication: all of the great names were there. The "Autocrat" papers, which might never have been written without the *Atlantic,* were later bitterly criticized by the "evangelical press" for their "impiety."

2. The *Atlantic* was hospitable to new tendencies. Lowell used a great mass of short fiction, selecting stories "like a reminiscence of real life . . . true to human fundamentals . . . based on some definite moral thesis." Although the editor was not a realist, he used the term "realism" for what was probably the first time in American criticism. He published the work of E. E. Hale, Theodore Winthrop, William De Forest, H. Prescott, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and other new writers. **Rose Terry Cooke** began a long and fairly distinguished career under the aegis of the *Atlantic.* It was an invaluable instrument in preparing both writers and readers for the new realism which was to emerge from the West.

D. Magazines on the Southern seaboard.

Charleston, S. C., could not rival outstanding cities in the number of magazines or the volume of subscribers to literary journals, but it did maintain, for a time at least, two important publications. These had to compete after a fashion with the *Southern Literary Messenger* (edited during the fifties by J. R. Thompson), though the editor of the *Messenger* admitted that *Harper's* fared better in the Southern area than a truly regional journal, even when slavery agitation was threatening to inundate all other material.

1. The *Southern Quarterly Review,* a struggling publication, was nevertheless an important barometer of Southern sentiment and interests for fifteen years. It survived until 1857. The first five years of the decade **William G. Simms** was the editor, and paid particular heed not only to the great debate early in the 1850's but to travel articles and reviews. During 1856 and 1857 the *Review* was published at Columbia.
2. Following the demise of the *Quarterly,* **John Russell,** bookseller of Charleston, founded *Russell's Magazine* with **Paul Hamilton Hayne** of the Simms literary coterie as editor. The magazine became an organ for the literary efforts of the group on topics ranging from fiction to scientific research. Founded "to aid in the spread of intelligence and knowledge, to embody the thought and philosophy, the wit, wisdom and genial taste" of the Southern section of the republic, it became the most definitely literary of all the journals of the time, combining studies on Southern literature with papers on Victor Hugo, Wordsworth, Hartley Coleridge, Goethe (*Faust*), Mickiewitz, Cervantes. Poetry was well represented, over eighty pieces having been printed in six consecutive issues. These included sonnets and lyrics by the Simms group and Grayson's "Marion" complete. Literary notices were full and well written. Most famous of the articles were Grayson's "Burr and Hamilton," Dr. Dickson's "Duelling," essays on "What is Poetry," and "The Character and Scope of the Sonnet," and "Slavery in England." Original novels such as *The Actress in High Life* ran parallel with travel sketches in Cuba and Alaska. The last two numbers were deficient in variety, as the editors were winding up the affairs of the magazine.

E. Smaller publications which played their part in the decade.

1. Newspapers distributed much current writing. Great quantities were simply filched from the magazines, but some original works of importance were used and paid for. Lowell's *Biglow Papers* ran in the *Boston Courier;* Howells's *Venetian Days,* in the *Boston Advertiser.* The number of newspapers in 1840 was 1,631; in 1860, it was 4,501.
2. The religious papers—weekly, monthly, and semi-monthly—began during the fifties to include literary departments which doled out small sums to writers and helped lower the sacred-secular barrier. The *Independent* was foremost of this group.

CHAPTER XII

THE SIXTIES IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

I. A Feeble Decade in Poetry and Fiction.

A. The cultural and social significance of the struggle between the states has been dramatically stated by Lewis Mumford:

> The Civil War cut a white gash through the history of the country; it dramatized in a stroke the changes that had begun to take place during the preceding twenty or thirty years. On one side lay the Golden Day, the period of an Elizabethan daring on the sea, of a well-balanced adjustment of farm and factory in the East, . . . an age in which the American mind had flourished and had begun to find itself. When the curtain rose on the post-bellum scene, this old America was for all practical purposes demolished; industrialism had entered overnight, had transformed the practices of agriculture, had encouraged a mad exploitation of mineral oil, natural gas, and coal, and had made the unscrupulous master of finance, fat with war-profits, the central figure of the situation.

B. The Civil War caused almost a complete disruption in American literature. The years of the conflict and the years immediately following were fallow as far as significant output was concerned. Because of the internecine character of the struggle it was some time before literature found its strength again. Morever, promising young authors were lost to America as a result of the war. O'Brien was killed in one of the early skirmishes; Theodore Winthrop met his death in battle in 1861; the death of Timrod was perhaps hastened by the burning of Columbia in 1865.

C. There was a drought in our fiction. Outside of the short story, fiction had reached a low ebb; only about ten important novels were published. These might be called the typical novels of the decade, but their present neglect is sufficient evidence of their feebleness. Chief reliance was upon English products. *Harper's* in this decade furnished ten serials by English authors —by Thackeray, Dickens, Dinah Craik, Wilkie Collins, Justin McCarthy, Anthony Trollope.

II. Important Literary Works.

Major works were by authors whose reputation was already established, and even such output was small in bulk. There was some indication of an influx of new talent, particularly from the West.

1860 Motley, *United Netherlands;* Whittier, *Home Ballads.*
1861 Holmes, *Elsie Venner.*
1862 Browne, *Artemus Ward: His Book.*
1863 Bryant, *Thirty Poems;* Hawthorne, *Our Old Home;* Longfellow, *Tales of a Wayside Inn;* Thoreau, *Excursions.*
1864 Tuckerman, *America and Her Commentators.*

1865 Mitchell, *Wet Days at Edgewood;* Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World;* Whitman, *Drum-Taps.*

1866 Mitchell, *Dr. Johns;* Howells, *Venetian Life;* Whittier, *Snow-Bound.*

1867 Burroughs, *Notes on Walt Whitman;* Bret Harte, *Condensed Novels;* Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America;* Whittier, *The Tent on the Beach.*

1868 L. Alcott, *Little Women.*

1869 Parkman, *LaSalle;* Stowe, *Oldtown Folks.*

1870 Aldrich, *The Story of a Bad Boy;* Emerson, *Society and Solitude;* Lowell, *Among My Books; Scribner's Monthly* founded.

III. Larger Works of Fiction.

A. Non-martial novels (literary in character).

1. **Theodore Winthrop's** posthumous series. Though he early devoted himself to writing, practically nothing he had written was published when the war broke out. He went immediately into active service, and shortly met his death in the battle of Great Bethel. Five of his books appeared during the war period, such friends as G. W. Curtis having taken an interest in his literary remains. His reputation has shrunken materially, although *John Brent* (1862), an idyl of the Rockies, has survived. This is a story of three stout fellows and a matchless girl. But the true hero of the book is the horse, Don Fulano, and probably the most stirring episode, the "gallop of three" to Luggernel Spring. In the story are presented a Mormon camp, frontier brutes, and an Ishmael turned lover. His other works are: *Cecil Dreeme* (1861), *Edwin Brothertoft* (1862), *The Canoe and the Saddle* (1863), and *Life in the Open Air.*

2. **Bayard Taylor** and satire of social fads (see also Short Story).
He was the author of three novels during this decade although only one of them has any present vitality: *The Story of Kennett* (1866), an account of his native village which has been kept in circulation by the force of local pride. Feminine, rather than masculine in mood, it is oversentimental and romantic in treatment, with a happy ending in the E. P. Roe fashion. *Hannah Thurston* (1863), generally acclaimed a better novel, satirized American provincial life and the ferment of the mid-century. *John Godfrey's Fortunes* (1864) drew upon Taylor's experiences among the literary coteries of New York. One always dismisses Taylor reluctantly because he came near but fell short of success; he combined a current feebleness and groping consciousness with strength.

3. **Oliver Wendell Holmes** and the sketch-like novel.
Two of Holmes's novels appeared in this decade: *Elsie Venner* (1861), a study in original sin and retribution, and *Guardian Angel* (1867), a discourse on inherited traits and thus a second excursion into the field of prenatal influences. While these are allegedly novels, the first marks a very transitional stage between the novel and the "Autocrat" series and has not inappropriately been called "The Doctor at the Breakfast

Table." Both works are of patchwork variety, sermons in novel form. He displays a flair for theological discussion, especially with a view to exposing the stern dogmas of Calvinism. And while the skill of Holmes as a talker is effectively illustrated, his absorption in the correlation between physical characteristics and the mental world soon earned for all his pieces the rather unfortunate title of "medicated fiction."

4. **Elizabeth B. Stoddard,** a literary figure solely of the sixties.
Though three novels came from her hand (*The Morgesons, Two Men, Temple House*), they neither had a wide acceptance at the time of their publication, owing in part to their stern subject matter and also to the absorbing and enervating effect of the war, nor produced a marked effect on later writers. Once reprinted (1901), they are of interest today only as they give us plain and unadorned stories of New England life, thus antedating Mary Wilkins Freeman. The works are like Emily Brontë's, full of great power.
5. **Donald Grant Mitchell (Ik Marvel)** and the religious novel.
In *Dr. Johns* (1866) one finds a strange blending of realism and romance. It is apparent, however, that Mitchell is a supreme sentimentalist.

> Marvel's novel, *Dr. Johns,* is one of the few works of fiction in American literature classifiable as religious. Like the others it is so only because its central figure is a clergyman. There is no earnest prying into the religious experience, nor any realistic examination of the clerical life. There is no conflict over dogmas. The book is alleged to be an unsparing examination of a dying Puritanism, but this is not borne out by a reading of it. (C. Hartley Grattan.)

6. **Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's** emotional fiction.
Gates Ajar (1869) is an intense novel (twenty editions the first year) steeped in the New England tradition and compounded of the tragic materials of the author's own life. A document in the emotional life of America, it chronicles two deaths and six months' conversations on the nature of heaven. Other stories of hers which followed were pieces of gorgeous and poetic romance.
7. **Harriet Beecher Stowe's** celebration of the provincial scene.
Oldtown Folks (1869), which represents a series of sketches rather than a novel, deals faithfully and autobiographically with New England materials. It is an intimate history of that region, a cross-section of its life. The author's remarks on another work apply equally here: "It was more to me than a story: it is my resumé of the whole spirit and body of New England, a country that is now exerting such influence on the civilized world that to know it truly becomes an object." The text was made up of her own recollections of Litchfield and her husband's memories of Natick. But Harriet B. Stowe had produced a true novel of the New England scene as early as 1859, in *The Minister's Wooing,* the popularity of which lasted another ten years. The first volume of the decade from her hand was *The Pearl of Orr's Island* (1862), a novel

which influenced Sarah Orne Jewett through its employment of the Maine coast for a locale, its selection of fishermen and their families as subjects, and its idyllic, sentimental treatment of their lives. The book is pious and keyed for the evocation of a strong emotional response. The lingering shadow of Dickens can be seen, especially in the powerful deathbed scenes. Effective, however, is its characterization of Miss Roxy, Captain Kittredge, and other earthy creatures, and its description of simple activities of isolated seacoast communities. Since it went through eight editions in two years, largely because it was cast in the sentimental pattern of the day, it may be called the most popular novel of the half-decade. A second volume, *Agnes of Sorrento,* created little response.

8. **Augusta Jane Evans Wilson** and popular success.
   A belated production of the domestic, sentimental order, *St. Elmo* (1866) was one of the most famous of the tearful classics. It sold enormously and was almost immediately parodied in *St. Twel'mo.* William Brewton, speaking of the Evans novels—*Vashti* (1869), *Infelice* (1875), etc. —remarked that their "half century vogue . . . makes them important, their romantic province and tones to the contrary notwithstanding," and of *St. Elmo* in particular declared: "Warfare between innocence and guilt; the latter fortified by profound learning, the former relying upon its own inherent strength, each alternately aided and defeated by love, made a story of almost universal appeal."
9. **Rebecca Harding (Davis)** and emergent realism.
   Margaret Howth (1862) opens startlingly: "I write from the border and the battlefield, and I find in it no themes for shallow arguments and flimsy rhymes." The story which follows is a plebeian account of the sordid, dark lives led by commonplace workers. Her more conventional novels of the decade were *Dallas Galbraith* (1868) and *Waiting for the Verdict* (1868).

B. Martial novels (literary).

1. **Sidney Lanier's** blend of romantic and realistic technique.
   Tiger Lilies (1867) is chaos as far as a novel goes, yet in it there is really acid realism; whenever he touches the life of the soldier (as in the second volume) he is graphic. Lanier, the first who saw the mountaineers of the South as subjects of dialectal poems and fictional volumes, was a precursor of Harris. But his novel is not single in its aim or substance. It is instinct with German romanticism, especially in its earlier sections, and here, as the *Round Table* noted, all the characters are "musicians and German scholars." Thus we find two marked divisions in the book: the first an idyl of art springing from a conception of love, the second a story of war symbolized in the Tiger Lily.
2. **John Esten Cooke's** distinctive Confederate war romances.
   Although the war swept away the old chivalry of the South, in the novels of Cooke one gets the spirit of the old-time, prewar Virginia as

well as lively pictures of Southern war leaders; but, as Hubbell says, though "his battle scenes and historical portraits are excellent," his "type of fiction was too archaic to mirror the wartime life as a whole." During the decade of the sixties Cooke wrote *Surry of Eagle's Nest* (1866), *Hilt to Hilt* (1869), and *Mohun* (1869). In this series of Confederate romances, Cooke continued to write in the old chivalric manner, but at times he effectively transferred to fiction his own biographical technique. Beaty remarks that his *Surry of Eagle's Nest* is a close parallel of his *Stonewall Jackson,* as his *Mohun* is of *Lee*—"the major events are the same, the novels having an interweaving of fiction." This blending is not always skillfully done, however; even his best-selling book reveals structural weaknesses. But his novels show not so much inability to integrate materials of fact and fancy as the romanticist's refusal to strive for greater unity.

3. Minor novels.

There were no less than fifty works on the theme of the Civil War, among the most distinctive of which were: *Among the Pines, The Stars and Bars, Shoulder Straps, The Test of Loyalty, the Rival Volunteers, Eye-Witness, The Confederate Spy, The Sanctuary, Roebuck, Sunny-bank, Miss Ravenal's Conversion, Lucia Dare, On the Border, Waiting for the Verdict, Randolph Honor.*

C. The ephemeral: Dime novels.

Definition depends upon one's point of view, turning upon the relative stress one gives to popular reading, pioneer exploits, stimulating events, hack work, or literary types. Thus there are those who say that the dime novel is sociologically valuable in reciting the "conditions under which pioneer men and women lived and did their work"; others who find it a "clinic in mass psychology"; still others who say: "Fire, do your duty!" Price was the first mark of distinction; color and quaint embellishment supplied others; saturation with the spirit of adventure proved the most essential.

1. The Beadle and Adams series.

a. In the summer of 1860 the experiment of "dime novels," issued in orange jackets, was tried by **Erastus Beadle.** They soon enjoyed an immense vogue: they were sent to the military camps by carloads and were read until worn out.

b. While dime novels sold in huge quantities until the end of the century in such series as Beadle's Dime Library (begun in 1878, with a thousand titles before 1900) and Beadle's Half-Dime Library (which ran concurrently with the Dime Library), yet in the sixties it was Beadle's "Original" dime novels (totaling 386 in a series) and "New Dime Novels" (Old series Nos. 387–630) which were most popular. These two series ran until about 1874, when they were largely succeeded by another Beadle product, "Pocket Novels" (about 275 titles, largely begun in 1870).

c. The chief subjects were pioneer life, Indian warfare, Western exploration, or historical events of spectacular character, and fictional materials consistent with such bases.

d. Famous titles and authors in the sixties included:
Edward Sylvester Ellis's *Seth Jones* (sold 450,000 from 1860 to 1865), *Natt Todd, Oonomoo, The Trail-hunters, The Forest Spy,* and *The Riflemen of the Miami;* Mrs. Victor's *Maum Guinea, Alice Wilde,* and *The Backwoods Bride;* William Jared Hall's *The Slave Sculptor;* Ann Stephens's *Malaeska* (first dime novel) and *Story of the Oregon Trail;* Frances Barritt's *The Land Claim* and *East and West;* N. C. Iron's *Stella* and *The Double Hero;* Charles Dunning Clarke's *Ruth Harland, The Peddler Spy, The Pale-face Squaw, Ech Peters,* and *The Prairie Trapper;* Edward Willett's *The Scioto Scouts* and *The Three Captives;* Mary Denison's *Ruth Margarie* and *Captain Molly;* Roger Starbuck's *The Specter Skipper* and *The Golden Harpoon;* Tom Harbaugh's *Stung Serpent.*

e. The ethics of the dime novels were on a much higher level than their reputation. Charles Harvey thus characterized them: "Ethically they were uplifting. The hard drinkers, and the grotesquely profane and picturesquely depraved persons who take leading roles in many of the dime novels of recent times were inexorably shut out from their progenitors of Beadle's days."

2. Imitators of Beadle and Adams in the sixties.

a. **Robert DeWitt** began a series in 1867, running to a total of 118 in the ensuing ten years. The books included were inferior in material and authorship.

b. American Tales, a series begun in 1864, issued by **Tousey** of New York, sold at 15 cents and turned almost exclusively on events of the "Great Rebellion and of the Border."

c. **Munro's** Ten Cent Novels, a series of historical tales begun in 1866, continued for a long time with the usual stress on exploits and trials of American pioneers.

IV. HUMOR OF THE SIXTIES.

A. **R. H. Newell's** *The Orpheus C. Kerr Papers* (1862–68).

B. **Charles Farrar Browne,** author of *Artemus Ward, His Book,* (1862) and *Travels* (1865). He is generally recognized, after Mark Twain, as America's foremost humorist. This is a judgment which prevails despite his important predecessors—Seba Smith, Shillaber, and Derby. In his own day **Ward** impressed his contemporaries by his strange personality, by his droll comment on current affairs, and by cacography, but today he lives on the strength of his piercing view of society. He was a man whose insight and shrewdness were dominant traits, as they were in the case of his modern successor, Will Rogers, the "Sage of Claremore." Ward was a keen satirist of society, but though there are those who hold that he was a crusader, he was most interested in direct entertainment. His criticisms of America during the Civil War when partisanship, passion, and prejudice

might have been expected, were free from ill-nature, petulance, or didacticism. With his ability to laugh at the foibles of men, Ward may long be assured of a place in the hearts of reading Americans.

C. **Henry W. Shaw (Josh Billings)** (*Sayings,* 1865).
No mere episode of the sixties, Shaw made his way into popularity by a lecture series, beginning in 1863, that set the stage for his later works. His essays were chains of observations and characterizations from key words; and though the resulting compositions were successful in their combinations of whimsical remarks, he was at his best in isolated aphorisms. There is a notable timelessness about his sayings which achieve their effect chiefly through their basic common sense.

D. Northern war satire and humor.
From Toledo was heard **David Locke,** whose manner was less gentlemanly than that of other humorists of the period because there was about him something of the crusader's singleness of purpose. Locke's straw man was a self-seeking, hypocritic villain, **Petroleum V. Nasby,** a character quite the opposite of Locke in his political and religious beliefs and actions. The creation of a character who exhibited the traits and opinions of his opponents was Locke's method of combating those opponents. Humor was simply a means to an end. Petroleum V. Nasby was printed in all the Federal sheets.

E. Southern war humor.
From the South came the voice of **Bill Arp,** ironical, dogged, undiscouraged. His letters, submitted to the *Atlanta Constitution,* were a series of comments, without malice, on Southern affairs during the Civil War period. His most famous letters were addressed to "Abe Linkhorn" and Artemus Ward. Published volumes in the decade included *Bill Arp, So-Called* and *Letters.*

F. The blackguard tradition. **George W. Harris's** *Sut Lovingood's Yarns* (1867) carried the virile, prank-playing roughneck to the greatest development he was to attain in Southwest humor.

G. Dialectic humor: **C. G. Leland's** *Hans Breitmann's Party with Other Ballads* (1868).

H. **Mark Twain,** the classic humorist of the decade.
1. *The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County and Other Sketches* (1867), though narrative in character, was primarily humorous to the Western audience to whom it was first addressed.
2. *Innocents Abroad* (1869) was largely responsible for the establishment of Mark Twain's reputation as a humorist, a reputation which kept him for a long time from being considered a serious literary personage. Also destructive of serious appraisal were his amusing lectures such as "The American Vandal" and "The Sandwich Islands." *Innocents Abroad* was consumed as a book of humor to the quantity of 300,000 in five years despite the fact that a large New York and California audience had already read the fifty-three letters in the news-sheets. The sources of his

humor were apparent in this volume: incongruity, the sober utterance of nonsense, exaggeration, irreverence (especially toward Old World treasures), anticlimax, yarning, and sober misuse of historical facts. He represented the rough humor of the West, and his readers found great merriment when they saw the erstwhile river pilot sounding the guide-book traditions of the Old World and pronouncing them too shallow for progress. His book put an end to much sentimentalizing on the Grand Tour.

V. Poetry of the Sixties.

A. Civil War verse.

Almost every recognized poet who was still active wrote verses from 1860 to 1865. There were countless others, stirred by the events of the time, who voiced their feelings in poems rough and tumbling, sometimes original but more frequently parodies of well-known pieces.

1. Poets of the North.

a. **Walt Whitman** in 1865 published *Drum Taps* and *Sequel to Drum-Taps* (1865–6), with a group later printed as *Memories of President Lincoln* (1871), containing the popular favorites "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," "O Captain! My Captain!" and "Hush'd Be the Camps Today." Whitman's somewhat blatant spirit was chastened and disciplined by his experiences during the Civil War. In consequence, the poems of the war period are emotionally and aesthetically superior to anything he had previously written. They are less interpretative of Whitman's peculiar vein of thought, but true poetry must have a universal quality that commends it to intelligent readers everywhere and serves for more than the mere revelation of a transitory mood on the part of the poet. In this sense Whitman's Civil War verses were mature. Continuing the poignancy previously displayed in "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," Whitman produced such notable pieces as "Beat! Beat! Drums!", "Rise, O Days from Your Fathomless Deeps," "By the Bivouac's Fitful Flame," "Come Up from the Fields, Father," "Vigil Strange I Kept on the Field One Night," "The Wound-Dresser," "Ashes of Soldiers," "Pensive on Her Dead Gazing," and that great war lyric already cited, "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd." Also in this decade were "Cavalry Crossing a Ford," "Bivouac on a Mountain Side," and "Proud Music of the Storm." It is in such poems that the Whitman experimentation justified itself and upon them that much of his present-day reputation rests. Rhythmic, sweeping, moving, they are little likely to be forgotten. His view of wartime subject matter he clearly expressed in his *Specimen Days:* "to me the main interest I found, (and still, on recollection, find,) in the rank and file of the armies, both sides, and in those specimens amid the hospitals, and even the dead on the field." Of Whitman's Civil War verse Pattee remarked: "without the Civil War he would have been but a phase of transcendentalism, as forgotten now perhaps as even Alcott. The war it

was that flooded his *Leaves of Grass* with light, that added to them what really is the vital spark. He interpreted the hour when America in her Gethsemane found her soul, and it was in the same hour that he found his own."

b. **James Russell Lowell's** "Our Martyr Chief," in the *Commemoration Ode,* and "Washers of the Shroud" were his main single contributions. Lowell's *Ode* was not only the finest of American odes but the most effective expression of American patriotism which the decade witnessed. It has not been cut in stone but has an endurance which public poetry does not ordinarily display. Lowell published a miscellaneous volume, *Under the Willows,* in 1869, but it contained nothing distinctive, though *The Cathedral,* the following year, was an important subjective poem. Best known of his Civil War volumes was the second series of *Biglow Papers* which became important documents in the thought of the time, chiefly because of Lowell's eminence as a literary man. As poetry they did not attain the high level of the first series; for though they had effective passages, their wit was diffused through doubling the bulk. Still they retained a firm hold on the vernacular, and the added length was in part a recognition of the more serious treatment the civil struggle called for. The lengthy philological article on dialect which served as an introduction proved the erudition of the poet and his skill in giving light, facile expression to technical matters.

c. **Herman Melville** wrote *Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War* (1866), a volume prompted, the author states, by the fall of Richmond and celebrating among other events the battle of Malvern Hill. It contains also the distinctive pieces, "Victor of Antietam" and "Sheridan at Cedar Creek."

d. **Holmes** and **Julia Ward Howe** contributed to war poetry in the former's well known "Brother Jonathan's Lament for Sister Caroline" and the latter's "Battle Hymn of the Republic." Both wrote many other songs and lyrics.

e. During the sixties **W. C. Bryant** was chiefly engrossed with the translation of the *Odyssey.* His concern with the life of his times is apparent, however, in the wartime pieces printed in his *Thirty Poems* (1863), such as "Not Yet," "Our Country's Call" (with its clarion challenge to duty), and "A Word." Later poems of the decade were "The Death of Lincoln" and "The Death of Slavery."

f. **George Henry Boker** produced a volume in 1864, *Poems of the War,* of which the most famous were "Ode to America," "Lincoln," "On Board the *Cumberland,*" and "Dirge for a Soldier." His work was classical in form.

g. **Whittier,** with the zeal of the abolitionist, could not be silent in the war days; he was active with two volumes: *In War Time* (1864) and *National Lyrics* (1865), containing "The Mantle of St. John de Matha," "The Peace Autumn," "To the Thirty-ninth Congress."

Favorites of his list were "Barbara Frietchie," "What the Birds Said," and "Laus Deo." The combination of Quaker and abolitionist kept Whittier from being the great poet of the war period when a Websterian love of the Union was needed.

h. **Henry H. Brownell,** "our battle laureate," collected his *War Lyrics and Other Poems* in 1866, a volume including the "Battle of Charlestown," "The River Fight," and "The Bay Fight," the last an animated description of the battle of Mobile Bay.

i. **T. B. Read,** noted today only for a spirited martial lyric, "Sheridan's Ride," did produce other verse of distinction, such as "The Attack" and "The Eagle and the Vulture."

j. **Edmund Stedman** in 1861 published *The Battle of Bull Run.* Three years later he released several short poems, such as "Sumter" and "Gettysburg" and the lengthy "Alice of Monmouth; an idyl of the great war."

2. Poets of the South.

a. **Henry Timrod,** of the Simms coterie in Charleston, began a poetic career in 1859, but during the war came forward with a series of stirring verses which earned him the title of "laureate of the Confederate cause." His loyalty to the South was ever free from abuse and vituperation though displaying a justifiable heat of wartime anger.

Without more marked purpose than the expression of a poet's sincere emotions, his poems were almost a barometer of the Southern patriot's state of mind as the struggle progressed. Moved by a vision of a new nation in the South, he was the first to hail the Confederacy upon the occasion of its first assembled Congress in an ode that was at once dignified and eloquent. This poem, *Ethnogenesis,* chanting glories the years shall bring, was a vision of a Southern nation, built upon cotton culture, free from Northern commercialism, and strong in the chivalric spirit of its people. He stirred the spirit of his fellow Southerners with "A Cry to Arms"; he celebrated Carolina in fervid, living lines; he mourned the slain in battle in the noble lines of "The Unknown Dead"; he yearned for the coming of peace when Spring would again bring only the flowering of the fields instead of the renewal of mortal strife; he expressed simple but anxious concern over the threatened bombardment of his own beloved Charleston; and in the "Ode" written after the war was over, he addressed the "martyrs of a fallen cause" in lines which, by their felicitous language and deep but restrained bitterness, perhaps justify Whipple's enthusiastic praise of it as "the noblest poem ever written by a Southern poet."

b. **Paul Hamilton Hayne,** though inferior to Timrod as a battle lyrist, penned some short pieces of value: "Beyond the Potomac," "Vicksburg," "Charleston," etc. His poems sum up the finest feelings of the wartime South.

c. Noteworthy, too, were **Ticknor's** "Little Giffen of Tennessee," "The River," and "Virginia" (the counterpart of Timrod's "Carolina").

d. **Margaret Junkin Preston's** was the most characteristic woman's voice from the South during the war period. Such poems as "Under the Shade of the Trees" (based on Jackson's dying words: "Let us cross the river and rest in the shade"), "Gone Forward," "Acceptation," upheld the cause of the Confederacy.

e. Other Southern poets of the Civil War included John Reuben Thompson, Abram Joseph Ryan, William Gordon McCabe, George H. Miles, James Barron Hope, Albert Pike, Henry Lynden Flash, and the author of "My Maryland," James Ryder Randall.

3. Battle ballads and songs, North and South.
The best known in this tradition are: "John Brown's Body" (Charles Sprague Hall); "The Reveille" (Bret Harte); "Marching Through Georgia" (Henry Clay Work); "We Are Coming, Father Abraham"; "The Battle-Cry of Freedom"; "Tramp, Tramp"; "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground" (Walter Kettredge); "The Blue and the Gray"; "Dixie" (Emmett and Pike); "The Bonnie Blue Flag"; "Maryland! My Maryland!"; "All Quiet Along the Potomac."

4. Contemporary collections of war verse:
War Songs of the South (1862).
Lyrics for Freedom (1862).
Frank Moore, editor, *Lyrics of Loyalty* (1864).
Rebel Rhymes and Rhapsodies (1864).
Songs of the Soldiers (1864).
War Lyrics and Songs of the South (1866).
R. G. White, *Poetry, Lyrical, Narrative, and Satirical of the Civil War* (1866).
W. G. Simms, *War Poetry of the South* (1866).
Emily V. Mason, *The Southern Poems of the Civil War* (1867).
Sallie A. Brock, *The Southern Amaranth* (1868).
Francis F. Browne, *Bugle Echoes* (1882).
(Subsequent collections by B. E. Stevenson, Eggleston, and Ellinger and Moore.)

B. Narrative verse of the sixties.

1. Some of the most famous poetic narratives of **Whittier** were published in this period; among these pieces, gathered up in *The Tent on the Beach,* were "Abraham Davenport," symbol of a sense of duty that knows no fear, and two witchcraft poems previously contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly,* "The Wreck of Rivermouth" and "The Changeling." Such poems, in their connection with a half-dozen other poems on the subject of witchcraft and superstition, make clear that the legendary and retrospective vein was a fairly consistent feature in Whittier's poetry for all but ten years. During the fifteen years after 1855, Whittier was very conscious of his return to "legends . . . of credulous days, old fancies . . . from boyhood," and these he treated in his wonted ballad style. Readers of his collected poems in 1868 could, however, if they found his latest narratives feeble, turn to the reprinted section of "Home

Ballads" which included such favorites as "The Garrison of Cape Anne," "Skipper Ireson's Ride," "The Witch's Daughter," and "The Double-Headed Snake of Newbury."

2. **Longfellow's** *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (Part I) was brought out in 1863 as a series of stories in a narrative framework, a device almost as old as literature itself but familiarized by both Chaucer and Boccaccio. The narrators of the stories were six Boston associates who had visited with Longfellow the old inn at Sudbury, twenty miles from Cambridge, Massachusetts. Here the friends entertained each other with tales which soon became well known among American readers, especially "Paul Revere's Ride," and "The Saga of King Olaf," a poem he had ready for separate publication but incorporated in the *Tales* as the Musician's story. Other pieces of "The First Day," which transport the reader widely, included "The Legend of Rabbi Ben Levi," "King Robert of Sicily," "Torquenade," and "The Birds of Killingworth." The narratives were richly supplied with interludes and dramatic sequences. In these tales Longfellow's skill at story-telling is at its best, with adequate dramatic clashes among the characters to sustain the movement, and swift, unfailing relation of essential facts to sweep the story colorfully but vigorously to its close. Though the structure of the volume is traditional, it may be praised for its direct appeal; in its attractive simplicity, its smoothness, and straightforwardness it rivals any of the other works which Longfellow wrote.
3. **Bayard Taylor's** two volumes, now forgotten, belong here: *Home Ballads* and *The Picture of St. John* (1866). (For greater work see his translation of *Faust,* D below)

C. Idyls and non-martial lyrics.

1. Most of **W. C. Bryant's** *Thirty Poems* (1863) are lyrics, particularly such poems as "The Path," "The Constellations," and "The Third of November," etc. "The Poet" provides a key to his attitude toward poetry in his later years. Disdainful of mere "smooth array of phrase" he argued that the poet should write impassioned verses, not lines born of detachment. Thus he decried mere parlor poetry. It is not inappropriate to claim for Bryant a prominent place among those who have chanted of the spirit of liberty, celebrated freedom, and voiced faith in America. "The Song of the Sower," one of Bryant's famous democratic poems, was printed in the 1863 volume.
2. **Whittier** displayed his usual versatility in the decade by a variety of offerings such as nature poems ("Mountain Pictures"), idyls (*Snow-Bound*), and religious poems ("The Eternal Goodness," "The Waiting," and "Our Master"). In the last named he reached the height of his success as a hymn-writer. Both this poem and "The Eternal Goodness" are permeated by the spirit of faith and devotion. Whittier's first claim to remembrance in American poetry, however, is his *Snow-Bound,* descriptive of vigorous New England winters and of Puritan colonial interiors.

The theme was perfectly adapted to his mood and powers. He was nearly sixty, alone, and the family homestead, occupied for generations by his ancestors, and rich in personal associations, had gone into the hands of others. With unerring rightness of feeling he recreated in his "Flemish Pictures" not only his own lost youth, but he pictured for all time the home life of rural New England as it once existed. Here are depicted with faithfulness and skill, the coming of the storm, the peaceful hearthside diversions while the snow is piled high without, the characteristics of individual members of the home, and of such others as the schoolmaster, with his introduction of local and foreign legend. As a charming picture of democratic life in the country this idyl does not suffer by comparison with "The Cotter's Saturday Night" or "The Deserted Village." In it Whittier was as impersonal and direct as he ever came to be, and the consequence is a well-nigh flawless work of art. (Leisy.)

3. **Frederick Goddard Tuckerman's** *Poems* (1864) consist largely of pastorals and lyrics collected in private printings in 1860 and 1864. The most distinctive section of his work is that of the sonnets, cast in an irregular form but molded always for the fullest expression of his emotion.
4. **John James Piatt** published in the sixties three volumes of his own (two more volumes in three succeeding years), the most distinctive of which was *Western Windows* (1869) for which the Ohio Valley provided an adequate scene.
5. **Thomas Bailey Aldrich** enjoyed a reputation as a rising poet in the sixties, though he did not achieve greatest finish until after 1880. The volume of 1863 was less blurred and aimless than his earlier attempts. His *Poems* appeared in the "Blue and Gold Library" in 1865.
6. **Richard H. Stoddard,** with no very firm grasp upon reality, wrote the exotic *Book of the East,* representative of his detachment and his turning to the past or the distant for decorative material.
7. In 1862 **John G. Saxe** joined distinguished company in Ticknor and Fields's series of poets, "In Blue and Gold."

D. The age of translation.

1867 Longfellow, *Divina Commedia.*
Numbed by the internecine struggle and by personal grief, Longfellow devoted most of his energies in this decade (after the *Wayside Inn*) to translation.

1867 Norton, Dante's *Vita Nuova.*

1867 Parsons, Dante's *Inferno.*

1870 Bryant, *Iliad.*

1870 Taylor, *Faust.*
This is Taylor's best claim to poetical reputation. Work on the translation had occupied him from 1863 on, Taylor avowing: "I design nothing less than to produce the English *Faust.*"

1871 Bryant, *Odyssey.*

1872 Cranch, *Aeneid.*

VI. THE SHORT STORY WRITERS OF THE SIXTIES.

A. Divergent tendencies among major writers.

1. The earliest stories of **Henry James** (those contributed to the *Galaxy* magazine and the *Atlantic Monthly*) are chiefly interesting as a means of tracing his development in style. Some like "De Gray" and "A Romance of Certain Old Clothes" reveal Hawthorne's influence. Others show the analytical disposition of the author so marked in the later works. The world he describes, like that of Jane Austen, is a world of leisure, the characters having no tasks worth mentioning. Mastery of phrase is already marked. His stories for the decade numbered fifteen. Most of these were never collected by the author, though at the time they were written he had decided upon the short story form as his medium of expression.
2. A captain in the army during the war, **John W. DeForest** was probably the only one of the burgeoning authors of the late fifties who survived the conflict. In his short stories one might conceivably search for pictures of the struggle itself, but they are few. From Mt. Lebanon to New Orleans and to Amsterdam he takes us, but rarely to the battlefield. In several stories, however, there is hint of the graphic portrayal he imparted to the Civil War and its aftermath in his novel of 1867. Among these might be mentioned "The Drummer Boy," "Charleston under Arms," "Fate Ferguston," "Rum Creeters is Women!" and "The Brigade Commander" (1874). "Fate Ferguston" employs DeForest's favorite formula: a strong, tolerant Northern lover, an impulsive Southern woman.
3. The Orientalism which had marked the metropolitan group in Stoddard's *Book of the East* and Aldrich's *Poems of the Orient* was apparent also in the short stories of **Bayard Taylor,** for not infrequently the romanticist's love of the distant in time and place was the source of interest, as in the Russian tale, "Beauty and the Beast." But Taylor was effective in description of diversions and extravagances of bohemians, Arcadians, and suffragettes, for which he became widely known. Best were "Tales of Home," a series contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly*. Of these, four were rural pieces. Two relate to the Quakers, among whom he was reared: "The Strange Friend" (people of Londongrove) and "Friend Eli's Daughter," a story illustrating the powerful influence of religious tradition in quiet, intensely devout people.
4. Continuation of the gorgeous tradition was discoverable in **Harriet Prescott (Spofford).** Harriet Prescott had all the adjectives, superlatives, and color of the school. In addition she had French brilliancy, epigrammatic snap and vigor. But she had an imagination "lawless and rich" which made it difficult for her to heed the realistic voice of the new period, and thus she ceased to be a power in the history of the American short story. In three stories of *Amber Gods and Other Stories* (1863) she did achieve distinction: "In a Cellar," a tale with detective interest; "The South Breaker," introducing the theme reprehended by James, the

development of "an unlawful affection"; and "Knitting Sale-Socks," one of the earliest local-color stories of New England and worthy companion of those by Rose Terry.

B. Atlantic realists.

1. **Rebecca Harding (Davis)** achieved distinction in such a tale as "In the Iron Mills," though most of her fiction is outside the short story field. In this story she was champion of the mill-workers. The spirit which prompted her she clearly expressed: "I want you to dig into this commonplace, vulgar life, and see what is in it."
2. In 1869 appeared a collection of the short stories **Elizabeth Stuart Phelps** had contributed to various magazines: *Men, Women, and Ghosts.* Of these the first widely recognized was the "Tenth of January," which appeared in the *Atlantic* in 1868. The decade marks only the beginning of her career: her *Fourteen to One* appeared in 1891; the last collection, in 1920. Her earliest stories presented the ideal distribution of appeal among the familiar, the lowly, and the mildly exotic. She pleased her age too well to speak very convincingly to any other. Her stories cover nearly the whole range of literary interests of the sixties, never startling, always capably put together, sugared with gentle morality.
3. **Rose Terry Cooke** was the most active of the early *Atlantic* contributors. She was transitional, falling between the two periods of romanticism and realism. She began literary work as a poet and, in such pieces as she then produced, had an unsuspected poetic power joined with idealism and loftiness. In her *Atlantic* stories she displayed a sense of humor and a steadily increasing power in the treatment of commonplace people with a poetic realism. In practically all her works, both early and late, she was concerned with life and character in Connecticut. Of her stories early in the decade the most distinctive were "Miss Lucinda," "Dely's Cow," "A Woman," and "Sphinx's Children."
4. **Edward Everett Hale** was a distinctively Boston member of the *Atlantic* realists. He began writing early for the *Boston Miscellany,* and his literary development might have gone on unbroken had this journal not failed. He is famous today for two tales: "My Double and How He Undid Me" and "The Man Without a Country," the latter having brought him a deluge of letters. "The Brick Moon," an impossible but fascinating tale, is also rather widely known. *If, Yes and Perhaps* (1868) was the first and most important of a half-dozen collections of his tales. Hale made use of what has been termed "realistic extravagance," though he must be credited with having added plausibility to the American short story.
5. The name of **John T. Trowbridge** became known in 1865 with the publication of *Coupon Bonds,* a long short story portraying "the rascally side of the Yankee nature." He imparted humor to his work, which redeems even the worst of it from the charge of vulgarity. Note the title of one of his short stories: "The Man Who Stole a Meeting House."

C. Minor *Atlantic* realists.

Gail Hamilton (Abigail Dodge), Caroline Chesebro', Lucretia P. Hale, Charles Nordhoff, George Arnold, and Robert T. S. Lowell may be called minor *Atlantic* realists because of their limited contributions to this journal, though several of them had bulky works elsewhere printed. *Atlantic Classics* (1865) gathered up some of the writings of the group. A less important anthology of the decade (in that it drew from less important authors) was Lippincott's *Short Stories for Spare Moments* (first and second series, 1869).

VII. The Beginning of the Juvenile.

A. **Adeline D. T. Whitney's** *Faith Gartney's Girlhood* (1863) and *We Girls* (1870).

B. **Louisa May Alcott's** *Little Women* (1868). In seventy years it has sold 1,500,000 copies.

C. **Thomas B. Aldrich's** *Story of a Bad Boy* (1870), a readable account of youth. Simply, frankly, and with freshness he put the life of boyhood on his pages without didacticism.

D. Persistence of the tradition in **John Trowbridge's** *Jack Hazard and His Fortunes* (1871).

VIII. Non-Fictional Prose.

A. The Prose of Abraham Lincoln.

Although **Lincoln's** works form part of the documentary history of the nation, nevertheless they so completely satisfy some of the fundamental artistic requirements that they warrant inclusion here. A deliberative, cogent thinker, he brought to every public occasion that demanded utterance from him a logical mind and a forthright, candid, lucid style. Well-known among his writings are his *Reply to Greeley* on the subject of abolition, his *Letter to Mrs. Bixby* (1863), his famed *Gettysburg Address,* his *Cooper Union Address* (1860) and his two inaugural addresses (1861, 1865). His Second Inaugural Address was praised by *The* (London) *Spectator* (May 2, 1891) as follows: "In three or four hundred words that burn with the heat of compression, he tells the history of the war and reads its lessons. No man ever found words more adequate to his desire." Of its message Lincoln himself remarked: "It is a truth which I thought needed to be told, and, as whatever of humiliation there is in it falls most directly on myself, I thought others might afford for me to tell it." Among many panegyrics of Lincoln's prose, one of the finest is that by Emerson: "The weight and penetration of many passages in his letters, messages, and speeches are destined to a wide fame. What pregnant definitions, what unerring common sense, what foresight, and on great occasions what lofty and more than national, what human tone. His brief speech at Gettysburg will not easily be surpassed by words on any recorded occasion."

B. Posthumous publication of **Thoreau's** travel volumes.

Excursions (1863), *The Maine Woods* (1864), *Cape Cod* (1865), and *A Yankee in Canada* (1866) were published at a time when national thought

was hardly attuned to their idyllic mood or prepared for the love of solitude he expressed. In these works, all of them published from his journals, Thoreau shows that although he had lived much in Concord and its vicinity, he could wander on long tramps far from its confines. His pilgrimages extended to the Adirondacks, to Cape Cod, to Canada; a final health excursion took him to Minnesota.

"Today Thoreau's books call us from the discomforts of desks and the odors of streets to the aroma of pines, the campfire at night, the splash of trout, the speech of the humble fisherman or the French-Canadian trapper."

C. **Parkman's** historical advance.

Parkman made considerable advance during the decade upon his projected series of histories of the French in America: *The Pioneers of France in the New World* (1865), *The Jesuits in North America* (1867), and *The Discovery of the Great West* (1869; retitled *LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West,* 1879). These volumes relate the story, founded on original documents, of the French activity in America from 1562 to 1689. The result was dramatic, thorough, well-written, appealing. The first of these volumes won the qualified but discriminating praise of Lowell in the *North American Review.* So modern was Parkman in his methods that his histories are still read today and are in small danger of being displaced.

IX. The Rise of Melodrama.

In the sixties a movement in the direction of local types and domestic comedy very soon became apparent and quickly replaced the romantic comedy and tragedy in verse which Boker and Howe had striven to perfect. The last of the verse tragedies, Julia Ward Howe's *Hippolytus,* written for an 1864 production, did not go beyond the rehearsal stage.

War conditions naturally affected the theater at first: there was little sympathy for those who wished sheer entertainment while more serious business was at hand, but this feeling proved only a temporary check; and popular prejudice against the theater somewhat subsiding at the same time, there was a renewal of dramatic activity. The product reveals that drama was in the state of transition to the realism that was soon to prevail, though some plays of great popular interest, such as **Augustin Daly's** *Judith* (1864) and *Under the Gaslight* (1867), and **John Brougham's** *Sam,* did appear on the boards. War events were dramatized by Cayler, Poole, Calhoun, and others. **Mrs. Henry Wood's** melodrama *East Lynne* began its tearful progress in 1865; and in the same year, with the aid of versions by **Boucicault** and others, Jefferson's dramatization of *Rip Van Winkle* embarked upon a highly successful career. The stage, however, was heavily British in taste, and overseas pieces or old favorites held the center of interest.

X. The Magazine Field.

A. Casualties of American magazines during the war.

A number of great favorites were not able to weather the five years of martial storm. These included the most famous of the Southern magazines, the *Southern Literary Messenger,* which had run a distinguished course

for thirty years. Also destroyed by the war or the controversial spirit which immediately preceded it were the two leading journals of New York and Philadelphia: *Knickerbocker Magazine* and *Graham's Monthly Magazine.*

B. The *Atlantic Monthly,* the chief survival.
In the decade from 1861 to 1871 **James T. Fields** was the editor, though from 1866 on **William Dean Howells** assumed most of the editorial duties. There was a decline in circulation in those years, of course, but the magazine survived, and it had a good list of contributors.
Harper's also went through the war with unbroken files and shone like a madroña tree.

C. New magazines.
1. Most famous of the new magazines was the *Galaxy* which became a repository for new fictional voices especially from the West. It was the New York rival of the *Atlantic Monthly* and included among its contributors very few New England names. The editors were **W. C.** and **F. P. Church.** Fiction and criticism were its two most important sections.
2. The *Overland Monthly,* founded in California in 1868, enjoyed under the editorship of **Bret Harte** a distinguished place. Within six months the circulation had risen from three thousand to ten thousand at four dollars a subscription. In 1871 Harte gave up the guidance, however, and after passing through the hands of several less capable editors, the publication was suspended in 1875.
3. *Scott's Monthly Magazine* (Atlanta, Georgia) attempted to offer a medium for Southern life as *Russell's* had before it. Here appeared Lanier, Maurice Thompson, etc. The magazine, however, was unable to surmount the difficulties of the Reconstruction period.
4. *Hours at Home* lasted half a decade and was merged with the new *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* in 1870.
5. *The Nation,* a weekly magazine, was established with a view to "the maintenance and diffusion of true democratic principles in society and government." It was the organ of ex-abolitionists looking for new worlds to conquer.

CHAPTER XIII

THE GILDED AGE (1870–1880)

I. THE ECONOMIC SCENE.

A. The period was one of vast expansion. America in 1865 reached only to the Missouri line, and the meager railway system was of little consequence. During the decade the United States was virtually extended to the Pacific: each year 100,000 settlers poured across the Mississippi River. In the older areas, at the same time, there was a hurried, almost aggressive, growth of new enterprises. Steel revolutionized the architectural and railway industries, and the tonnage was quadrupled in the ten-year period. The finest railway system in the world was built up, and business investments jumped from 1½ to a total of 3 billion dollars. The home market was thus widely expanded; but in attaining such expansion impossible expectations were aroused, with inevitable setbacks both in the panic of 1873 and in the strikes of 1877.

Paralleling the extension of the railroads and the development of such new industries as sewing machine and watch manufacturing, was the growth of cities. Wealthy ruralists moved from agricultural regions to urban districts. Steam heat, street lights, plate glass windows, and hotels made city life appear comfortable and very appealing to the gentleman farmer.

In addition to better living conditions, social life became more and more glittery and gay. Washington, filled to the brim with ardent Reconstructionists, set a fine example for other cities, such as Boston, Chicago, and New York.

II. LEADING WORKS. (For novel titles see Section V, C below)

1870 Emerson, *Society and Solitude;* Harte, *The Luck of Roaring Camp;* Hay, *Castilian Days;* Taylor, Translation of *Faust,* first part; Whitman, *Democratic Vistas.*

1871 Burroughs, *Wake-Robin;* Lowell, *My Study Windows;* Whitman, *Passage to India.*

1872 Twain, *Roughing It;* Warner, *Backlog Studies.*

1873 Aldrich, *Marjorie Daw.*

1874 Fiske, *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy.*

1875 Burroughs, *Winter Sunshine;* Stedman, *Victorian Poets.*

1876 Lanier, *Poems.*

1878 Tyler, *A History of American Literature.*

1879 Burroughs, *Locusts and Wild Honey;* Cable, *Old Creole Days.*

1880 Cable, *The Grandissimes;* Harris, *Uncle Remus;* Adams, *Democracy;* Twain, *A Tramp Abroad.*

III. THE GRAND BARBECUE.

A. This was a period of alarming and shocking public and private corruption. More shady activities were disclosed than in any other period of American

history, not forgetting the Fall-Sinclair-Doheny Scandal, the Smith-Vare episodes and the "Chicago" Thompson bankruptcy spectacle. Ubiquitous were the Siamese twins of politics and crime. The period might be characterized as the "Moral Collapse," a time of cheap pretense, fraud, and open corruption. The first important scandal to develop was the Credit Mobilier which "the controlling stockholders of the Union Pacific had formed in order to obtain for themselves the fat profits on the construction of the railroad." Members of Congress became widely involved, many influential men accepting stock at par value when it was understood by the owners to be worth at least twice that amount. The blame was finally fixed on Oakes Ames, and on Vice President Colfax, Senator Patterson, and James Brooks. And though not permanently damaging to their reputations, the scandal involved others such as James A. Garfield, Rutherford B. Hayes, the Chief Justice of the United States, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Speaker of the House (James G. Blaine). The activities of the Tweed Ring with its graft also riled the decent mind. Corruptions included: the misgovernment of New York (described in the *North American Review* for 1866); the swindles of Robert C. Schenck; the Diamond Swindle in San Francisco in the fall of 1872; the financial exploitations by Drew, Gould, Fisk and Vanderbilt.

B. The explanation of this corruption is that it was an aftermath of the Civil War. The vast amount of money needed for the war was sucked into New York, and a race of money-changers and speculators was bred. The "Gilded Age" was the golden age of the middle class whose wealth was won through speculation and unearned increment. At the same time the speculative spirit was thus prevalent in American life, there was a marked increase in gambling, in short cuts to wealth, in get-rich-quick schemes.

C. All this ugliness, corruption, and savagery "formed a villainous pattern for the mind to follow." At the end of the decade the national scene was revolting to **Ambrose Bierce,** who wrote in *The Wasp* (May 21, 1881):

> The frosty truth of the situation is that we are a nation of benighted and boasting vulgarians, in whom the moral sense is as dead as Queen Anne, at her deadest; that we are hopelessly floundering and helplessly floundering in a sea of public and private corruption as offensive as that upon which the Ancient Mariner saw the shiny things that "did crawl with legs"; that we are a laughing stock to Europe and a menace to civilization.

D. The fictional treatment of the spirit of the times is best found in *The Gilded Age* (1874) by **Mark Twain** and **Charles Dudley Warner.**
Its speculative temper was epitomized in the career of Colonel Beriah Sellers and his roseate visions of easy millions. Colonel Sellers was a blow-hard, "grandfather of all American boosters, with his dreams of an immediate future gilding a present of a poverty-stricken, whiskey-soaked, rough-and-tumble frontier." Self-deception was apparent. Sellers lived in a world of the pioneer in which anything could happen. He was sincere in his belief to the point of a passionate optimism:
"The whole country is opening up; all we want is capital to develop it.

Slap down the rails and bring the land into market. The richest land on God Almighty's footstool is lying right out there. If I had my capital free I could plant it for millions." As Mrs. Hawkins said of him: "It is always sunrise with that man." In addition to satirizing land speculation the book attacked the brazen, self-aggrandizing profiteering at the Capital. Senator Dillworthy, the symbol of legislative corruption, enlisted his energies in any scheme which netted him secret gain, such as the plan for a Negro university on the "white elephant" land of Washington Hawkins in Tennessee, and the pork-barrel legislation of the Columbus River. Finally trapped in corrupt practices, he asked for a sympathetic withholding of judgment until he could be heard, and secured at length the mitigation of his offense through a long Congressional investigation which lasted until all the money appropriated had been spent (as usual) and questioned in particular the motives of the accusers. Thus *The Gilded Age* became a burlesque of the Credit Mobilier affair. The authors pointed out the travesty of Congressional appropriation and the bold lobbying tactics by which the purse-strings of public funds were unloosed for shrewd manipulators. The book reproduced the active, nervous spirit of the time, its feverishness, its vindictiveness, its meretriciousness, its disparate objectives, at once ignoble and magnanimous.

E. Reflection of the corruption of the Gilded Age is discoverable in seven other literary pieces:

1. Most important and most scathing is **J. W. DeForest's** *Honest John Vane* (1875) (alias *Dishonest* John Vane who took small swindles under his legislative protection), a story of an ordinary man who, on the reputation of unimpeachable honesty, reached the House of Representatives, where for a time he maintained his name but succumbed under pressure of debt and lobbyists, and with the bulk of Congressmen entered into the business of "enacting the national revenues into the safes of high corporations and into the hats of individual mendicants for the sake of small percentage thereof to himself." The principal business DeForest attacked was the Credit Mobilier, grimly paralleled with a *Subfluvial Tunnel Road* under the Mississippi "built at the expense of the Treasury for the benefit of directors and officers and boss stockholders." Washington he called a city "where integrity got all the kicks and knavery, all the half-pence." He concluded: "Nothing in the future is more certain than that, if this huge 'special-legislation' machine for bribery is not broken up, our Congress will surely and quickly become, what some sad souls claim that it already is, a den of thieves."
2. *Playing the Mischief* (1875) was DeForest's last political satire. Like *Honest John Vane,* it was concerned with the political trickery, log-rolling, and bribery practiced in Congress. It exposed the interest of Congressmen in earning a commission for themselves by pushing some claim against the government and other petty pieces of legislation not important enough to become an issue in their district. There was nothing about the electorate at home, but the author did show that affidavits

purchased from ex-service men for a few dollars helped make the war-claims racket possible. Feminine lobbyists, with their daring coquetries and their self-assurance, moved humorously through the pages.

3. **Rebecca Harding Davis** exposed, in *John Andross,* the unscrupulous, antisocial practices of the new-type business corporation.
4. **James Russell Lowell** in his *Centennial Ode* could not keep silent about the vulgarity of the age, the parasitic greed, particularly of the Senate:

> Is this debating-club where boys dispute,
> And wrangle o'er their stolen fruit,
> The Senate, erewhile cloister of the few,
> Where Clay once flashed and Webster's cloudy brow
> Brooded those bolts of thought that all the horizon knew?

5. **Henry Adams,** Washington correspondent for a time during the Grant administration, wrote (in the *Education*): "The moral law had expired . . . political energies must henceforth be wasted on expedients to piece it out—to patch—or, in vulgar language, to tinker—the political machine as often as it broke down. . . ." *Democracy* (1880) was the fictional study of the period that provoked such despairing meditations, in which Washington was viewed through the eyes of one Mrs. Lightfoot Lee, whose adventures were artificially contrived to set forth the moral bankruptcy which Adams elsewhere recorded. A final drastic exposure of the novel's most salient figure, Senator Silas P. Ratcliffe, afforded the proper glimpse of the essential malady of politics. Mrs. Lee fled to Europe with this indictment on her lips: "In all my experience I have found no society which has had elements of corruption like the United States." But though the book was witty, it was not good fiction. As the London *Saturday Review* declared: "in America it was seen to be quite as superficial as it was clever—even its title was dishonest."
6. In 1879 appeared *Figs and Thistles,* **Albion Tourgée's** first significant novel. The account of the Battle of Bull Run, in which the author had been wounded, anticipated the realism of Stephen Crane and Ambrose Bierce by a dozen years. Of greater importance was the political satire which made this (excepting Cooper's work) the fifth American political novel. The satire, directed against the caucus, selfish corrupt politicians, and the indifference of the mass of voters, was primarily aimed at the disgraceful Credit Mobilier affair. There was related in the last section the story of a Congressman hero (alleged by the *Atchison Champion* to have been James A. Garfield) who, regardless of personal fortunes and ties, strove to maintain his integrity in his stand on the Trans-continental Railway Bill.
7. **Walt Whitman,** though preserving in the midst of gloomy findings and forebodings his faith in democracy, turned a critical fusillade upon the American scene in *Democratic Vistas* (1871). He perceived the failure in social aspects, the "canker'd, crude, superstitious and rotten" society, "the scrofulous wealth, the demonism of greed": "pride, competition, segregation, vicious wilfulness, and license beyond example brood al-

ready upon us." Diagnosing America's deep disease, he found "hollowness at heart," hypocrisy, depravity, corruption, maladministration, and "abeyance of moral conscientious fibre all through American society." Though in the end he maintained his idealism and some of his optimism, he frankly admitted the vulgar contradictions in America and the dangers of universal suffrage. The truth of the picture he did not deny; he simply said there were other truths which needed to be stressed, too; among them, that "the democratic formula is the only safe and preservative one for coming times."

F. The period after the Civil War was the Gilded Age with a vengeance, a period of raffish vitality. Then arose the "culture seekers," purchasing stained-glass windows, pictures, and tapestries to make museums of American homes. Thus they attempted to cover up the bleakness of American habitations with collections of objects from Europe. Tedious formalisms and hollowness prevailed.

IV. POETRY.

A. Conventional verse of New England.

The dominance of Cambridge poets during this period is unquestioned. Despite the appearance of new and sectional poets, the New Englanders maintained their ascendancy, were ineluctably fixed.

1. **Holmes** gained popularity during this decade upon the strength of his class poems, though "Dorothy Q," "Wind-clouds and Star-drifts," "The Iron Gate," and "Grandmother's Story of Bunker-Hill Battle" advanced his reputation as a wit and as a rationalist opposed to traditional moral judgments.
2. **Longfellow** completed in 1872 and 1873 the remaining parts of *Tales of a Wayside Inn,* including the "Bell of Atri," "Lady Wentworth," "Charlemagne," and "The Monk of Casal-Maggiore." In these concluding sections, the author continued the selection of tales from distant as well as from local areas. Thus Atri (in Abruzzo), Kambalu, Hagenau (Alsace), St. Castine (in the Pyrenees), Portsmouth (N. H.), Pennsylvania, became successively the scenes of his stories. But the remote in time held a fascination with the remote in space: witness the legends of Rajah Runjeet-Sing, the ballads of Olger and Desiderio, of Carmilhan, of Emma and Eginhard, the tale of two Florentine monks, the story of John and Elizabeth Estaugh, and the strange narrative of the Knight of the Golden Melice, Sir Christopher Gardiner, that disturbing visitor to old Boston who first furnished America "with apples of Sodom and ropes of sand."

In the field of poetic drama Longfellow issued *Christus: a Mystery* (this included two parts previously published—*The Golden Legend* and *The New England Tragedies*). Also contributed during this period were three volumes of lyrics: *The Masque of Pandora and Other Poems* (1875), *Keramos and Other Poems* (1878), and *Ultima Thule* (1880). Most important to a present-day reader of Longfellow's poetic product of those years is the "Book of Sonnets" (published in two

parts), which submitted over thirty poems, about half of Longfellow's contribution to this form, and included such favorites as "Chaucer," "The Sound of the Sea," "Nature," "The Three Silences of Molinos," "The Tides," "Milton," etc. These sonnets, in their range and quality, challenge comparison with the better sonnets of English literature. By the end of the decade Longfellow's works were available in eight editions, including a two-volume holiday edition with more than five hundred illustrations.

B. The South in verse.

1. Though dead at thirty-eight (1867), **Timrod** lived on in reputation, and his work, including the best of the war-inspired pieces, went into a collected edition in 1873.
2. **Paul Hamilton Hayne** "issued from his health resort among the pines of Georgia" *Legends and Lyrics* (1872), edited the poems of Timrod (1873), and in 1875 published his *The Mountain of the Lovers.* This last contained some of his best poems; among the rest were a dozen sonnets, the titular poem, and other "poems of Nature and Tradition," such as "Aspects of the Pines." Hayne succeeded admirably in the lyric, the sonnet, and the ballad. "Maurice Thompson said he 'could pick out twenty of Hayne's sonnets equal to almost any other in our language,' and Wendell gave the highest praise to his 'Fate, or God.' " (Wauchope.) The story of Hayne, however, despite his occasional success, is the story of the poet who devoted himself to the muse without possession of the highest talents to express his inmost aspirations. Much of his poetry is full of echoes of his reading; much of it is otherwise remote from experience. Yet the soul of his region is sometimes in it, his native pines and flora, and his spirit is optimistic, void of vain repining.
3. **Lanier,** whose work fell mostly in the last half of the seventies, belonged to the "consumptive school" of poets, the last fifteen years of his life having been a long fight against the ravages of the disease contracted in a Northern prison. Dead in 1881, Lanier had only a few years in which to produce his ablest lyrics, and at the end he was still essentially a poet of unfulfilled promise. Before the slender volume of 1877, his best pieces were printed in *Lippincott's Magazine.* Short poems, such as "From the Flats," "Evening Song," "In Absence," "Redbreast in Tampa" here appeared, as well as "Symphony" and "Corn," odes which brought him to the attention of the public. In the odes Lanier recorded the effect of trade upon the chivalric spirit, and to inhumanities and materialism ascribed many of the world's ills. His protest against "gain by cunning and plus by sale" he voiced in "The Symphony" through the imitation in verse of musical instruments. "Corn," employed as the symbol of the agrarian poet, also expressed his undying hatred of the cotton trade and the speculative spirit that put men at the mercy of those who loan. The rest of the poem is forest and field rhapsody. In 1877 came "The Stirrup-Cup," in which there is calm facing of death, and "The Mocking-Bird" raising the cosmic riddle of nature's songsters.

After 1877 Lanier wrote a group of poems deeply infused with religious feeling: "The Crystal," "A Ballad of the Trees and the Master," and "Marshes of Glynn." The last two stress the therapeutic power of nature, especially the renewing of strength in the garden through the gray olive leaves, and in the marshes by the ministrations of the oak and pine. It is God's world with its contribution of solace, spiritual ecstasy, and reverent faith. Nature is thus closely linked with his religious philosophy. The theme is repeated in "Sunrise" (written in 1880), in which the poet emerges from the gospeling gloom of the live-oaks, whose leaves are palms upturned in prayer, to the majestic silence of the marsh glimmering with flooded streams. With the coming of dawn the strength of the sun gives him inner courage and fortitude.

Endowed with a real talent for music, Lanier sought to co-ordinate poetry and music in his literary work. Rhythm and melody and stanzaic experimentation became of greater importance than message in the attempt to secure tone color. In consequence, his versification sometimes grew excessively involved and his thought lost in unreality. But he was not betrayed into total dreamlike luxury for all his theory. Musical emotion, with its mingled sounds and many tones, always came to the aid of his poetic emotion. Though a poet of distinct limitations, Lanier is, nevertheless, noteworthy because he was in no respect mean or narrow, because he celebrated areas that he knew, protested manfully against that which he thought vicious, and sensed the new outlook for a united nation.

C. **Whitman,** after 1873, was, as Burroughs says, "cheerfully mastering paralysis, penury, and old age." As for his reputation in the decade, he was still largely ignored or viewed with mingled abhorrence and contempt. Whitman found America not utterly silent, as in depression he declared, but certainly frigid. He was regarded as "one of the roughs"; the taint of immorality was still felt, and the bizarre formlessness of his verse continued to puzzle. Laudation by friends made others suspicious of his vulgarity, and they regarded his associates as dubious in character. Thus the attention he received in the seventies was scant; the first half-decade was especially a period of great obscurity. Only here and there, as Burroughs recorded, had "he yet effected a lodgment, usually in the younger and more virile minds." O'Connor's *The Good Gray Poet* had appeared in 1868; Burroughs's appreciative essay was printed in 1878, and he was fully defended in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1877. In consequence of the "Second Discovery of America," which followed the Civil War and the Centennial Exposition of 1876, Whitman was occasionally recognized as a truly inspired literary workman. He did produce in 1871 a volume that ought materially to have strengthened his position with the public. *Passage to India* (a pamphlet of seventy-three poems), involving more than ocean voyages and terrestrial regions, was his outstanding contribution to the poetry of the decade, and one of the finest of his volumes.

In the seventies Whitman stood for interest in the American scene and for an unshaken belief in the democratic experiment; and yet it was not

a democracy as an experiment in suffrage, but as an ideal for an inspired brotherhood for which he strove. He saw democracy not maintained by force or by laws but by a common spirit among self-reliant men and women. Its men were to be mechanics, boatmen, shoemakers, woodcutters, ploughboys, great souls all, a "breed whose proof is in time and deeds," and they were to stand imperturbable and self-poised before Congresses and presidents. The women were to be vigorous, strong-hearted, and spirited, and together they were to be "native, athletic, greater than before known," conquerors of the New World. In this democracy the poet was to be the seer and leader of the people; he must guard them against internal foes—corrupt officials, hypocritical or futile leaders, and materialistic greed; he must transform and unite the whole people; he must discard all feudal processes and unnatural models and sing, with transcendent and new expression, the song of the soul, liberty, and brotherhood.

V. The Literary Scene.

A. The literary situation in 1870.

1. The New England literary men.

In 1870 the New England group still controlled the literature of the day. The influence was in part pernicious, for recognition came only through treading in their footsteps.

2. The middle group.

The members of this group, to which **Stedman** and **Stoddard** belonged, did not go to life for inspiration, but to memory, to books, and to the older school of poets. They believed literature a fine art of which poetry was the finest expression. It must be rare and above anything sordid and vulgar. Thus the middle group still belonged to the genteel tradition. They created a new diction apart from ordinary speech. They strove to keep to the fore the "conventional" subject matter of parlor poetry, and were properly repelled by the barbarism of the West.

3. The new literature after the Civil War.

The changing patterns began in the West and were the product of young men. They represent creative forces and a stress on the local and the realistic. Thus after the war there came, hat in hand, **Howells, Twain, Hay,** and others sometimes designated as the first literary longhorns. Hostility in genteel Eastern circles became almost raucous.

B. The literary generations:

I			II			III		
Age	*Name*	*Born*	*Age*	*Name*	*Born*	*Age*	*Name*	*Born*
76	Bryant	1794	38	Alcott	1832	34	Aldrich	1836
67	Emerson	1803	46	Curtis	1824	33	Burroughs	1837
61	Holmes	1809	40	H. Jackson	1830	33	Eggleston	1837
63	Longfellow	1807	47	Parkman	1823	35	A. Evans	1835
51	Lowell	1819	37	Stedman	1833	31	Harte	1839
51	Whitman	1819	45	Stoddard	1825	33	Howells	1837
63	Whittier	1807	45	B. Taylor	1825	28	Lanier	1842
						29	Miller	1841
						36	Stockton	1834
						35	Twain	1835

C. Regional literary interests.

A new and vigorous extra-New England spirit laid hold of the American mind in this decade. This meant the entrance not only of provincial substance in literary offerings but also of a strictly unacademic force of workers who described life as they had seen it, not as it was mirrored in their libraries. These new authors came, for the most part, not out of college halls, but from the composing room, the editorial office, or the home. They came from a world which was new, where traditions counted little and conventions had not attained fixed molds. As a consequence, they brought into the literature of the time a realistic and highly exuberant spirit, which was not submerged even by national corruption.

1. The irruption of the Western writers upon the East: the beginnings of local color; the invasion of the Goths.

   The new literature after the Civil War began in the West, first in the work of Western humorists, and then in the work of the San Francisco literati. This meant realistic fiction and the discovery of distinctive American materials for sketches and novels. The Hoosiers and the Pikes were set down in prose and verse. California and the Sierra Nevadas arrived in **Twain, Harte,** and **Joaquin Miller,** and soon Ohio and Indiana, Texas, and the Southwest crowded into literature. The predominance of these original and vigorous Western writers may readily be seen from a study of a chart of the fiction.

The starred authors are from sections other than New England:

1870	Luck of Roaring Camp	*Harte
1871	Suburban Sketches	*Howells
1871	Hoosier Schoolmaster	*Eggleston
1871	Little Men	Alcott
1871	Their Wedding Journey	*Howells
1872	Mrs. Skagg's Husbands	*Harte
1872	Barriers Burned Away	*Roe
1872	A Chance Acquaintance	*Howells
1873	Marjorie Daw	Aldrich
1873	Mystery of Metropolisville	*Eggleston
1873	The Gilded Age	*Clemens and Warner
1873	The Fair God	*Lew Wallace
1873	Oldport Days	Higginson
1873	Arthur Bonnicastle	*Holland
1873	Saxe Holm Stories	*H. H. (Jackson)
1874	Foregone Conclusion	*Howells
1874	Prudence Palfrey	Aldrich
1874	The Mistress of the Manse	*Holland
1874	The Circuit Rider	*Eggleston
1875	Seven Oaks	*Holland
1875	A Woman in Armor	*Catherwood
1875	A Passionate Pilgrim	James
1875	Roderick Hudson	James
1875	Castle Nowhere	*Woolson
1875	Tales of the Argonauts	*Harte
1876	Tom Sawyer	*Twain
1876	Gabriel Conroy	*Harte
1876	Near to Nature's Heart	*Roe
1877	The American	James
1877	The Story of Avis	Phelps
1877	Nicholas Minturn	*Holland
1877	The Queen of Sheba	Aldrich
1877	That Lass o' Lowrie's	*Burnett
1878	Drift from Two Shores	*Harte
1878	Roxy	*Eggleston
1878	The Europeans	James
1878	Daisy Miller	James
1879	Old Creole Days	*Cable
1879	Stories of the Old Dominion	*Cooke
1879	The Lady of the Aroostook	*Howells
1879	The Twins of Table Mountain	*Harte
1879	Haworth's	*Burnett

   a. **Bret Harte** and the discovery of a literary bonanza in California. The East had been partly prepared for the wonder of California by a prior absorption in the discovery of gold and the career of Sutter. After the Civil War there came new visions of that area with its all-leveling democracy of the frontier. There were the Western mining camps with their bar-rooms, their men of conscience and their natural

unregenerate men; there were the stage-coaches, quartz-mills, and madroña trees. When glimpses of these were brought back to the old areas, they enraptured by their picturesqueness, a fact which explains much of the appeal of Bret Harte. Few were critical enough to ask whether his representations were real or true. Here was a new, wild, raucous world, and in picturing it, Harte spread over the East like the news of the gold discovery. His stories and popularity haunted decent men: his success was what would be called in these days the vulgarization of literature. "Harte had discovered the literary riches of the California Slope with the golden haze of the gold rush already receding into history. Without sacrifice of truth [?], he touched with a romance recalling Cooper's hand the gamblers, the Chinese, the reckless adventure and the varied scenery of the West." (Nevins.)

Through Harte, then, the country learned to know the incongruities of the far frontier. An American audience he first captivated with "The Luck of Roaring Camp." This he followed with "The Outcasts of Poker Flat," "Tennessee's Partner," "M'liss," and other narrative sketches which gave him a ready acceptance and established a reputation for the writing of effective short stories dealing with strange material. His second and third published volumes added tales as memorable as his first group, though they failed to vary his formula. Never did he acquire depth of insight into character or into life's purposes, for he saw hearts hopelessly callous and dead suddenly displaying humanitarian impulses and "redeemed" by one gallant gesture. His characters were Dickensian; they had no real consistency and frequently spoke in absurdities. Harte had no penetrating and directive philosophy of life: he remains of interest chiefly as a pathfinder for later, better writers.

b. The West in **Mark Twain.**

Clemens was one of the tribe of "funny men" who rode into fame on the back of a Jumping Frog and who took the platform as a humorous lecturer on the Sandwich Islands. For glimpses of the West in Mark Twain, see especially *Roughing It* and *Life on the Mississippi*. The first of these was Mark Twain's literary capitalization of the Nevada mining areas and a social study of the days of the Argonauts. Without the true prospector's luck himself, he became a camp journalist and recorder of the boisterous life of the mining frontier and of the feverishness that animated those who had taken part in the westward race. The book also stands memorial of the stage-coaching days on the Overland Trail. From this point of view it will always possess a social interest even if the inimitable Twain manner be forgotten. To the recording of this interesting feature in the life of the West he brought a discursive, hilarious, expansive spirit, representative of Western optimism, self-indulgence, breadth of speech, of its roughness and its vagromness. In "Old Times

on the Mississippi," published in *Atlantic Monthly* during the seventies, Twain gave a chronicle of an odd chapter in the history of American development. He portrayed with beauty the multicolored life of the stately Mississippi from St. Louis to the Gulf, made the world familiar with the difficulties of piloting a steamboat through its maze of channels, snags, and sandbars, and provided interesting tales besides, such as Uncle Daniel's apparition, the steamboat race and explosion, the rafting experience of Huck Finn, etc. The river itself became for him the epic symbol of American life, and this symbol he applied literally.

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (1876), though primarily a humorous book celebrative of the Eternal Boy and his adventure-mad activity, gives a detailed study of a Mississippi Valley town without the broad panoramic or satiric effects he employed with similar material eight years later. Hannibal of the book, seen through Twain's reminiscent eyes, impresses the reader as a genial, romantic river town, representative of other unenlightened communities of his boyhood.

Thus for the decade Twain's reputation rested upon his portrayal of the West; and for this vast area in all its rugged freedom, from the Mississippi to the Nevada silver-mining area, he supplied the anecdotes, picturesque romance, local-color features, and dialectal humor which define him as a regionalist of distinction. Mark Twain's works became the epitome of the democratic spirit in several areas, and his record of multifarious life on a far frontier, infused with the new national aspirations and enlivened by his infectious humor, made him the incarnation of the spirit of the age.

c. **Joaquin Miller** and the West.

Miller, the Byron of Oregon, was the poet of the great mid-century exodus, the poetical celebrator of the mountain ranges from Alaska to the heights of Nicaragua. His life was almost a mirror of the West, and with Harte he chanted the tale of the Argonauts. Not all his poetry, however, deals with the epic of the great migration, large sections of it touching regions far beyond his beloved Sierras. His first impression upon the American of his time was made in 1871 with his *Songs of the Sierras,* a success which he followed with *Songs of the Sun-lands* in 1873.

d. The rise of the Hoosier school.

(1) **Maurice Thompson's** *Hoosier Mosaics* (1875) is a slender volume of short stories of Indiana. With the exception of one, they are tragedies of the Indiana communities of Colfax, Jimtown, etc., stories of characters whose interlude of romantic ecstasy ends in a night of despair or death. Thus Berry Young, Jack Trout, Big Medicine, Zack, Luke Plunkett, T. Blodgett were victims of a malignant fate which dragged them for a time out of their drab life only to plunge them into darkness.

(2) **Edward Eggleston** was a leading influence after 1871 and aided the development of provincial literature. His realistic novels, which were virtually studies in social conditions, embodied the life and areas which had been familiar to the author during his boyhood and on his travels through southern Indiana as a circuit rider. In his realism Eggleston was not a naturalist, but he did strive seriously to paint Western life with fidelity to its patterns. Back of his literary aspiration was the feeling that the West had been too much ignored in current literary offerings, an opinion he voiced in the Preface to *The Hoosier Schoolmaster:* "It used to be a matter of no little jealousy with us, I remember, that the manners, customs, thoughts, and feelings of New England country people filled so large a place in books, while our life, not less interesting, not less romantic, and certainly not less filled with humorous and grotesque material, had no place in literature. It was as though we were shut out of good society." So spoke the Vevay novelist who in his own series did much to correct the condition of which he complained by the introduction into fiction of Western provincial types and the ordinary speech of the Indiana backwoods and the Ohio River country. Eggleston himself pronounced *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* the "file-leader of the procession of American dialect novels," and the "first of the dialect stories that depict a life quite beyond New England influence." In his pages he presented southern Indiana in 1850, with its "poor whites," its spelling bees, its border lawlessness and rough justice, its sulphurous revival preaching, and the generally crude conditions of backcountry districts. Other transcripts of that life appeared in *Roxy* (1878) and *The Circuit Rider* (1873–74), which went back fifty years for its scenes. The latter was the story of a Methodist itinerant preacher, his conversion, his great love affair, his brushes with Salt Fork members and allies of Micajah Harp's gang, in short, as its author characterized it, a "melange of picturesque simplicity, grotesque humor and savage ferocity, of abandoned wickedness and austere piety." *Roxy* offered a realistic account of a southern Indiana triangle, made up of a spineless white girl, of the shiftless white class; a passionate husband, who wandered through moral weakness; and a wife, full of faith and understanding, uncowed by community judgments. Eggleston displayed in these novels a consistent development in narrative technique.

2. The arrival of the South as a literary area.
   a. The causes for the movement of local color in the South:
      (1) The discovery that the South was something more than southwestward migration.
      (2) The breaking down of the provincialism of the South, which led to a sympathetic rapprochement with the life of this region.

(3) The realization of sectional differences.
(4) The removal of political barriers to a sympathy between isolated sections of the republic.

b. The Southern note in poetry.
The dialect poems of **Irwin Russell** were sufficiently numerous to make him the leading pioneer in this field.
Lanier had also produced dialect poems, but his chief contribution was as lyrist of his native pines, swamp lands, and corn and cotton fields. Such poems as "Marshes of Glynn," "Song of the Sunrise," "The Mockingbird," "Song of the Chattahoochee," "Clover," "The Bee," "The Dove," "Tampa Robins" are distinctly Southern in inspiration and feeling.

c. Southern themes and local color appeared in the early fiction of **G. W. Cable, Thomas Nelson Page, Mary Murfree,** and **Constance Woolson.** The work of these writers came to its literary fullness in the next decade, which has been called the "Local-Color Eighties," though the movement of utilizing dialect and sectional differences in fiction and poetry began in the 1830's, was pronounced by 1867, and lasted beyond 1900. The short stories of this period were more and more those of local uniqueness, made so by the selection of characters, descriptive phrases, names, incidents, or dialect best suited to the locality in question.

(1) The Georgia and Florida area was featured in the work of **Constance Woolson.** She was distinctive in three fields, two of which she worked in the seventies. The first was the Northern Lake area (Mackinac: "The Lady of Little Fishing," etc.), the tales of which she collected in *Castle Nowhere and Other Sketches* (1875). The second was the Georgia coast, represented in sketches of the late seventies gathered up in *Rodman the Keeper* (1880). This volume contained "The South Devil," "Up in the Blue Ridge," "Bro'," and the stories of the postwar South, in particular, "Old Gardiston," "King David," and "In the Cotton Country." Her stories, appearing as they did in the mid-seventies, made her a real force in the local-color movement, given impetus by Harte, though she lacked, even with all her sensibility and understanding, the insight into men and institutions which came as a birthright to native sons of the South. Henry James remarked of her stories: "As the fruit of a remarkable minuteness of observation and tenderness of feeling on the part of one who evidently did not glance and pass, but lingered and analyzed, they have a high value, especially when regarded in the light of the *voicelessness* of the conquered and reconstructed South."

(2) The New Orleans scene held the interest of **G. W. Cable.** He did little if anything toward the development of the American short story, technically considered, but he did help swell the

slowly growing stream of dialect and local peculiarity, particularly in his popular *Old Creole Days* (1879). Interested in locality through his own study in the old records of Spanish and French New Orleans, he composed a series of stories connected with the romantic history of the *vieux carré*. These, through the agency of King, finally made their way into *Scribner's Monthly*, were issued in book form in 1879, and gave the author not only self-confidence but a profession. His strength was characterization, not plot manipulation. His was a pen that lingered in the mention of romantic characters, especially as it dwelt upon the beauty of the lovely Pauline and 'Tite Poulette, or glimpsed the pride of Colonel Charleu, the tragic taciturnity of Jean, the paternal prejudices of General Villivicencio, the kindliness of Kristian Koppic, and the relentless gambling instincts of 'Sieur George.

3. The New England tradition in the short story of local areas.
   a. **Rose Terry Cooke** continued her career of short story writing in the decade with such memorable tales as "Too Late," "Grit," "Mary Ann's Mind," "Freedom Wheeler's Controversy with Providence," "Cal Culver and the Devil," and "Amandar." Her story-telling art, on the basis of these tales, must be pronounced mature and finished.
   b. Though **Harriet Beecher Stowe** did not definitely follow Harte in the short story tradition, her stories were characterized by unique personalities exaggerated after the Dickens fashion. *Oldtown Fireside Stories* (1871) contained "The Ghost in the Mill," "The Minister's Housekeeper," "How to Fight the Devil," and seven other sketches. This group was accurate as to dialectal details but wholly romantic in atmosphere and setting. Many of them dealt with New England in the early years of the century. Over this vanished area they threw a golden light that realism never knew. They are valuable because they make tremendously alive Sam Lawson, a Yankee Uncle Remus who told not folklore but legends. They have their limitations, however, as short stories.
   c. Reared in New England, **Sarah Orne Jewett** found there the setting for most of her writings, especially in the worlds of the country doctor and the summer boarder. Her realism was tempered with sympathy; she omitted the harsh parts of life from her stories; she worked with emotion, yet was not sentimental. She helped for a time at least to keep one area free from the noisy Californians. Her first collection, *Deephaven* (1877), was written about life in a small, old-fashioned village in order to make town and country people understand one another better. It tells of the experiences of two girls as they stay in the old Brandon homestead in Deephaven for the summer. The stories have much to say of the sea, boats, lighthouses, and fishing, though in sketches like "Mrs. Bonny" the author sometimes turns inland. *Old Friends and New* (1879) reprinted

from the *Atlantic* her excellent "A Lost Lover" and added such sketches as: "Miss Sydney's Flowers," "Lady Ferry," "Late Supper," and "A Sorrowful Guest."

VI. The Essay.

A. The critical essay: **J. R. Lowell.**

Lowell was at his best as a writer of critical essays, the first series of which he published in 1870 under the title of *Among My Books* (second series, 1876). *My Study Windows* followed in 1871 and contains some of Lowell's finest criticism, such as his famous essay on "A Certain Condescension in Foreigners," his Burroughs-like piece, "My Garden Acquaintance," and somewhat judicial utterances on Carlyle, Thoreau, Emerson, Lincoln, most of which he had previously delivered as lectures. Aside from these nineteenth-century figures, Lowell turned to Chaucer and Dante, to Shakespere, Cervantes, Calderón, and other Renaissance figures. Like Matthew Arnold's, his criticism is perennial in its appeal because he not only made a happy choice of writers but provided adequate interpretation. Other critical essays written for the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *North American Review* were on topics literary and political. Though Lowell's reputation as foremost American critic has somewhat dimmed, he served a real function in the mid-nineteenth century; he had the command of literature and the versatility to make an impression upon his generation. Many of his works are still read with only slightly lessened interest by the student of today.

B. Nature essays.

1. **Burroughs** was not only an active contributor to *Scribner's Monthly* but issued three volumes in the decade which present him as a seeker of birds, a student of the seasons, a celebrator of the "charms of pedestrianism," a penetrator of woodland recesses. These volumes were fruits of his holidays in fields or woods when he left his clerkship duties in Washington for half-days on the banks of the Potomac or for summer vacations in the Adirondacks.

   Wake-Robin (1871) was his first and best-known volume. He characterized the work as an invitation to the study of ornithology. In it he strove not only to impart his own gusto in bird observation but to stimulate an interest in feathered songsters and birds' nests.

   Winter Sunshine (1875), second product of days afield, describes a sunshine richer than that of New York or New England. The blue and gold of October, the snow walks of mid-season, March hikes, all provide the glories that make this volume a Washington rhapsody. His last important work in the decade, *Birds and Poets* (1877), has a 105-page titular essay reviewing the subject in a fascinating fashion, though two concluding essays, "April" and "Spring Poems," give the volume more than ornithological stress.

2. **Thomas Wilson Flagg,** from whom every anthology on description has culled, was a literary figure of New England in love with the quiet of nature but not an avid scientist. Thoreau said he lacked spirit. He

made a beginning in nature observation as early as 1857 in his *Studies in Field and Forest.* His most important work appeared in two bulky volumes: *The Woods and By-Ways of New England* (1872) and *The Birds and Seasons of New England* (1875).

3. **Charles D. Warner** was similarly active in nature description. His most famous essay, *My Summer in a Garden* (1870), is Irvingesque, particularly in the celebration of pleasures that "do not rush or roar but distil as the dew." He drew upon the "simple stores of nature" for his material. Also memorable is the slender volume Warner published in 1878 under the title *In the Wilderness,* a volume chronicling impressions and experiences, romantically advanced, during a camping expedition to the Adirondacks. Bear-hunting, A-Hunting of the Deer, and Trout Fishing constitute the range of his sportsman activities.
4. **John Muir,** author of a series of "Studies in the Sierras" contributed to *Scribner's Monthly* (with two or three more contributed to *Harper's*), was another of the burgeoning geniuses of the time. Muir spoke in his correspondence of having a book ready for publication, and actually dispatched the quill with which he wrote it, but the volume was not issued for thirteen years.
5. **N. S. Shaler,** Harvard professor of geology, contributed to the *Atlantic* a "Summer's Journey of a Naturalist."
6. Minor naturists include: **William Hamilton Gibson,** *Camp Life in the Woods* (1876); **Harriet Mann Miller** ("Olive Thorne Miller"), *Little Folks in Feathers and Fur* (1879).

VII. The Broad Humor of Josh Billings and His Contemporaries.

A. In 1870 the first of the famed *Farmers' Allminax* by **Josh Billings** was published and it was issued annually for nine succeeding years. It sold a 100,000 in the first two years. The *Allminax* contained a great variety of material, from prognostications and columns of dates to little essays and the homely aphorisms which were his forte. Simplified spelling undoubtedly contributed to **Shaw's** popularity, but the raciness of his lines and homely wit were the real source of his appeal.

B. The second famous professional humorist in the decade was **Marietta Holley,** whose Samantha Allen sent hundreds of Americans into laughter over the Centennial Exposition, Saratoga Springs, and the feminine sex.

C. Early in the seventies there appeared also the *Peace Papers* (1873) of **Bill Arp,** who with dignity and rare humor continued before the public for two more decades.

D. **Petroleum V. Nasby** published his *The Struggles (Social, Financial and Political)* in 1872, followed by *Eastern Fruit on Western Dishes* (1875), and *A Paper City* (1878).

E. Other humorists included: **James M. Bailey** (*Life in Danbury,* 1873); **Robert J. Burdette** (*Hawkeyetems* and *Rise and Fall of the Mustache,* 1877); **M. D. Landon** (*Sayings and Doings of Eli Perkins,* 1875); **Charles Heber Clark [Max Adeler]** (*Out of the Hurly-Burly,* 1874, and *Random Shots,* 1875).

VIII. Other Tendencies in Fiction.

A. The sub-literary: the Lady's Book type of sentimental, moralizing fiction.

1. **J. G. Holland,** editor of *Scribner's Monthly,* wrote novels calculated to evoke the noble and high aspirations of the reader. His fiction (*Arthur Bonnicastle, Nicholas Minturn,* etc.) was moral, wholesome, filled with plenty of sentiment. Of similar moral vein, well stocked with truisms, were his *Timothy Titcomb* letters, published in 1858, which had sold upwards of half a million copies and were in the forty-ninth edition by 1880! These were virtually a series of lay sermons written with a devout motive. He was the Dr. Frank Crane of his generation.
2. More sentimental and still more popular was **E. P. Roe,** author of *Barriers Burned Away,* edition after edition of which was demanded by the reading public. This is a highly intense, sentimental love story freighted with a religious purpose. In all of his novels a mildly sensational vein and a moral intent are evident. His novels are wholesome; and though without the highest qualities of art in plot or style, they are not lacking in power. They appealed to a large class of readers to whom consumption of fiction was a new freedom. (*Vide: Opening of a Chestnut Burr; Near to Nature's Heart.*)
3. The *Saxe Holm* stories, which furnished the literary mystery of the seventies, were of a sentimental, moralizing character. They vied with Bret Harte's works in popularity, and their anonymous author was the most talked about short story writer of the decade.
4. *Wilfred Cumbermede,* by George MacDonald (printed in *Scribner's*) was in the same tradition and represented the British tributary of the time.

B. Wit and vivacity in the short story.

By vivacity we mean real life, enthusiasm, movement. Vivacity there had been before, but its expression was limited. Seba Smith, Paulding, and Willis had a certain lightness of touch, sometimes combined with flippancy; but before 1865—as compared with the gaiety of "Marjorie Daw"—the short story was prosaic and defective in its dialogue. Those who brought in the new feeling were **T. B. Aldrich** and **John Trowbridge,** and to a mild degree, **William Dean Howells.**

C. The Atlantic realists.

1. **Edward Everett Hale** brought out two volumes in 1872: *His Level Best and Other Stories* (containing "The Brick Moon," "A Tale of a Salamander," "Water Talk," "The Queen of California," "Confidence," etc.) and *Christmas Eve and Christmas Day,* a series of stories localized in New England. The story of "Oello" tells how Oello and her husband raised the degree of civilization of an Indian tribe, while "The Same Christmas in Old England and New" definitely moralizes on drink and the uselessness of living to satisfy one's taste for ease. *Crusoe in New York* (1880) terminated his activity for the decade.
2. **Elizabeth Stuart Phelps** was one of the first writers to localize fiction with definitely collected material. Highly emotional in her tales, she

is realistic only in the sense that she projects her sympathies into the concrete case and makes it seem real. *Sealed Orders* (1879) reprinted seventeen of her tales.

3. From 1865 to 1870 **Henry James** wrote about fifteen short stories which were published in later collections. For the decade there were two: *A Passionate Pilgrim* (1875), containing in addition to the titular story "The Madonna of the Future," "The Last of the Valerii," and "Madame de Mauves"; and a second collection, *Madonna of the Future* (1879), containing a group of four stories, two of which were new. Nine or ten stories besides these were contributed to the *Galaxy* magazine. James's realism differed from Hale's in that it was genuine and set up truth as a model, though in "Benvolio" he shows the hero, like Hawthorne and himself, studying people in a detached manner and without contacts. In his short stories, as in his novels, James was interested in making minute, accurate studies of the mind, in probing the depths of individual thought, in entering successively into a variety of moods and reactions.
4. Before 1873 **John W. DeForest** wrote over twenty tales which he contributed to various periodicals.

D. The new social frontier in James.

Henry James, through his familiarity with Italy, France, and England, was well equipped for the writing of international novels, and he gave to fiction the effort to be at home in Europe. He laid hold in his early novels, particularly from 1875 to 1880, of the advantages of international contrast by studying his expatriated Americans. He made his own domain that "vagrom area that lies on the borderland between the old culture of Europe and the new rawness of America." (Pattee.) Though he seems to have left America in 1875 with the intention of making his home in Europe, he could not altogether shed his intellectual background nor cut loose from the roots that had nourished him in America. Thus when, in the international novel, he placed American and European characters in juxtaposition, contrasting their manners, minds, and psychological reactions, he did not draw his Americans unsympathetically. Despite all his love for ceremony and privacy and aloofness, which had drawn him overseas, the urbane, civilized citizen of France or England does not in his fiction always appear to best advantage when contrasted with the unversed and outspoken visitors from America. James possessed a kind of loyalty which his own tastes did not destroy.

Works of importance from his hand in the decade include *A Passionate Pilgrim* (1875), *Roderick Hudson* (1875), *The American* (1876), *The Europeans* (1878), and *Daisy Miller* (1879), all of them "international in setting." Of these *The American* may be regarded as representative. Christopher Newman, successful businessman, has gone to Europe hungry for culture and hopeful of finding in the older civilization of Europe some satisfaction in life not supplied by a successful career in business. During his Paris residence he falls in love with a French woman of an aristocratic

family, Claire de Cintré. He woos her in a forthright manner and has at first high hopes of success in his amorous venture. Suddenly an unassailable family opposition develops, and he is baffled by it to the point of defeat. Fate has meanwhile put the power of revenge in his hands, but recognizing that victory over the family would be an empty one, he withdraws. The novel is notable for its skillful portrayal of human reactions, for the artistic interweaving of plot ingredients, and for the harmony of effect which James achieves. In this and the other novels of the decade James's concept of the story as a "psychological seminar" is apparent. In the seventies, as later, he stood for Truth, defined as accurate characterization and dignity of literature. He always reported life coldly. His was "realism with checks of urbanity and civilized outlook."

E. Critical realism in **John W. DeForest.**

In the seventies DeForest published five novels: *Kate Beaumont* (*Atlantic*), *Overland* (*Galaxy*), *Irene The Missionary* (*Atlantic*), *Honest John Vane* (*Atlantic*), and *The Wetherel Affair* (*Galaxy*). Of his novels the ablest is perhaps *Kate Beaumont,* a tale of a family feud in a South Carolina village. It is a day-by-day history of the hostilities between the Beaumonts and the McAllisters. Frank McAllister's rescue of Kate Beaumont from drowning, when the ship caught fire on the return voyage from Europe, eventually affords a firm basis for the reconciliation of the families. DeForest tells his story with straightforwardness, letting the motives of the characters speak for themselves, and his realistic temper is always apparent. In *Witching Times* (1859) he had displayed loathing for the superstition that darkened the minds of a community; in *Kate Beaumont* he animadverted the hereditary enmity which was only a survival from darker days. John W. DeForest held priority in the use of realism in the American novel (as early as 1867 in *Miss Ravenel's Conversion*). His method resembled that of Balzac, particularly in giving a complete picture of the sociological elements, in creating characters who are memorable, striking personalities, and in maintaining that man's fate depends on environment as well as on himself. As a realist DeForest disapproved of the employment of fiction as an emotional stimulus: by objective treatment of women's affairs (uncolored by sentimental considerations) and excessive frankness, he was able to depart in large measure from traditional presentation. His further realistic convictions were revealed by his presentation of trifling and commonplace factors, his disinclination to exalt or indulge in hero-worship, his lack of prejudice, his unemotional examination of love problems, his rational beliefs about human nature, and his unmelodramatic presentation of complex life. Though he did not entirely free himself from some romantic and sentimental practices, all his novels sprang from American life, and in most of them he sought to discover and evaluate the forces motivating national movements. His postwar novels show an advance over his earlier ones, significant not only for the refining of literary skill but for new attitudes and methods in the handling of his artistic materials.

F. Howells and emergent realism of the seventies.

With **Howells** and James began the history of the realistic movement in America. In 1870 the movement owed its chief development to France and Russia, to Balzac and Turgenev. But while Howells drew from the latter and from Spanish novelists, he owed less to Balzac, and his closest connections were with the English fictionists, Austen and Trollope. These influences, however, were but slowly to exert their real force upon his work: during the seventies his productions were poetic rather than realistic, spontaneous rather than studied. His chief interest was in the sketch or the sketch-like novel.

Howells began full book publication with travel sketches in the late sixties (*Venetian Life* and *Italian Journeys*) in which he combined the mood of exuberance with amusing criticism. Stylistically they were written with an easy-flowing, poetic rhythm. His first book of the seventies, a volume of domestic vignettes (*Suburban Sketches,* 1871), is in the same tradition; and his *Their Wedding Journey,* despite its love story and its ampler bulk, is still in large measure a travel book, with its Niagara, its Grand Tour, its historical flavor, its shifting scenes, its numerous incidents of travel. His next novel, *A Chance Acquaintance* (1873), introduced figments of the imagination in a similar framework. The story proceeds from an accidental beginning to an inevitable end, marked by undeviating pursuit of the inexorable demands of plot. Cooke pronounced it the American *Pride and Prejudice* and found in it all ingredients later to be recognized as Howellsesque: "his concern with the affairs of the heart, his general treatment of the love theme, as well as his tricks of illuminating the feminine mind and contrasting the sexes, his preoccupation with the question of social distinctions, and above all, his sturdy nationalism."

Howells's third novel, *A Foregone Conclusion,* largely European in theme, employs little touches of description that not only build up clear concepts of character but fit admirably into a well-articulated plot; in this way it possesses more form than the works which preceded it. Another novel of 1875 was suppressed until 1921, but in the last novel of the decade, *The Lady of the Aroostook,* he reverts to the manner of 1873. The central character, Lydia Blood, is designed by the author to represent the potential refinement of the American-born as compared to the surface sophistication found in Trieste and Venice. The book is at once an examination of the minutiae of existence in South Bradfield and a study of the perturbations of two men who cannot accept a situation over which neither has any control. In this case, the conflict of affection and aristocratic refinement ends with the triumph of love.

G. Egglestonian realism.

The work of **Eggleston** as a regionalist has already been noted, but the classification of such local-color portraiture as realism needs to be indicated. He regarded himself as treating individual characters "to a greater degree than elsewhere as parts of a study of society—as in some sense the logical result of environment." This was to make a true art of the study of the

relationship between the character of a man and his background, with unusual features simply varying the conscientious formula.

Egglestonian realism was in reality a compound of the Taine method (*vide* Taine's *Art in the Netherlands,* which advances the doctrine of literalness in detail and stresses the value of environment to the literary artist), the Dickensian method of singling out particular features and characters for special emphasis, and the stress upon dialect (as set forth in Lowell's *Biglow Papers*). The combination Eggleston used effectively, though without the surface glitter that marked the work of Bret Harte. Eggleston's realism also had source in the indigenous works of the South and Southwest, though he objected somewhat to the excessive boisterousness of the primitive humorists of that allied region. By the writings of Longstreet and his successors his humorous vein was strongly influenced, as noted by Miss Dondore:

> They "aired" the crudities of the middle western civilization to excite the laughter of a more sophisticated public; in the idiosyncrasies of the border types that surrounded them they found a literary soil. . . . In exploiting such material the chief danger, of course, was that of caricature—a danger Eggleston himself evidences in his vain and shallow Mrs. Plausaby, his chronic invalid, Mr. Minorkey, his reminiscent New Englander, Miss Mathilda Hawkins, or his Backwoods Philosopher. The strength of the humorists' characterization lay largely in their ability to produce awkward but virile and good-natured types; their strength he excelled in his portraits of bashful Bud Means . . . or the crotchety cobbler; or of herculean, indolent, adventurous, and stalwart pioneers who first braved the fastnesses of the Great Valley.

IX. Drama of the Seventies.

The story of the drama of the post-Civil War period down to 1880 is mainly a record of minor pieces and temporary successes. American drama was out of public favor in those years; the Indian and Yankee plays had died out and little to replace them appeared. Plays by Americans on native themes were not common, and even pieces that were heralded as native frequently offered little indigenous material. The programs of the theatrical houses were largely English (as usual) and French (especially Sardou). Moses remarked of Howard that in "the early seventies he stood single-handed, with the Anglicism and classicism of Daly, Palmer, and Wallack as his chiefest opposition." There were, however, despite such a pessimistic view, some signs of varied dramatic activity. Civil War sketches were common enough (as Harrigan's *The Blue and the Gray* and Boucicault's *Belle-Lamar,* 1874, testify). But the drama of the period, like the fiction, recognized the literary merits of the West. In 1870 **T. B. DeWalden** produced the widely popular frontier piece, *Kit, the Arkansas Traveller.* **Augustin Daly,** who had adapted *Frou-Frou* (1870) from the French, joined the procession with *Horizon* (1871) in which he realistically portrayed frontier lawlessness. Other works of Daly included *Divorce* (1871), *Roughing It* (1873), *Pique* (1875), and *The Dark City* (1877) and four adaptations. **Frank H. Murdoch's** *Davy Crockett* (1872), depicting the Tennessee trapper, greatly improved upon *Kit, the Arkansas*

Traveller. The Gilded Age (1874) by **Mark Twain** and **Charles Dudley Warner** successfully dealt with the frontier theme. But *Two Men from Sandy Bar* (1876) by **Bret Harte** and *Ah Sin* (1877) by Bret Harte and Mark Twain proved not too successful. Another frontier play, by **Joaquin Miller,** *The Danites in the Sierras* (1877), which introduced Mormons, Chinese, and frontiersmen, was extremely well received by the public. **Bartley Campbell's** *My Partner* (1879) was so successful as to overshadow his comedies and melodramas.

Meanwhile other types of drama were produced. **David Belasco** and **James A. Herne** collaborated in producing the melodramas *Hap-Hazard* (1879), and *Hearts of Oak* (1879–80). The latter work, together with **MacKaye's** *An Iron Will* (1879), introduced the rural play. **William Dean Howells** upheld the natural against the artificial in his comedies, *The Parlor Car* (1876), *Out of the Question* (1877) and *A Counterfeit Presentment* (1877); and in *Yorick's Love* (1878) he successfully adapted a theme from the Spanish. **Howard,** who began dramatic activity in the decade, is well known as the exponent of the social comedy depending upon clever dialogue and situations rather than upon excellence of plot or characterization. His *Saratoga* (1870), *Diamonds* (1872), and *Hurricanes* (1878) are examples of his working in this medium. Among his other works during the decade are two melodramas, *The Banker's Daughter* (1878) and *Only a Tramp* (1878). **Boucicault** returned to America in 1872 and by 1880 had written eight adaptations (chiefly from the French) and at least one great original, *The Shaughraun* (1874), another Irish play with inimitable character types and rapid action.

X. The Magazines as Centers of Interest.

A. *Scribner's Monthly,* the leading periodical of the seventies, was rather intimately related to American literature: it was in close touch with various interests and tendencies and early recognized the value of encouraging native talent. It drew little from the English novelists, a fact that conferred distinction upon it. Coming at a time (as declared in Volume IV) when everything was ready for a new era in American fiction, it opened its pages to the younger generation. From the first it was a patron of the new authors, especially of that developing school after Harte, the local colorists, the sectional voices. During the year 1871, for instance, *Scribner's* published five short stories by **Edward Eggleston,** depicting the life of the poor whites in Indiana, *Saxe Holm* stories by **H. H. Jackson,** a poem by **Joaquin Miller,** and a laudatory review of "Songs of the Sierras." **Bret Harte** contributed a poem, "Wan Lee," and "Tales of Monte Flat"; "Gabriel Conroy," his ill-constructed novel, began in November 1875. **John Burroughs,** who first appeared in its pages with the "Blue-Birds of the Poets," became a frequent contributor. Interest in the West and the frontier, extensive at that time, was satisfied with essays on San Francisco and the wonders of the West, particularly "Yellowstone" by **F. V. Hayden.** Finally there appeared a series of "Studies in the Sierras" by **John**

Muir. One of the most consistent contributors was **Frank R. Stockton,** who wrote for the magazine the famous "Rudder Grange" stories.

Late in the decade *Scribner's* was particularly serviceable in providing an outlet for Southern literary efforts and in encouraging burgeoning genius of timid Southerners. It began the awakening of interest in the South by the publication of the sketches of **Edward King,** collected under the title of "The Great South." There followed contributions by Southern writers, who were thus provided with an improved and profitable Northern vehicle. As early as 1873 it printed "'Sieur George" of **G. W. Cable** and followed up with "Jean-Ah Poquelin," "Madame Delicieuse," and "'Tite-Poulette," and the serial publication of "The Grandissimes." Here, too, **John Esten Cooke** published his "My Knee Buckles." One of the finds by the staff of *Scribner's* was **Mrs. Burnett.**

B. The *Atlantic* followed *Scribner's* in introducing the new voices of the period. Staid Boston had to give up its protest against the new. Its tradition was breaking down, and it discovered no new forces to sustain it. In 1871 the editorial chair was given to **William Dean Howells,** a Westerner. Under his editorship the new and untutored writers of the West made an entrance, and the *Atlantic,* the organ of the old regime, underwent a change. It is doubtful if anyone but Howells would have admitted to its columns the contributions of these "invading Goths from over the Mountains." Before him, practically all the contributors were from New England. Boston standards prevailed, despite which fact the *Atlantic* had the stability of a national institution.

But there came the West: **Bret Harte** with "The Poet of Sierra Flat," "A Greyport Legend," "The Romance of Madroño Hollow," "How Santa Claus Came to Simpson's Bar," etc.; in the *Atlantic* ran **Mark Twain's** "Old Times on the Mississippi"; here was exploited the early poetic genius of Maurice Thompson in "At the Window," "Atalantia," "Aoede," etc. There were other marks of distinction. The romance of the French areas, as recorded in **Constance Fenimore Woolson's** "The Lady of Little Fishing," "Wilhelmina," "Rodman the Keeper," was given notice. Here too, was published the best work of **Aldrich:** "Quite So," "Mademoiselle Olympe Zabriske," "Père Antoine's Date-Palm," "Miss Mehetabel's Son," and "The Friend of My Youth," collected with others in *Marjorie Daw,* and his novels *Prudence Palfrey, The Queen of Sheba,* and *The Stillwater Tragedy.* To the *Atlantic* **John W. DeForest** contributed two novels.

This magazine was not laggard in turning to the South. During the seventies three of the Tennessee Mountain stories of **Mary Murfree** appeared in its columns. "A Rebel's Recollections" of **Edward Eggleston** was stretched out to seven installments. Numerous short lyrics of **Paul Hamilton Hayne** appeared in its pages: "Aspects of the Pines," "Forest Pictures," "The Voice in the Pines," "The Wood Lake," etc. As Mims says in his *Life of Lanier,* "it was the Northern magazines which made possible the success of Southern literature."

The *Atlantic* of the seventies is chiefly memorable, however, as having seen the earliest important work of **Henry James, Jr.** ("A Passionate Pilgrim," "Watch and Ward") and William Dean Howells. They were the *Atlantic* immortals of the decade. Howells was editor from 1871 to 1881 and, in a day when serials were popular, contributed to the columns of his own magazine *Their Wedding Journey, A Chance Acquaintance,* and *A Foregone Conclusion.*

C. After *Harper's Magazine* opened its pages to American writers, it made full atonement for keeping them out during the first fifteen years. Every magazine was calling for the work of the "California humorists," *Harper's* among them, but *Harper's* was at the same time sponsoring writers from the South. By far the larger part of this localized romance was being produced by the Southern writers, and the magazine frequently published work from each of the following: **Richard Malcolm Johnston, Thomas Nelson Page,** and **Charles Egbert Craddock. Rebecca Harding Davis** in Pennsylvania and **Sarah Orne Jewett, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps,** and **Rose Terry Cooke** in New England belonged to the same school and were publishing in *Harper's.*

The first sketch of **Constance Fenimore Woolson** was published in July 1873. Beginning in 1874 the magazine published a series of Southern sketches from her hand, and as a result the condition of the South was brought to the attention of the public.

D. The *Galaxy* was almost wholly an affair of the seventies. A New York magazine, established in 1866 by Stedman and Taylor, it lasted a dozen years, but died in 1878. While it lasted, it proved, as *Scribner's* and the *Atlantic* had, a boon for younger writers as well as for more established ones such as **J. W. DeForest. Mark Twain** conducted a department called "Memoranda" for a year; **Henry James** contributed stories and travel sketches. **Justin McCarthy,** visiting English journalist, submitted to the *Galaxy* political articles, short stories, and four serial novels. Mott computed that 37 per cent of its entire file was given over to fiction.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LOCAL-COLOR EIGHTIES

I. The National Scene.

Life in the eighties was not without its disturbances and excitement in both the economic and political arenas. In 1881 Garfield was assassinated. The trial of his murderer took seventy-two days and its proceedings filled 2,681 pages. In 1882 Congress suspended all Chinese immigration for ten years. The following year the Civil Service Act was passed, but only 12 per cent of the offices were immediately placed under it. The National Bureau of Labor was established in 1884. The next year Grant died three weeks after he completed the Memoirs which Hay characterized as a "book not written by an author and not published by a publisher." The Supreme Court in 1886 for the first time applied the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to corporations and in this way checked state interference with private property. In the same year labor difficulties came to the fore. By March a strike on the Southwestern railroads occurred under the Knights of Labor, accompanied with property destruction and turbulence. On May 1 there were strikes and demonstrations in behalf of an eight-hour day. Three days later occurred the anarchist riot in Haymarket Square, Chicago, punished with great severity. During the decade the character of immigrant stock changed and new immigration records were set. The 1880's were the boom time of the cattle business, but by the end of the decade the business had collapsed, largely through the influx of homesteaders and overexpansion.

II. Culmination of the Local-Color Movement.

While the average literary history refers to local color as emergent in the seventies, it sometimes drops comment at that point. The local-color movement came to its full glory, however, in the eighties and definitely maintained its ascendancy until after 1900. It was in general an honest attempt to view American life with its loyalty and neighborliness before the naturalistic distrust of honesty and community sympathy arose. To readers of the age, environment was an important factor, as noted by an anonymous critic in 1883: "Local color counts for much with us; our stories might all be called studies of phases of human nature, of types of humanity. . . . He who can truthfully describe the human being of any special environment, either as to his inner character or his external diction, appearance, manner, he is our successful novelist."

A. Chronology of important works in the decade. Local-color works are starred.

1880 Cable, *The Grandissimes* *
Harris, *Uncle Remus* *
Wallace, *Ben Hur*
Woolson, *Rodman the Keeper* *
Aldrich, *The Stillwater Tragedy*
H. Adams, *Democracy*
Twain, *A Tramp Abroad*

1881 James, *The Portrait of a Lady*
Catherwood, *Craque O'Doom*
Howells, *Dr. Breen's Practice*
Jackson, *Century of Dishonor*

1882 Crawford, *Mr. Isaacs*
Blanche Howard, *Guenn*
Twain, *The Prince and the Pauper*
Howells, *A Modern Instance*
Woolson, *Anne* *

1883 Howe, *Story of a Country Town*
Harte, *In the Carquinez Woods* *
Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* *
Crawford, *Dr. Claudius*

1884 Harris, *Mingo* *
Murfree, *In the Tennessee Mountains* *
Cable, *Doctor Sevier* *
Jackson, *Ramona* *
Crawford, *A Roman Singer*
Jewett, *A Country Doctor* *
Hay, *The Bread-Winners*
Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham*

1885 Twain, *Huckleberry Finn* *
Crawford, *Zoroaster; American Politician*
Murfree, *Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* *
Howells, *Indian Summer*

1886 James, *Bostonians*
Jewett, *White Heron* *
Murfree, *In the Clouds* *
James, *The Princess Casamassima*
Woolson, *East Angels* *

1887 French, *Knitters in the Sun* *
Wilkins, *A Humble Romance* *
Page, *In Ole Virginia* *
Crawford, *Saracinesca*

1888 Eggleston, *The Graysons* *
Howells, *April Hopes*
James, *Partial Portraits*
Cable, *Bonaventure* *
Bellamy, *Looking Backward*
Deland, *John Ward, Preacher*

1889 Howells, *A Hazard of New Fortunes*
Twain, *A Connecticut Yankee*
Crawford, *Sant' Ilario*
Woolson, *Jupiter Lights* *
Howells, *Annie Kilburn*
Catherwood, *Romance of Dollard* *

B. Definition of local color.

Local color was a form of writing that turned its eyes on the glories of an area: it noted racial and environmental factors and strove to capture other essential features as they affected character, whether for good or ill. Thus the strange blend of romantic impulse and realistic technique which one encounters in this school. The conditions with which the local colorist dealt were frequently aspects of life that were passing or had passed. Many stories looked backward in time to an earlier generation; the local-color pattern was sometimes similar to that of the historical novel, except that the canvas was narrowed. Bret Harte reported events in the

California gold rush of 1849; **George Washington Cable** carefully assigned his melodramatic occurrences in New Orleans to the years before 1850; **Mark Twain,** in his Mississippi River stories, described scenes in his boyhood; **Rowland Robinson** conveyed reminiscences of Vermont of the early forties. Even those writers like **Sarah Orne Jewett** and **Mary E. Wilkins Freeman,** who laid their stories in contemporary New England, wrote as historians of a passing social order. But the local-color story dealt with the everyday scene as well as with historical materials. Thus it came to present the surface characteristics of regional life, the occupations, avocations, interests, customs, dress, food, and speech of the many sections of the United States against the background of their architecture and geography.

These features, as virtually constituting a definition of local color, may be further articulated. The local colorist had great care for verisimilitude. He focused attention upon background or setting; and upon the accurate portrayal of this setting, whether of city or mountainside, much of his success depended. Character types were equally his concern, and these he readily found in the widely divergent regions of the American continent. He was devoted to dialect and speech peculiarities. These did not always differ greatly and many a reader failed to detect when variations were introduced. Others were keenly alert: sharp criticism was once directed at Haliburton for confusing Yankee speech with that of Kentuckians. Mark Twain, in *Huckleberry Finn,* professed to have illustrated seven kinds of dialect which he expected his readers to recognize. After "The Dancin' Party at Harrison's Cove" and "Marse Chan," the stress upon dialect became so great that, to write realistically and convincingly, skill in the detection of dialectal differences was necessary. Thus local color was the attempt to give literary interpretation to the life of an area, employing all the spontaneous and genuine elements in community life, its dialect and its folk expression, and advancing these as matter worthy of serious artistic celebration. The impulse to produce local-color work came, accordingly, whenever an author turned his eyes upon a region which he felt he understood and to which he wished to give fictional immortality.

C. Leading local colorists.

1. **Constance Fenimore Woolson,** grandniece of Cooper and magazinist of the seventies and eighties—for seventies see her lake stories and *Rodman the Keeper* (1880) with its impartial pictures of the South after the war,—was best known after 1880 as a novelist. Her novels (*For the Major,* 1883, etc.) were, with the exception of *Anne* (1882), chiefly concerned with Southern scenes. *Anne* impressed her contemporaries as a brilliant piece but has not survived. *East Angels* (1886) and *Jupiter Lights* (1889) quietly terminated the decade for her. Miss Woolson illustrated too well the distinction sometimes drawn between local color and regionalism, the devotion to social peculiarities, quaintness, picturesqueness rather than to strong human impulses. Nevertheless, she did attain marked knowledge of the three sections she described and evinced

sensibility and understanding in her portrayal of local types. Time has been too severe with her.

The entire decade she spent abroad, mostly in Italy, and the sketches she wrote there—later collected as *The Front Yard* (1895)—included such fine studies as "Neptune's Shore," "Miss Crief," "The Front Yard," and "The Street of the Hyacinth."

2. **Mary Murfree (Charles Egbert Craddock)** discovered the Tennessee mountains for the purposes of fiction. A resident of Murfreesboro, where hills are mild, she gained her knowledge of mountains in health excursions to East Tennessee, the first fruits of which she expressed in a volume of short stories in 1884, descriptive of the oddities of speech and custom among the poor whites of the Appalachian area. Her work was for a time distinctive, and she made an impression. Full-length volumes were next, initiated by *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains.* Novel after novel followed: *The Mystery of Witchface Mountain, In the Clouds, The Despot of Broomsedge Cove, The Juggler,* all in serial form. But after a few stories in the *Atlantic* and in *Harper's* her patterns were repeated, and she experienced difficulty in marketing her product. Her efforts, not susceptible of endless repetition, were not ineffective when taken in moderation. "She had succeeded remarkably well in seeing through the eyes of her mountain people, had contrived to exhibit the cruelty and narrowness of their lives without sitting in judgment upon them, and had caught the flavor of their speech without wantonly exploiting its eccentricities." (Hicks)
3. **George Washington Cable,** who made a beginning in local color in *Old Creole Days,* expanded his efforts to full-length romance in *The Grandissimes* (1880), which not only dealt with colorful surfaces but introduced the forces underlying human action. Its strength, therefore, lay in vivid character portrayals (re-creation of a place and a period) and strange, foreseeing realism.

   His second novel, *Dr. Sevier,* was closer to Cable's own times, less a product of a romantic past and sufficiently realistic to present a story in which difficulties hinge upon Southern virtues out-of-hand. In the attack upon the speculative spirit of New Orleans and its unsanitary swamp areas, the author preserved a mood of sternness and undeviating honesty. Not absent, however, were romantic picturesqueness, exotic figures, and sentimental subplots. The weakness of the work was not so much in the author's temptation to be romantic as in the difficulty consequent upon the change in medium from the short story to the novel. He placed emphasis upon character, episodes, and atmosphere, not upon architectonics.
4. Though **Sarah Orne Jewett** made a beginning before 1880 with two volumes, the eighties saw a continuation of her own distinctive efforts in a full-length story (*A Country Doctor,* 1884) and in several volumes of short stories. The first, *Country By-Ways,* was made up of essays and sketches; but in *The Mate of the Daylight, A White Heron* (her sec-

ond important volume with the Maine coast as a locale), and *The King of Folly Island* she gathered up some of her best stories of New England. These and additional magazine contributions of the decade represent, in fact, her finest achievement in short fiction: "Andrew's Fortune," "An Autumn Holiday," "An Only Son," "A White Heron," "Marsh Rosemary," "The Dulham Ladies," "The Courting of Sister Wisby," "The Town Poor," "Law Lane," "Miss Tempy's Watchers." Had we no other penetrating studies than these, her reputation as a writer of graceful, refined, sympathetic stories would be assured.

5. The writings of **Joel Chandler Harris** naturally fall into two classes—tales of Georgia "crackers" and "moonshiners," and fables and legends. For the latter class, Harris's chief contribution to literature, he drew upon his memories of the Negroes on the Turner plantation where economic security removed all tragic features from Negro life. The character who became the mouthpiece for all this folklore, Uncle Remus, "is one of the few distinctly original characters of our national literature; and as the old plantation recedes more and more into the past, these dialect folk tales of which he is the central figure will prove a valuable heritage to a newer time from a richly picturesque period of Southern history." *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings* (1880) and *Nights with Uncle Remus* were the best of the volumes in which these fables were told.

   The second aspect of Harris's work was the mountain tale and the straight-away plantation story. *Mingo and Other Sketches in Black and White* (1884) contained "At Teague Poteet's," outstanding among Harris's "cracker" stories. Three years later he added such pieces as "Free Joe," "Trouble on Lost Mountain," and "Azalia," all of them effective studies of hill types and *mores*. Although these stories of mountaineers, plantation owners, and servants failed to arouse the notice that his folklore material did, they revealed Harris's attachment to the Georgia hills and his knowledge of agrarian conditions. Especially distinctive were his stories of freed, runaway, or former slaves ("Blue Dave," "Mingo," and "Ananias").

6. **Thomas Nelson Page** gave us a romanticized view of the Old South as he knew it and continued the plantation tradition begun by Kennedy. *In Ole Virginia* has taken a place among important collections of American short stories; Page's later work never reached the artistry, simplicity, finish of this early work. The first to appear was "Marse Chan" (1884), published with some misgivings as the story was all in dialect. It "took." In subsequent tales Page reproduced the atmosphere of aristocratic Virginia plantations before the war, called to life by the loving memory of onetime slaves and erstwhile masters. It was a Virginian world of social inheritance, chivalric ideals, sensitive pride, and punctilious honor, a world of gallant, fearless men and beautiful but proud women. But though Page yielded somewhat to romantic temptation in works which present the idealized Negro and an idealized

rural world, his stories are not so unrealistic as they may at first appear, for the narrator in most cases is the house-servant, who naturally missed the old regime more than the others, and felt closer to the family—a relationship graphically presented by another local colorist, James Lane Allen, in "Two Gentlemen of Kentucky."

7. Although **Mary E. Wilkins Freeman** did not fully arrive until the next decade, she began in *A Humble Romance* (1887) her stories of rural Yankee life, with stark pictures of New England leftovers, self-immolating characters with merciless conscience who procure a few tastes of honey to relieve the joylessness of their lives.
8. **Rose Terry Cooke,** realist and local colorist, came into collected form in *Somebody's Neighbors* (1881), *Root Bound* (1885), *The Sphinx's Children* (1886) and *Huckleberries Gathered from New England Hills* (1891), the last of which contains several magazine stories of the eighties, such as "The Deacon's Week," "Odd Miss Todd," "Hopson's Choice," and "Clary's Trial." A comparison of the early and late stories in these volumes reveals her steady progress towards realism. A local-color novel, *Steadfast* (1889), was simply a more extended treatment of her characteristic themes, and continued the tradition common in the late century of the author's playing providence to his characters.
9. **Mary H. Catherwood** was a pioneer in several respects: she was the first woman novelist of the period born west of the Alleghenies; she was the first woman novelist of literary prominence to have been graduated from college. And while she was experimenting in the eighties (*Craque O'Doom* being an E. P. Roe type), she did eventually hit upon a distinctive field of romance in French Canada of the seventeenth century. For her stories she found inspiration in the work of Parkman, especially his *The Old Régime in Canada. The Romance of Dollard* (1889) is the title to be remembered in this connection. Against a wilderness background move *coureurs de bois,* priests, half-breeds, Indians, the heroic Adam Dollard, and the brave Huron Annahotaha. It is a romantic and tragic tale of the heroes of the Long Sault, who consecrated themselves to the cause of the frontiersmen in their stand against the Iroquois and who died in a fight so determined that further incursions of the Indians were discouraged. Her stories she related with verve and animation. Catherwood was one of those in the eighties who tried to put romance in the place of the growing realism; in so doing she selected an heroic story from a feudal society and avoided all dialect and other devices of the new school.
10. Rediscovery of **Richard Malcolm Johnston** was made after 1880. He had appeared before the reading public in 1864 (*Georgia Sketches*), again under the name of Philemon Perch in 1871 in *Dukesborough Tales* (the change was only title-deep); in the midst of the localism advanced by publishers' blurbs (Harper and Brothers) he took his place in 1884 as a chronicler of Georgia as Mary Murfree had for Tennessee.

11. The unconventional life of frontier districts in California and Colorado, and the scenery of the areas where mining and construction engineers worked, afforded **Mary Hallock Foote** with matter for her book illustrations and stories. Her four early novels gave effective delineations of arid California slopes, of Colorado mining camps, and especially of exiles from the East struggling against new conditions. In the eighties she wrote *Led-Horse Claim* (a story of love and illegal mining in the Leadville district of Colorado), *John Bodewin's Testimony* (1886), and *The Last Assembly Ball* (1889). Her stories were related with an exactness and beauty of phrase and a sense of color.
12. Other local colorists of the decade included **Katherine MacDowell** (*Dialect Tales,* 1883, and *Suwanee River Tales,* 1884), **John Habberton** (*Bruelton's Bayou,* 1886), **Rowland Robinson,** with stories of Vermont in *Uncle Lisha's Shop* (1887) and *Sam Lovel's Camps* (1889), **Harry Stillwell Edwards,** with humorous tales of the Reconstruction plantation in *Two Runaways* (1889), **Lillie Chase Wyman** (*Poverty Grass,* 1886), **Philander Deming** (*Adirondack Stories,* 1880–1886, and *Tompkins and Other Folks,* 1885), **Esther Bernon Carpenter** (*South County Neighbors,* 1886), and **Will N. Harben** (*White Marie,* 1889).

D. Local color: Evaluation.

The limitations of local color were both obvious and inevitable. Much of the description was, like that of Mary Hallock Foote, of communities which were new, sometimes almost makeshift, with no more stability than current styles. Much of the local-color product was romantically, if not sentimentally, concerned with the outlandish, the crude, and the boisterous, as was Harte's. Sometimes eccentric characters and provincial oddities seemed to be the sole interest of the writers, and exaggeration and overemphasis their chief reliance in entertaining their readers. Stylistically there was much weakness, too, with dialogue lost in a blaze of description, or the author showing an addiction to what was alleged to be dialect but was in reality only bizarre spelling born of phonetic ignorance. But on its upper levels the movement was truly provincial; the writers were not only intimate with their environment but truly aware of the influence of life surroundings upon their fictional characters. The scenes they portrayed vividly and sympathetically, and they were conscientious in the use of setting. The loyal localism, "the enamored provincialism" of men like Cable, Twain, and Harris, was worthy of all praise. The movement, even with its excess, developed an inclusiveness that illustrated the dictum that he who would be truly national must be truly local. By centering attention upon particular regions and demanding close study of their verities and actualities, the local-color story became an important factor in the development of realistic fiction throughout America.

III. Important Larger Works of Fiction in the Eighties.

"The decade 1880–1890 produced more good novels than any other American decade. Howells was then at his height . . ." (Van Doren.)

A. **Mark Twain,** though on all sides read as a humorist, nevertheless made

definite contributions to the world of fiction. There were two large areas to which he turned, in space and time:

1. The West.

   To the famous series of books dealing with the West which he had written in the seventies—a series which included *Roughing It,* chapters of *The Gilded Age* (descriptive of mushroom towns of Missouri), and *Tom Sawyer* (reminiscent of the author's childhood along the Mississippi)—Mark Twain added after 1880 the book publications of *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) and *Huckleberry Finn* (1884). The first of these caught the life of the great river and the romance of a now-forgotten period of American life. *Huckleberry Finn,* drawing upon his own childhood dreams and memories, expressed the author's love of vagabondage, and recreated the world of the tall tale and the provincial life of river towns. In reality it is a continuation of the Tom Sawyer saga, but with stress upon the life of the river. It is a regional work in much the sense that *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* was regional, for Mark Twain's imagination presented memorable local pictures: the various craft on the river itself, the Grangerford-Shepherdson feud, Colonel Sherburn and his dealings with the mob, the Pokeville camp-meeting, the muddy, hog-infested, shiftless river town of Bricksville, Arkansas, and the antics of backwoods rascals ever on the search for gullible victims. Something of childish wonder at human destiny the book also expresses, the mysteries of providence and of the night when the great river flows on in thick or starlit darkness. To the rafting experiences of Huck and his companions, and the sense of uneasiness which Jim and Huck feel, ever fearful of capture or detection, the author adds two episodes which fill half the book: (1) the efforts of the "King" and Bilgewater, the duke, perpetrators of the "Royal Nonesuch" and of other "Simon Suggs" rascalities, to steal the inheritance of two river-town girls, and (2) the quixotic schemes of adventure-mad Tom Sawyer for the rescue of Jim from his shack on the Phelps plantation.

2. Medievalism.

   Mark Twain, investor in inventions etc., was such a believer in modernity and the future that in volume after volume he sought to expose the "grandeur" of the good old times. In *Life on the Mississippi* he criticized the South for taking its Walter Scott seriously and for turning its back on progress. *A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court,* an anti-romance, recoiled sharply from sentimentalism about the Middle Ages and presented the wretched condition of the common people in the feudal period, exposed the coarseness and immorality of technical chivalry which existed and was applauded, the cruel and unscrupulous ecclesiastical tyranny, and the capricious insolence of the barons. To him the medieval world was an unjust world because of its social instruments—the kings, nobles, and priests. In *The Prince and the Pauper* hatred for kings became the platform of a political creed.

The keynote was justice, not war nor conquest for gain. Thus in contrast to William Morris, Twain conceived of the Middle Ages in terms of skeptical pronouncements:

a. No people can see now how the "anointed of royalty were so catered to and respected."
b. The insidious methods of the priesthood ruined civilization.
c. Civilization is not civilization where dirt and filth are prevalent.
d. Civilization is not civilization when it is static.

Mark Twain loved the Middle Ages, as also had Scott, for their picturesqueness; he loathed the Middle Ages because of their injustice and squalor.

B. The eighties constitute the period of deliberate and artistic work by **William Dean Howells.** In 1881 he resigned the editorship of the *Atlantic Monthly* to T. B. Aldrich; and though he went over to the *Century,* he devoted himself almost exclusively to literary creation. To this period belong his *A Modern Instance, The Rise of Silas Lapham, Indian Summer, April Hopes,* and *The Minister's Charge.* In these novels he ranges over the entire life of America; believing that he should present the common ordinary level of American life, he seeks everywhere for it, from an Ohio village to New York City and from a newspaper office to a hotel lobby. Three or four novels might be commented on. *A Modern Instance* (1882), which grapples sparingly with the problem of divorce, presents Bartley Hubbard, a mean-spirited fellow "with no more moral nature than a baseball." After an almost fatal lapse of his own making, he is married to a lawyer's daughter early in the novel (*Middlemarch* fashion). Jealousy and moral disintegration follow, and an attempted divorce. Each character has a tragic flaw: Marcia, inordinate fondness; Bartley, unscrupulousness and self-indulgence. The end is fatal to their happiness and peace and, for Bartley, only the last stage in a gradual disintegration. Most famous of the novels was *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1884), a novel which introduces three of the notes which characterized Howells during this decade: the regional note felt in Boston and its surroundings; concern with the tender sensibilities and nerves of young ladies, and their families; and brooding over the ethics of the business world. The last is the most distinctive and makes possible the designation of the novel as the triumph of honesty and moral probity over self-interest. Of equal value with these features is the contrast, leisurely presented, between the Brahminical culture of the Coreys and the honest but rustically crude manners of the newly-rich Laphams. Silas returns at the end, his house burned and his fortune gone, to a rural home, still honest with his self-respect subdued but whole. Silas is treated with all the understanding and insight which the businessman in literature warranted. That he is not portrayed in less flattering terms is ascribable not to a limitation in outlook on the part of Howells, but to the character of the age before the chain-store mind (as Katherine Gerould terms it) took on its flintlike character.

Indian Summer (1885) is a novel of courtship and age disparity. In the midst of much talk about Florence, Italy, Howells analyzes the feelings of a young lady who thinks for a time that she can immolate herself upon the altar of devotion to one twice her age, and traces the temporary obsession of a man of forty-one who dreams of "recovering and restoring his own lost and broken past in the love of a young soul" but who takes final refuge in an old love. The novel is delicately handled with eighteenth-century wit. *Annie Kilburn* (1889), a novel of a New England manufacturing town (one-third foreign), is centered about a church schism and an evening's theatricals to procure "superfluous charity." The problem of social betterment—so-called charities—is brought to the fore by a plan for a Social Union for the working people. Annie Kilburn, full of humanitarian impulses, finds herself frustrated both in direct beneficence and in plans for the Union. The novelist's message may be summarized under four heads: (1) money is an impossible medium for the creation of sympathy between rich and poor; (2) charity is at its best provisional, not justice; (3) "No person of means and leisure can meet working people except in the odious character of patron"; (4) social improvement can not be superimposed except at a risk of pauperizing the workers.

Howells, both in theory and practice, advanced the cause of realism. Various aspects of American life were brought imaginatively to life in his pages, but these were not heightened beyond their normal level of dramatic interest. With an absorption in feminine sensibilities that echoes Richardson and an aloofness from the action itself that reminds one of Jane Austen, Howells concerned himself with the surface ironies of life. He did not grapple with melodramatic climaxes for he thought that the life of the average democratic American did not shape itself into great moments. He did, however, treat flawlessly the everyday incidents which make up existence for the ordinary man, his small triumphs and defeats, minor crises, actions, and thoughts. Howells's style was an admirable instrument for the expression of his material, for the preservation of the sense of decorum and the mirroring of commonplace events in the life of essentially unheroic heroes. If he missed greatness itself in his novelistic career, it was because of his formula, not his lack of genius.

C. The early eighties belong to the "international period" of **Henry James**, a period when he was observing and impersonally describing his countrymen and their manners both at home and abroad, though by 1888 he gave over, for a time at least, his study of international contrast and devoted himself with seeming enjoyment to the European scene. Two novels he wrote in 1881, the first, *Washington Square,* a novel purely American in its subject matter; the second, the skillful delineation of a regal-hearted American girl in Florence, *The Portrait of a Lady.* A contemporary review in *Blackwood's Magazine* described the latter novel as "a maze of delicate analyses and psychological studies, tempered with a number of brilliant social sketches." Despite the criticism it received for its unnecessary length, its elaborate detail, and its lack of proportion in parts,

readers and critics were almost unanimous in proclaiming it James's masterpiece.

The book is especially noteworthy for its description of Isabel Archer, a beautiful and intellectual American girl. In describing her experiences with men, James emphasizes the qualities that made her a lady, though finally she illustrates his favorite doctrine of renunciation, when, for the sake of the ideal of marriage, she goes back to a husband who hates her. Painstaking sketches of secondary characters, such as Mrs. Touchett, Miss Stackpole, and Madame Merle, also contribute to the excellence of the work. *The Portrait of a Lady* is not the kind of book one reads merely for pleasure; it is a specimen of literary art and refinement which requires careful study. *The Bostonians,* which appeared in 1886, is neither so ambitious nor worthy a work. James here deals with the Feminist movement in Boston; and although his characterization and analyses are typical of his genius, he seems to waver between a desire to devote his story to Olive Chancellor and her suffragist work, and an equally strong desire to tell the love story of Verena Tarrant and Basil Ransom. But the strong-minded, intense quality of Olive eventually dominates the story: she loves to suffer for a "cause"; and though at the end she resigns that cause, there are presented in the interim various aspects of Boston life—women's club meetings, intellectual seances, and lectures.

The Princess Casamassima, unlike *The Bostonians* which was purely American, ventures into the field of social theories in Europe. The novel veers sharply away from his normal pattern, lacking all international comparisons and all trace of a class whose leisure is its most marked characteristic. Leisure or civilized loafing, however, is the concern of the novelist, or at any rate the fruits of leisure as symbolized by the art treasures of Venice and hinted at in the social edifice of London. James, like Hay, could not unders[redacted]al and working classes, but did present sympathetic stu[redacted]aracters as Anastasius Vetch, Madame Grandoni, a[redacted]

James's world was that o[redacted]es of society at home and abroad, the only strata in his day [redacted] lay claim to being cosmopolitan. This world, despite the concern with the social drama of the international scene, was a limited one, for he approached his material with such an objective detachment that many real potentialities had to be left untouched. The reader of his narratives does not have his sympathies aroused, does not identify himself, as he must if he is to be enthralled, with the thought and destinies of the characters, however much the author, with his own highly developed cerebration, was able to do so. In consequence, only the reader's intellect or his sense of proportion and perspective is aroused. James, however, fastidious and scrupulous artist that he was, will be appreciated by those who can admire artistic technique for itself. As Grant Overton remarked:

> It is no use approaching Henry James wi[redacted]dice. Unless one is prepared to admit his right to exist, as bei[redacted] of God's creatures;

unless one is willing to grant his perfect sincerity and his right to do things in his own way, then time spent on his work is simply time wasted. Great patience, perfect tolerance and entire respect are indispensable in reading him, and can co-exist with decidedly unfavorable judgment of many aspects of his writing.

IV. The Problem Novel.

A. Development of industrialism and economics in literature.

1. Causes of the economic revolt.

The frontier was gradually disappearing, and the areas available were becoming more and more remote. Trapped, therefore, by the four walls of the factory, labor sought internal solutions rather than outward release. The labor movement was given special impetus in the late seventies because the workers were struggling against the joint forces of inflated prices and depreciated currency. In 1877 the first great strife began in Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Louisville, Cleveland, and elsewhere. Industrial warfare continued: mob rule prevailed in St. Louis; quickly thereafter came the Haymarket riots in Chicago; bombing and sabotage followed. In 1886 there were 1,572 strikes. The line between capital and labor became a battle-front with mounting enmity. Echoes of this were clearly heard in the dramas of **Steele MacKaye** and the correspondence of **W. D. Howells.**

2. New forces.

Economic and social theory sought to keep pace with the changes in the American Industrial Revolution but made way slowly because of the prevalence of the old frontier spirit of economic individualism. There were, however, certain forces of measurable strength.

Henry George, advocate of the single tax, was so popular that he founded a party. His avowed [redacted] to reduce poverty and equalize the tax burden, to provi[redacted]ation of property. Contributions in thought were t[redacted] of privilege; (2) his theory that wages are fixe[redacted]ntless land. He believed that the solution of moder[redacted]ay in the nationalization of land through the medium o[redacted]ngle tax. This theory he advanced in *Progress and Poverty* (1879) and in *Social Problems* (1884). The alleged results of his program were envisaged as rise in wages, abolition of poverty, increased earnings, extirpation of pauperism, purification of morals and government. Henry George's popularity inspired others to follow his ideas, and the effect of his theories is shown in the many novels of the decade which eddy about his principles. A second force was the influx of Russian ideas. While the influence of the pessimistic writings of the Russians was not dominant in any novelist of the time, it was perceptible in the general tendency to deal with social problems and can be charted in the correspondence of the period. Tolstoy, assuredly, was read more and more and was probably the most important Russian writer for the American audience. Turgeniev was also widely read.

3. Labor and the profit motive in American fiction.
   a. *The Stillwater Tragedy* by **T. B. Aldrich,** which touches in its middle portions upon the problems of industrialism, describes a general strike in a New England manufacturing town which is lost through inadequate reserves and dissension among the unions themselves. Though the views of the author are not elaborately set forth, he lodges protest against attempted labor monopoly through limitation of apprentices, without denying, however, the right of workers to strike against positive injustices. Radical leaders, like Torrini, secretary of the Marble Workers Association, are unflatteringly presented. But this strike section is employed less as a serious matter [redacted] than as a factor to postpone the fortunes of the lovers and [redacted] plausibility to certain plot ingredients. Aldrich's poetic instincts are too strong to allow him to take a problem novel very seriously; what he creates is primarily a success-in-love-and-work story, with a murder mystery featured as a complicating circumstance. Also a study of justice, the narrative presents the methodical way in which a professional detective sets about to search for guilt and [redacted] build up a case and subsequently the evidence and deductions [redacted] ch it is thrown down. Both the strike and the murder mystery are but difficulties in the path of true love.
   b. **John Hay's** *The Breadwinners* (published serially in the *Century*) was widely read. Based on the railway strike in the city of Cleveland, it delineates the violence of strikes and the dangerous and vicious traits among the workers which they unleash. The motives of strikers are attacked by a direct challenge of the motives of those who foment them. It beg[redacted]ith an *argumentum ad hominem* method in singling out strik[redacted] ends with the assumption that those who make u[redacted]file of organizations are either violent, rabid [redacted]rkingmen like Sleeny who are deluded by the[redacted] messages which the leaders deliver are pure m[redacted]gh it is doubtful if Hay had any definitely propagandist purpose at the outset, his attack on regimentation (of labor unions) is readily understandable when echoed in other spheres today. It came from a stronghold of economic individualism. Hay did not understand industrial democracy and collective bargaining. The novel is also an unsympathetic study of the social life of Cleveland and a sharp protest against the alignment of big business and crooked politicians.
   c. **Henry F. Keenan** parodied the Hay novel with *The Money-Makers* and sought to present the non-capitalistic point of view. Purely journalistic in style and conception, the book aroused interest in many circles by its thinly veiled pictures of Whitelaw Reid, John Hay, and Amasa Stone, the latter somewhat scurrilously burlesqued under the name of Aaron Grimstone. Other material—the political success of Senator Killgore and the putting down of the Valedo trade

unions—tied the work up with the economic happenings of the time.

d. In *Looking Backward* (1888) **Edward Bellamy** drew a picture of the democracy of the future, a Utopia of collectivism. The novel deals with the strange experiences of Julian West, a wealthy young Bostonian who in 1887 went into a hypnotic sleep from which he did not awaken until the year 2000. He found a changed order: the simple fact of his humanity was a man's (or a woman's) basic claim upon his share of the community's wealth; his service, his actual work, was the measure of his value and his distinction; here every man knew both material abundance and social security, vice was practically unknown, and politics simply did not exist. The details of Bellamy's scheme are beside the point here. It is sufficient to note that the society was so ordered that every man contributed to its actual wealth; the world's work was freely done and every man had leisure and independence, all through the abolition of the profit motive. It was a vast dream of an industrial army. The revolution was interpreted as having been brought about by process of change: centralization and concentration; state capitalism was a step to state socialism. The fundamental idea advanced was the extension of the state: (*a*) the ownership of the land constituting natural monopolies by the state; (*b*) the wastefulness of private competition under raw capitalism eliminated by the state. The novel sold 350,000 copies in two years.

e. *Murvale Eastman, Christian Socialist,* by **A. W. Tourgée,** raised the searching question, "What is the economic and social duty of the true Christian?" The answer, based on the Golden Rule, was as direct as Thoreau's comment on Billerica Meetinghouse: whatever conduct leads to equality of opportunity and privilege for all is most truly expressive of New T[redacted] ideals. This included equality in wealth. "Bear ye one ano[redacted] he regarded as the commandment holding the prima[redacted] Christian. Intensely individualistic, his Socialis[redacted] voluntary co-operation of the strong, under Chris[redacted], for the benefit of the weak. Each person in a social group must work out the plan of service best suited to the immediate need. Thus in reality Tourgée had no definite and constructive program and veered away from any well-integrated economic scheme to religious responsibilities. Solution for the economic and social problems which the industrial disturbances of the eighties had forced to the attention of every thinking man he found in the Christian Socialism of Maurice and Kingsley, applying their philosophy to American situations in his own way.

B. Non-industrial propaganda novels.

1. One of the most popular novels of the decade was **H. H. Jackson's** *Ramona* (1884), which was so fascinating as a romance that its readers forgot that it was written as an exposé of the Indian Bureau in its Californian activities. She did create tremendous interest in the Southwest, a fact which makes classification of her work as local color appro-

priate. H. H. Jackson was by nature romantic. She wrote the novel with a glowing style and virtually with her "soul on fire." Thus she was the third of a trilogy of women writers challenging the oppressor—champions of the black man, the white laborer, and the red man.

2. **Crawford's** *An American Politician* was mildly propagandist in purpose. John Harrington, honorable member of a family of Boston, highly idealistic, entered Massachusetts' boss-ridden politics. Confronted with an Irish ward machine, he found his earliest aspirations for senatorship defeated. He later became a member of a mysterious Council of Three which directed American politics. He entered, in turn, the American Senate where he hoped somewhat wistfully to serve his countrymen. Crawford, the romancer, tangled in the skeins of his imagination, ruined the book as a political document and ended it as a love romance, though not until he set forth at due length two speeches, the first advocating civil service, then a subject of controversy, and a second advancing a doctrine of political unity superior to partisan politics.
3. **Albion Tourgée,** an historical romancer, was also a problem novelist. Widely popular were six novels dealing with the Civil War as an epoch in American life, at least two of which were critical of American political blundering in the South and of ruthless mishandling of postwar problems. *A Fool's Errand* (1879) proved a sensation, and brought to its author a reputation which aided the success of his later and less significant volumes. The first extended novelistic attempt to interpret the Reconstruction (preceded, however, by Mrs. MacDowell's *Like Unto Like,* 1878), the story gained its primary interest and much of its popularity from the sensational exposé of the Ku Klux Klan, which Tourgée knew from his own experience as a judge in North Carolina. The next novel, *Bricks Without Straw* (1880), almost as popular as its predecessor, amplified the author's discussion of postwar conditions in the South and made Tourgée the avowed champion of the Negro, the carpet-bagger, and the scalawag, none of whom he really understood. His interpretation of the Civil War and its aftermath, Reconstruction, was interesting, but definitely biased. Tourgée was a politician, not an historian; a partisan, not a philosopher. He wrote with intense conviction and great earnestness; but, unfortunately, his vision was narrow. As documents of the emotional outlook of the time, however, his books were sound. Freedom and citizenship were thrust upon the Negro but he was denied straw: education, direction, and the patience of wise leaders. Under such circumstances the masterless Negro was at the mercy of the unscrupulous and lawless. The two novels cited and *The Invisible Empire* (1883-nonfiction) are the political writings of one who very obviously spoke out of a background of experience.

V. The Entertainers.

A. **The work of Francis Marion Crawford.**

Crawford was a story-telling artist. Although he wrote only to entertain, he was unequaled in his generation in knowledge, cosmopolitan good

breeding, and skill in relating a stirring narrative. Art for art's sake was his creed and the "purpose" novel was to him anathema. In *The Novel: What It Is,* an essay that defined his attitudes, he said: "The purpose novel is an odious attempt to lecture people who hate lectures, to preach to people who prefer their own church, and to teach people who think they know enough already . . . as such, it ought to be either mercilessly crushed or forced by law to bind itself in black and label itself 'Purpose.'" And again, "In art of all kinds the moral lesson is a mistake." The result of this position was a lack of deep emotion and conviction in his work. He told a story with sentiment and dramatic movement, however, revealing a great worldly knowledge and a powerful imagination. *Mr. Isaacs,* his first novel, succeeded for three good reasons: (1) it was in the key of the decade—local color, (2) Crawford found a new environment, antedating Kipling in turning to India for subject matter, and (3) its scene was an area of sentiment with highly romantic happenings. This he followed with *Zoroaster,* the tragic story of a Persian who fell in love with an Englishwoman. Out of the hopeless situation which this hero created, he found spirituality and mystical belief. The story is typical of the romantic treatment which Crawford used in the almost unbelievable number of books he wrote from this time on. Fifteen of these deal with Italy, the Italy of the middle and higher classes. The best of this group is the *Saracinesca* series, books so real in setting and presentation that the reader feels almost at home in the scene and among the characters living there. The most perfect in form of all his stories, however, is *A Cigarette-Maker's Romance.* It is a long novelette, unified in time and place, which tells the story of a Russian count, disowned by his father, but under the spell of a delusion that he will be restored to his lost position. All of the characters conduct themselves with nobility and honesty, but the most touching role is that of the humble Russian girl who loves the deluded count. In conclusion, we may say that Crawford has earned, through his cosmopolitan knowledge and narrative power, his place as second among our international novelists.

B. **Frank Stockton,** stylist and humorist.

Stockton will be chiefly remembered for his short stories of whimsical fancy. "The Lady, or the Tiger?" was so popular that it almost froze the market for his later stories, many of which had the technical skill to commend them in any literary company: "Negative Gravity," "The Transferred Ghost," and "The Late Mrs. Null" (novelette). Stockton's approach to fiction was made by way of successful juveniles (beginning four years after *Alice in Wonderland*), from the writing of which there carried over to his later work lucidity, naturalness, grace, and personality. Stockton, like Aldrich, rarely had a message; he was a public amuser, and this in part constituted his appeal. His chief points of distinction were his handling of a profusion of definite detail, his facility of invention, which he displayed in the realm of the strange and fantastic, and the air of extreme probability which he imparted to his tales. His best novels, some-

times impressing the reader as loosely episodic, appeared in the eighties: *The Casting Away of Mrs. Lecks and Mrs. Aleshine* (1886), its sequel *The Dusantes* (1888), and *Ardis Claverden* (1890), an interesting dueling piece. He was a best seller over a long period.

C. **Frances Hodgson Burnett.**
Apart from its subject matter whatever Mrs. Burnett wrote was worth reading, for she was painstaking in her art. She achieved her greatest triumph in *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886). "Her portrayals of certain Southern characters and life phases are entertaining but not significant, with the exception of the occasional portraitures of self-reliant girls like Esmeralda or Louisiana."

D. **Lew Wallace's** fame rests principally upon *Ben Hur,* first published in 1880. It has been consistently popular, translated into many languages and run from the presses by the hundreds of thousands, rivaling Shelden's *In His Steps.* Wallace's novel was partially responsible for the historical romance revival of the next decade, for he developed the appetite for the antiquarian novel of the late nineties.

E. Other historical romancers:
1. **Albion Tourgée** combined, in *Button's Inn,* leisurely traditions of a haunted room in an historic wayside inn with the rise of Mormonism under Joseph Smith at Kirkland.
2. The eighties was the last decade of **John Esten Cooke,** who continued to write in the old manner to the very end, as *My Lady Pocahontas* (1885) illustrates.
3. Novels of **Amelia Barr,** though possessing little literary merit, won a wide audience: *Jan Vedder's Wife* (1885), *The Black Shilling* (1886), *The Bow of Orange Ribbon* (1886).
4. **Jane G. Austin** produced two important novels in the decade, each followed by a sequel: *A Nameless Nobleman* (1881) and *Standish of Standish* (1889).
5. **S. Weir Mitchell,** popular novelist of the nineties, made a beginning with such works as *Far in the Forest* (1889) and *Roland Blake* (1886).

VI. Poetry in the Eighties.

In a poll conducted by the New York *Critic* in 1885 to determine the relative esteem for living authors (Emerson and Longfellow were then dead), the rank was as follows: Holmes, Lowell, Whittier, Bancroft, Howells, Curtis, Aldrich, etc. It is apparent that New England poets headed the list.

A. During this decade the older New England poets were, on the whole, either writing little verse or turning to prose. **H. W. Longfellow's** last volume was *In the Harbor* (1882); **John G. Whittier** was living in retirement because of ill-health, but published *The King's Missive* (1881), *The Bay of Seven Islands* (1883), *Saint Gregory's Guest* (1886), and brought out his collected edition in 1888. **James Russell Lowell's** poetic output in the eighties consisted of a volume called *Heartsease and Rue* (1888). **Oliver Wendell Holmes** prepared several volumes of verse—*The Iron*

Gate (1880) and *Before the Curfew* (1888)—and published a number of prose volumes: *A Mortal Antipathy* (1885—his third novel), *Memoir of Emerson* (1885), and *Our Hundred Days in Europe* (1887).

B. The good, gray poet, **Walt Whitman,** published *November Boughs* (1888), a new collection of his verse; and in 1889 a new edition of *Leaves of Grass* appeared, to which was added a group of poems captioned "Sands at Seventy." By this decade he had begun to secure the interest of a wider audience, though in the poll conducted in the *Critic* he ranked twentieth. Whitman's work of the eighties showed no change in program; and his protest against poetry stemming from a feudal system of society and inspired by conditions of life totally foreign to those prevalent in the United States was as strong as ever. From the background of America, with its vastness, newness, power, and energy, and its great experiment of democratic government a different kind of poetry should be evolved. Whitman's hope was to give voice to American democracy, in all its freedom and expansiveness, without any dependence upon foreign forms or allusions. In *A Backward Glance* (1888) what he aimed at and believed is finely expressed in one sentence:

> Without stopping to qualify the averment, the Old World has the poems of myths, fictions, conquest, caste, dynastic wars, and splendid exceptional characters and affairs, which have been great, but the new world needs the poems of realities and science and of the democratic average and basic equality, which shall be greater.

Much the same thing Whitman had said six years before in *Poetry To-Day in America,* in which he issued a clarion call for bards who might worthily sing "these States" and supply for the entire world "democratic sociology and imaginative literature" of regenerative power. Labeling the mighty three of English literature as feudalistic—Shakespeare, Scott, and Tennyson,—he asked for literature "from a Western point of view," poems original and autochthonic.

C. **Eugene Field** portrayed the conflict between the lawlessness of the West and the culture of the East; and because he felt no sympathy with the East, though neither uncouth nor expansive, he thought of himself as a Western poet. Practically all the works for which Field is now known were written in the eighties. He was, like Riley, a newspaper man and did not become known to the reading public until the publication of "Little Boy Blue" in 1887. There followed *Culture's Garland* (1887), *A Little Book of Western Verse* (1889, 1890), and *A Little Book of Profitable Tales* (1889, 1890).

D. During the eighties **E. R. Sill,** living quietly at Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, was writing poetry for the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Overland Monthly.* In 1883 a collection, *The Venus of Milo and Other Poems,* privately issued, proved that he was in no haste to run into print. Sill was dead at forty-six; his last volumes, *Poems* (1887) and *Hermione and Other Poems* (1899), were posthumously published. Poetry to him was personal and sacred: consequently he published either under assumed names ("Andrew

Hedbrook," etc.) or anonymously. Boynton says of him: "Throughout his work, but increasingly in these later years, there is a fine and simple clarity of execution."

E. **James Whitcomb Riley** was a poet of the journalistic school. His subjects were of the Indiana small town and farm life, and the product of a romantic, retrospective view (especially in the eighties) which led him to affix the adjective "old" to poem after poem. Thus he was representative of what has been called the "old homestead" period in American life. His farm poetry, however, with the artificial devices of "Benjamin F. Johnson of Boone," was too much of a masquerade—a conventional one—to ring true. But he persisted in it until after 1887. Riley was in reality a later Pike balladist, both in the selection of unliterary material and in his devotion to the uncouth and humorous devices by which he advanced his mimicry.

F. **Joaquin Miller,** poet of the Sierras, was born in the days of the Argonauts and sought in the seventies and eighties to bring in the spirit of the glamorous tramontane America. Pattee says of him that "three-fourths of what he wrote is lifeless and worthless, but the other quarter is to American poetry what the Rockies are to the American landscape." The eighties are a part of what Boynton calls "the middle zone" in Miller's career. "The restless eagerness of his formative years still dominated him, but it led him for the most part to rapid changes, most of which were in the world of men and many of which were in the largest cities." But even late in the decade his finest products celebrated the vast mid-century exodus. Three volumes were published: *Shadows of Shasta* (1881), *Poems* (1882), *Songs of the Mexican Seas* (1887).

VII. Non-Fictional Prose.

A. Philosophical and scientific thought.

1. The writings of **John Fiske** explored the works of Darwin and Spencer, both of whom he sought to popularize in this country. His excellent prose style and his sincere enthusiasm for his subject made him an important intellectual influence despite the fact that his material was secondary. The titles of his works reflect his interests: *Darwinism, and Other Essays* (1879), *Excursions of an Evolutionist* (1884), *The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of His Origin* (1884), and *The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge* (1886). "Fiske was one of the most important intellectual influences in America in the last quarter of the nineteenth century." (James T. Adams.)

2. **Noah Porter,** president of Yale, wrote on a variety of subjects, presenting always a conservative, orthodox opinion. He opposed, particularly, Positivism, Materialism, and Unitarianism. *Science and Sentiment* (1882), *The Elements of Moral Science, Theoretical and Practical* (1885), and *Kant's Ethics* (1886) are important titles published during this decade.

3. **William G. Sumner** in *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* held one of the great fallacies current in a democracy to be the idea that the

upper classes owe certain duties to the so-called underprivileged and that a man can accept a share of another's capital and still preserve his status as an independent citizen. In any scheme of the humanitarian to make society responsible for the poor, the weak, and the underprivileged, it is the "Forgotten Man" who bears the burden. Sumner used the term to designate the great class of hard-working, independent persons against whom the legislators levy new taxes and upon whom they levy new duties for the benefit of the underprivileged. All that one class owes another in the advance of civilization is good will, respect, and mutual guarantees of liberty and security. "Beyond this nothing can be affirmed as a duty of one group to another in a free state."

B. Political and literary essays.

In 1888 **James Russell Lowell** collected from the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *North American Review* various political articles prompted originally by the Civil War and its aftermath. Most of these have slight interest today, but to them was added an address, "The Independent in Politics," which conveys a perennial message. Lowell held lightly any strict allegiance to a political party, especially when such loyalty clashed with national interests, and reprehended the all too common attachment to party leaders. Under the boss system which such unthinking partisanship fostered public offices became merely marketable commodities. Devotion to the high ideals of one's country, he contended, should prompt a new stress both upon the integrity of the individual and upon co-operative action to reform the system. The year before these warnings Lowell had printed *Democracy and Other Addresses.* "Democracy," delivered in England in 1884, dealt with the broad principles of democratic government, with a stress upon the higher objectives and favorable aspects, in the attempt to refute some of the international objections to a government founded upon universal suffrage. Lowell's democracy may be summed up in Theodore Parker's ethical phrase, "You are as good as I am," or in his own words, "Democracy in its best sense is merely the letting in of light and air." Yet Lowell was not without recognition of the limitations of democracy, holding that popular government is "no better than any other form except as the virtue and wisdom of the people make it so." Other speeches of the volume included political and literary memorials, and a Harvard address on the 250th anniversary of the institution. Lowell's message may be epitomized in one passage:

> Let it be our hope to make a gentleman of every youth who is put under our charge; not a conventional gentleman, but a man of culture, a man of intellectual resource, a man of public spirit, a man of refinement, with that good taste which is the conscience of the mind, and that conscience which is the good taste of the soul.

C. Nature writings.

1. **Thoreau** died in 1862 but Houghton Mifflin began quarrying in his journals in the early eighties, extracting such volumes as *Early Spring*

in Massachusetts (1881), *Summer* (1884), *Winter* (1888). The series was continued until 1906.

2. Not a great writer or naturalist, **Maurice Thompson** displayed his love of out-of-door existence and his contagious enthusiasm in such books as *Byways and Bird Notes* (1885) and *Sylvan Secrets* (1887).
3. **John Burroughs** exactly matched his output of the preceding decade with four volumes: *Pepacton* (1881), chronicling a summer voyage down the Delaware at an idler's pace, delights of bee-hunting, and the kindling power of the poet in the description of nature; *Fresh Fields* (1884), laid in England, which he describes as "a settled permanence and equipoise; every creature has found its place, every plant its home"; *Signs and Seasons* (1886), the product of the naturalist with all eyes open; and *Indoor Studies* (1889) based upon literary figures: Thoreau, Arnold, Gilbert White, Victor Hugo.

D. Historical writing.

Once the Centennial had passed, American history could be viewed with sufficient perspective to make logical the study of the development of the country, socially, politically, and industrially. Historical research and investigation occupied the attention of many scholars. In 1889 **Justin Winsor** completed a detailed critical history of America (in eight volumes). **John Fiske** applied the principles of evolution to the history of America, in a work published under the title *American Political Ideas Viewed from the Standpoint of Universal History* (1885). In 1889 appeared *The Beginnings of New England* and *The War of Independence.* **Hubert Bancroft** was active in the writing of histories of Central America and the West, and **Henry Harrisse** wrote his scholarly biographies of Columbus and the Cabots. **Cushing** and **John Burke** chronicled the lives of American Indians, and **Frémont** published his *Memoirs of My Life* (1887). In 1882, **George Bancroft** added two volumes to his history, bringing the total to twelve, and in 1885 issued a six-volume revision. Parkman's long series was well on the way to completion when the decade opened (*Old Régime,* 1874, and *Count Frontenac,* 1877); only one volume was added in the eighties—*Montcalm and Wolfe* (1884)—but it was impressive.

VIII. Popular Humorists of the Late Century.

A. Practically all the humorists of the period, with the exception of Bill Nye, produced their works in the journalism office. In the eighties, following the non-academic course of letters in America after the Civil War, there was no scarcity of newspaper wits.

Of the works produced in the seventies, those of **James M. Bailey** (*Life in Danbury,* 1873) and **Robert J. Burdette** (*Hawkeyetems,* 1877, and *Rise and Fall of the Mustache,* 1877) were being extensively read ten years later. So were the "Samantha" books which every bookseller carried. The eighties contributed a new supply of names and many new titles by older authors. **Eli Perkins (M. D. Landon)** was ready with *Wit, Humor, Pathos* (1883). **Alexander Sweet** and **J. A. Knox** produced *Texas Siftings* (1882) and *On a Mustang* (1883). **George W. Peck** came forward

with the immensely popular *Peck's Bad Boy and His Pa* (1885), a work prompted by Aldrich's famous book. **C. F. Adams,** who began with *Leedle Yawcub Strauss and Other Poems* (1877), continued the humorous vein in verse with *Dialect Ballads* (1888). Others were **Dr. George W. Bagby** (Mozis Addums), *Writings* (1884), and **Edgar Wilson Nye (Bill Nye),** author of *Chestnuts, Old and New* (1887), whose *Comic History of the United States* (1894) has gone through numerous editions. *Culture's Garland* and *Tribune Primer* by **Eugene Field** rightfully belong here. The last journalist warranting mention is **M. Quad** of the Detroit *Free-Press* **(Charles Bertrand Lewis),** author of the *Lime-Kiln Club* (1882). **Josh Billings,** despite the general impression, was not so much humorist as aphorist for the nation, contributing his philosophical gems to the *Century* magazine.

B. **Mark Twain** has been considered a serious man of letters, a view to which his later work and a fair interpretation of his major pieces entitle him. For his contemporaries, however, it was his humor that proved of interest and which maintained his reputation. His claim to the title of humorist he sustained by platform appearances and droll lectures on "The Sandwich Islands," "On Adam," "Advice to Youth," and "On the Mugwump Party."

IX. American Drama Represented by Transition Dramatists.

During the eighties the few writers for the stage were turning more and more toward realism of character, action, and dialogue, and introducing nationalistic themes into the American theatre. They were opposed to the sentimental-romantic tradition which still dominated the American stage.

A. **Bronson Howard,** in the broadening horizon of his own dramatic outlook and the development of his own dramatic skill, was representative of the development of American drama during the period. Before 1880 he had been concerned chiefly with light, amusing trifles dependent upon clever situations and lines, but after *Young Mrs. Winthrop* (1882) he was devoted to convincing types and transcripts from life. Six or seven distinctive pieces appeared from his hand; the most famous were *One of Our Girls* (1885, with the convenient theme of international contrast) and *Shenandoah* (1888, an anthology piece with the serious purpose of stripping the sentimental from war plays). Howard earned the sobriquet of "Dean of American Drama."

B. **Steele MacKaye** more than others marked the break with the romantic tradition. His dialogue was simple and forceful, in contrast with the artificial, overemphatic style of his day. His characters were natural and he placed them in natural situations. Of his important plays two may be noted: *Hazel Kirke* (1880, a domestic drama featuring the stubborn father motif, as in *Hobson's Choice*) and *Paul Kauver, or Anarchy* (1887, fine melodrama, set in the French Revolution, with complicated plot structure). MacKaye represented the transition from the older theatrical tradition to the new realistic technique. *Hazel Kirke,* Howells referred to as a "five hundred nights in the year" piece.

C. **James A. Herne** is to be associated with realism of character as well as action. Of the artificial type of drama of his time he said: "Art for art's sake may be likened to the exquisite decoration of some noble building, while art for truth's sake might be the building itself." Though a great portion of his plays are adaptations of earlier pieces, in each case he has made them less melodramatic and changed the characters to fit his realistic ideas. *Hearts of Oak* (1880) is his important play of the period.

D. **William Gillette** advanced to the craft of writing by way of the stage, whereby he learned the secret of what the people wanted and something of the art of supplying it. In practice Gillette concentrated on the realism of action. His character studies are almost psychological, so carefully did he analyze motives and the effect of characters upon one another. His first production was *The Professor* (1881). This was followed by *Esmeralda* (1881), *The Private Secretary* (1884, broad farce), *Held by the Enemy* (1886, descriptive of the "conflict of honor between two men who love the same woman"), *A Legal Wreck* (1888), and *Robert Elsmere* (1889). His reputation today is chiefly based upon his Civil War plays.

E. **William Dean Howells** earned a minor reputation in the eighties with his farce comedies: *A Counterfeit Presentment* (1879), *The Mouse-Trap* (1889), *The Elevator* (1885), and *The Garroters* (1886). In these farces, in compliance with the demands of the classifying form, the stress was upon plot and situation. In the following decade his works in this medium broadened into real comedies of manners. Anticipation of this devotion to character was apparent in mid-decade. "His comedies are chapters of dialogue from unwritten novels—studies in manners by means of conversation."

X. MAGAZINES, THE LITERARY ARBITERS OF THE PERIOD.

A. The *Century Magazine* was the new name of *Scribner's Monthly Magazine* after 1881. The change of name was followed by a change in editors, J. G. Holland having died before the appearance of the first issue. The new editor, **Richard Watson Gilder,** remained with the magazine for the next twenty-eight years and as editor wielded an influence of great importance in determining the character of literary offerings. As William Allen White expressed it, the magazine of Gilder represented in "the mid-eighties and nineties the heights to which American literary culture had risen." The *Century* was definitely in the higher walks of literature. Gilder, as editor, preserved the traditions of delicacy fostered by Holland, though he was less austere in morality. Outstanding series in the early eighties was the Civil War papers which in magazine and book form were highly profitable for the company. Among the contributors of distinction in the eighties were W. D. Howells (especially 1881–1886), Josh Billings, John Hay, F. Marion Crawford, etc. Dialect stories, such as "Marse Chan," and stories by Harris, became more than occasional features of the publication during this local-color period.

B. *Harper's Monthly* was another of the magazines that kept subdued the ribald voices. **Henry L. Alden** as editor was "a sentinel of the hearth-

stone." His long editorship was one of the factors productive of stability in the periodical publications of America. To *Harper's* were contributed some of Howells's longer work, the short stories of Constance Woolson, the work of Jewett and Murfree and others; this revealed a drift toward American authorship of contents which was new for *Harper's,* especially in the serial field. Howells attached himself editorially to the magazine in 1886, taking charge of the "Editor's Study" and writing for it what amounted to a full-sized volume each year. "From *Harper's Magazine* no raucous voice could come; no low, earthbound spirits could escape to disturb the serenity of the house beautiful, the home immaculate." (White.)

C. Third member of the infallible triumvirate was **E. L. Burlingame** of *Scribner's Magazine,* who "held to the same high ideals of the functions of literature that inspired and ennobled" Gilder and Alden. His was a magazine for general reading with fiction and feature articles prominent. Local colorists thrived here: Harris, Janvier, Sarah Orne Jewett (her "Law Lane" and others), H. C. Bunner, Rebecca Harding Davis, Octave Thanet, and T. N. Page. The issues were knit by long serials—*Master of Ballantrae,* by Stevenson, and romantic and realistic pieces from Stimson, and Frederic (*Seth's Brother's Wife* and *In the Valley*). Numerous travel articles, in a vein now appearing in the *National Geographic,* were printed, along with outdoor essays by Shaler and Thompson, and popular science sketches, a whole series of them, on American railroads and railway engineering. Poets, whose contributions loomed large—but only in the indexes—included: Duncan Campbell Scott, Edith Thomas, Louise Guiney, Julia Dorr, C. P. Cranch, T. B. Aldrich, H. C. Bunner, and others.

D. The *Atlantic Monthly,* still holding its own under the able editorship of **T. B. Aldrich,** was an important publishing medium, though less exclusively so than it had been during the two preceding decades. Greenslet declared: Under Aldrich's conduct, "the *Atlantic* attained a notable unity of tone and distinction of style. . . . He was not a militant editor, and was not greatly concerned about politics and affairs. His interest was first and always literature, and perhaps no editor of the *Atlantic* printed more of it." It was under Aldrich, too, "that the *Atlantic* won its international reputation as being, in the phrase of an English review, 'the best edited magazine in the English language.'" Fiske, Crawford, Felton, James, Mrs. Oliphant, Hardy appeared in its columns.

E. Reappearing in 1880 as the *Californian,* the *Overland Monthly* had resumed its old title by 1883, and was being edited successfully by **Milicent W. Shinn.** The magazine was concerned chiefly with local material, publishing stories and articles dealing with the history of California, Indian tales, stories of the mining camps, etc. It showed a marked preference for California writers. It was not purely provincial, however. Its inclusion of penetrating book reviews and editorial comments on current affairs showed that it was keeping abreast of the times.

F. The *Ladies Home Journal* had a small beginning in 1883 and entered on its period of rapid growth with the accession of **Edward W. Bok** to the editorship in 1889.

G. The *Cosmopolitan* (1886) was founded in Rochester but removed to New York in 1887. This magazine, like the *Overland,* was devoted to popular reading material.

H. The *American Spectator* (1886) merged with the *Arena,* which stood for liberalism, and provided an organ in which radical thought could be aired. Founded by B. O. Flower, it soon gained a wide audience and became the publishing medium of Hamlin Garland and H. H. Boyesen.

I. The *Nation* was establishing its eventual reputation for trenchant and forthright criticism. In 1881 it became the weekly edition of the New York Evening Post, with **E. L. Godkin** remaining as political editor. Though little change was at first noticeable, and he became editor-in-chief in 1883, the policy came to be the *Post's* policy; and Godkin grew more conservative with the years.

CHAPTER XV

THE FIN DE SIECLE DECADE

I. The Historical Scene.

In 1890 Benjamin Harrison, heading a Republican administration, was entering his second year as president of the United States. After a loss in 1892 to the Democrat, Grover Cleveland, the Republicans again returned to power in the elections of 1896, with William McKinley's defeat of Bryan. Important political issues of the day were free silver, protective tariff, and the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which was intended to curb the growing monopolistic tendency of American industry. Economic distress precipitated the panic of 1893 and a period of general depression during which banks closed their doors and many small industries collapsed. Crop failures in the West, brought on by drought, added to the seriousness of the situation. The labor unions were very active and labor troubles common. One of the most serious disputes arose over conditions in the Pullman shops in Chicago and was settled only when Cleveland called upon Federal troops to dispel the strikers. Economic conditions showed no signs of improvement until after the election of 1896, when crops were better, industry regained much of its lost confidence, and discovery of gold in the Klondike led to boom times in the western part of the country.

During this decade the United States was demonstrating its importance as a member of the family of world powers. From the several international disputes in which it was involved, the United States emerged victorious. The war with Spain in 1898, although it lasted only about one hundred days, was perhaps the most significant of these international entanglements, and greatly increased the prestige of the United States in the eyes of the world, proving as it did this country's naval strength and military efficiency. Culturally and intellectually the United States made great strides at the end of the century. There was an increasing interest in education, most states and territories having passed compulsory school attendance laws by 1890. The Chautauqua, a traveling lecture-concert unit, was a familiar institution in the nineties. Many of the large cities were supporting symphony orchestras, and the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York attracted large audiences. The great "White City," the World's Fair held in Chicago in 1893, was an exhibition of American achievements and attracted foreign exhibitors as well. Visitors at home and from abroad were astonished at America's progress.

II. Leading Works of the Decade.

1890 Crawford, *A Cigarette Maker's Romance;* Garland, *Main-Travelled Roads;* Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783* (15th edition, 1898); Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln.*

1891 Bierce, *In the Midst of Life;* Fiske, *The American Revolution.*

1892 Fiske, *The Discovery of America;* Thomas Nelson Page, *The Old South.*

1893 Roosevelt, *The Wilderness Hunter.*

1894 Hovey, *Songs from Vagabondia;* Howells, *A Traveler from Altruria;* Muir, *The Mountains of California;* Twain, *Pudd'nhead Wilson;* Warner, *The Golden House.*

1895 Crane, *The Red Badge of Courage;* Howells, *My Literary Passions.*

1896 Twain, *Personal Recollections of Joan of Arc.*

1897 Aldrich, *Complete Poems;* Mitchell, *Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker.*

1898 Crane, *The Open Boat;* Major, *When Knighthood Was in Flower;* Westcott, *David Harum.*

1899 Crawford, *Via Crucis;* Ford, *Janice Meredith;* Johnston, *To Have and to Hold.*

III. The Literary Scene.

A. Literary storms in the nineties.

Literary controversies ranged about three centers: (1) The struggle between romance and realism: the emergence of the historical romance on one hand and the development of a sharper, harsher realism on the other; (2) the imperialism of Kipling; (3) the Spanish-American War.

The last decade of a century is generally regarded as an unsettled one, as a period in the throes of change. Max Nordau, while disclaiming the validity of the term in this sense of the word, said of the *fin-de-siècle* decade: "The disposition of the times is curiously confused, a compound of feverish restlessness and blunted discouragement, of fearful presage and hangdog renunciation. . . . *Fin-de-siècle* is at once confession and complaint. . . . It means a practical emancipation from traditional discipline, which theoretically is still in force."

B. The passing of the frontier and its literary consequences.

1. The wide tide reached the Pacific. There had been the huge land-grab of the seventies, but for two generations the shifting population of America took new stands in the great West until finally it reached the Pacific and flooded like a spring tide to the more provincial reaches of Idaho and Montana. With this tide went the last of the lands which the government had to give to the settlers or all that was worth labor expenditure in the "wide wastes of gray sagebrush." In the eighties all valuable woodland and prairie had been occupied; soon the areas of irrigation territory and dry farming followed the mad rush, and the safety valve of the frontier, century-old stabilizer and release for social ills, was gone forever. Free lands and rugged individualism, fond ideals of the nineteenth century, became things of the past. Agriculture was no longer the emancipator. Literary men meanwhile bestirred themselves with advice or protest.

2. Literary explorers sought, eagerly enough, to substitute for the departed glory of the "western paradise" the romantic reaches of the South Seas (after Stevenson) or the brink of silence in Alaskan whiteness, but their efforts to preserve regions were futile, for familiarity and white man's diseases soon made these areas too loathsome even for romance.

C. The literary generations in the eighteen-nineties.

1. The passing of the revered poets was distinctly noticeable. During the nineties not a few of the famous "art-panel group" were registering a "Terminus": **Whittier** wrote his "Burning Drift-wood" and "Last Eve of Summer"; **Holmes,** his "Ultima Thule." In 1888 both Whittier and **Whitman** set their collected works in order, and **Lowell** in 1890 edited a definitive edition of his writings; Whitman added two annexes to his *Leaves of Grass* ("Good-bye My Fancy!" and "Now Finale to the Shore"). It was not, however, until this decade that Whitman fully arrived. Shortly came the reminiscence in prose as well as in poetry: Whitman's "Last Saved Items" and "Old Poets" in the collection of his prose (1892), and **Higginson's** *Cheerful Yesterdays* (1898). Then came the passing on of members of the school: Lowell, Bancroft, Melville, Whittier, Whitman, Holmes, and others.
2. The **Howells-Aldrich** school, the new generation of twenty years before, had settled down to the comfortable productivity of "fifty and upwards." Aldrich was still on hand with an excellent volume of poems, **Stedman** was again to be heard from, but the group was aging. The youngest member of the school, **Joaquin Miller,** was forty-nine; and after that, for him and for others, there was little originality, for as Cabell says (in *The Way of Ecben*), "after fifty every creative writer labors in an ever-thickening shadow of decadence."
3. In America during this decade a new group of writers began to arise: Hamlin Garland, Stephen Crane, Ambrose Bierce, James Lane Allen, Richard Harding Davis, Alice French, H. C. Bunner and, at the end of the decade, Frank Norris and Jack London.

D. The passage of the International Copyright Act.

Although Gulian C. Verplanck had been successful in getting a form of a copyright law through Congress in 1831, it guaranteed no protection. It was not until 1891 that the International Copyright Act was passed by both houses after strenuous agitation by Robert Underwood Johnson and others. This was a boon to dramatists and novelists in particular, for managers could afford to produce American plays when they did not have to compete with non-royalty plays from abroad. Publishers could afford to offer adequate compensation for manuscripts of novels by American fictionists when they no longer had the free range of novels from overseas, their appeal and audience ready tested. The result was apparent within a few years in the fanlike spread of native fiction.

IV. Changing Realism of the Nineties.

A. The revolt of the nineties.

There arose a school of writers who insisted on following Truth, who were ruled by the "god of things as they are." They protested against the mechanistic conventionalism of the fiction of their day, and were out of sympathy with the gentleness and restraint of the older writers. This revolt was expressed in **Hamlin Garland** and his insistence upon recording

Western life as it actually existed (see his characteristic utterance in *Crumbling Idols,* 1894); in **Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's** unconventional treatment of New England life; in **Ambrose Bierce's** sardonic and fierce tales; in **Stephen Crane's** challenge of the conventional, and his declaration that "sentiment is the Devil"; in **Harold Frederic's** rejection of rural life and consignment of the future to the city.

B. Critical theory in the nineties.

1. The realism of **Howells.** This might be summed up in the words of Whitman, "The commonplace I sing." The average was glorified because of "The democratic wisdom underneath, like solid ground for all."
   a. The theory was set forth in *Criticism and Fiction* with the following dogma:
      (1) Minimize plot, avoiding the complex, unnatural manipulation which makes the author master of a puppet show.
      (2) Avoid romantic distortion and aristocratic setting.
      (3) Subscribe not to the hero cult, for it is a feudalistic survival.
      (4) Glorify the ordinary, even when discovering it in all its straw-hatted familiarity.
   b. To this he added certain American modifications in deference to the character of the American scene:
      (1) Justification of dialect and localism, since America is so large as to render well-nigh impossible *"The* Great American Novel."
      (2) Presentation of literature without such tragic realities as mark the Russian.
      (3) A continuation of the union of art and morality.
2. **Hamlin Garland's** theory of veritism.
   a. Definition: The theory of the veritist is, after all, a statement of his passion for truth and for individual expression ("To imitate is fatal"). The passion does not spring from theory; the theory rises from the love of the verities.
   b. Criteria:
      (1) The veritist is unhesitating in his presentation: "because he is sustained by love and faith in the future, he can be mercilessly true. He strikes at thistles, because he knows the unrotted seed of loveliness and peace needs but sun and air of freedom to rise to flower and fragrance." There is an element of sad severity: the veritist aims to "hasten the age of beauty and peace by delineating the ugliness and warfare of the present."
      (2) From this follows his sanguine view: "The veritist is really an optimist, a dreamer. He sees life in terms of what might be, as well as in terms of what it is; but he writes of what is, and, at his best, suggests what is to be by contrast." Critical optimism is present: "To the veritist America is full of burning interest, greatest possibilities."

(3) The veritist is not an iconoclast: "He addresses himself to the mind prepared to listen. He destroys by displacement, not by attacking directly."

(4) Localism is no "ban to a national literature," but it must not be inserted for its own sake solely.

C. The classical realists in the last decade.

1. **Howells's** development of ethical stress.

a. Forces that turned him to economic thought:

(1) The influence of Tolstoy, testified to by Howells himself: "He gave me new criterions, new principles." Or again: "He taught me to see life not as a chase of a forever impossible personal happiness, but as a field for endeavor toward the happiness of the whole human family."

(2) Howells's horizons widened by his defense of the Chicago anarchists. He was the only one, with the possible exception of Steele MacKaye, who spoke of the riot with reason and calmness.

(3) His interest in labor troubles (strikes) from 1886–88, particularly the traction strike in New York City.

(4) His knowledge of the single-tax theory of Henry George.

(5) The nationalist movement after *Looking Backward.*

b. Howells's social criticism revealed in the "Hazard trilogy."

(1) *A Hazard of New Fortunes,* in which economic instability for the wage-earner is the dominant theme, as revealed in the changing social philosophy of Mr. March. It is more than a family book: it is the hazard of civilization. Howells speaks of the capitalistic philosophy as exploitation, and in the comments of the German socialist hints at the philosophy of the labor socialists. The wage-slave is contrasted, as hireling, with the slave of antebellum days in remarks of Colonel Woodburn. Lindau is not improbably a fine characterization of Herr Johann Most, the anarchist; thus is demonstrated the breadth of Howells's sympathies.

(2) *The World of Chance* (1893), another hazard: the economic insecurity of businessmen in the world of competition. The uncertainties of the law of supply and demand, the unceasing turning of Fortune's wheel, are advanced. Business is a gamble; the world, even in the broader aspects of civilization, is one of chaos. Publishers, writers, lovers are not exempt.

(3) *The Quality of Mercy* (1892): the hazard of the social order, a study made in previous volumes. Theme: unjust is the scheme of society which permits large-scale thievery by predatory individuals. "The exoneration of the individual and the attribution of his misdeeds to the social order . . . is the underlying purpose of *The Quality of Mercy.*" (Cooke.)

2. The second stage of **Henry James:** a style of involved indirectness.

To all readers there is apparent the long adventure of Henry James's style. His early work, very readable, underwent a change to what Mott

calls "hypothetical inchoation." His product began to take on unpleasant touches with *The Tragic Muse* and *The Awkward Age* (1899). His style grew increasingly complex, and in analysis of character the novels became regular museums. His later work was the product of a man who worked with his mind and not with his ear or his heart. The critic swallowed and consumed the novelist.

This change was apparent in his plots after 1890. He appears to have minimized intrigue even more deliberately than before, and made his novels an intensive study of situation, with a consequent decrease in number of characters and increase in complexity. But always he was concerned—in style and content—with standards of excellence, and these he extended to the social world in his reaction to vulgarity. In the nineties James was absorbed with the European scene almost exclusively and seemingly delighted in it.

D. Depressed realism.

1. The foreign influences of Zola (*La Débacle, L'Assommoir, Nana*), Thomas Hardy (*Jude the Obscure*), George Moore (*Esther Waters*), Grant Allen (*The Woman Who Did*), and A. J. Morrison (*Tales of Mean Streets*).
2. The American echo, growing more and more depressed as the decade went on: Mary W. Freeman, Bierce, Garland, Allen, Norris.
   a. **Hamlin Garland** introduced the farmer in literature (a theme signalized by Frederic).

      The field of Garland's first success was the tragic life of the Middle Border. Kirkland had said to Garland: "Why don't you do for the West what has never been done yet—see it as it is?" Under the force of that suggestion Garland turned to problems of farm dwellers in the great Mississippi Valley. Previous writers on rural life, few in number, had portrayed it in an idyllic, bucolic strain or had concerned themselves with melodramatic formulas without regard to the real world they professed to describe. Garland. who recoiled in his own life from the toil and bitterness of prairie existence, chronicled the backbreaking labor, the despair, the mocking ironies, the never-ending round of duties that for him spelled farm life. Returns from muscular exertion and glimpses of beauty in the natural world many a ruralist has found, but such compensations did not appear in Garland's early pages. The West he described is not without its humor, as illustrated by "William Bacon's Man," but it is a world of defeat, not triumph, of despair, not faith. His fictional representations of Western life are thus somewhat bluntly set forth, but what his stories lacked in literary imagination or in structural excellence, they partly supplied in abundance of social fact.

      Characteristic novel of the period was *A Spoil of Office* (1892) in which (with *Jason Edwards*) he became a propagandist for agrarian revolt and for the Populist movement. More important was *Rose of Dutcher's Coolly* (1895), advancing Garland's favorite doctrine that

the Western poet and novelist ought to "see the beauty and significance of life near at hand," and speak in his own voice instead of imitating. The theme: "That a girl genuinely bent on advancement can rise, as an ambitious boy rises, by hard work and devotion to an ideal"; i.e., the success of the farm girl in the big city, nature's noblewoman whose place is won by the force of character and charm of personality. Concurrent themes: (1) that love is not necessarily the all-absorbing factor in the life of a woman, and that marriage is not her sole profession; (2) that in all keen souls there is nostalgia for urban culture.

b. **James Lane Allen's** work underwent a change which made him a figure of revolt. Stylistically he cried, "back to Hawthorne," by which he meant a demand for a distinctive prose style so rare in the work of his contemporaries; in subject matter he represented a turning aside from purely surface color to internal aspects, a concern with problems of the soul rather than with features of the landscape, though aware of the interaction of the two.

Allen began with regional fiction of Kentucky in *Flute and Violin* (1891), *A Kentucky Cardinal* (a novelette of short texture with true appreciation of birds and flowers), and the *Choir Invisible* (originally *John Gray* in 1892), stories which featured characters, scenery, and atmosphere seriously handled, and relied for appeal upon poetic and colorful treatment of man projected against the background of nature. Allen, in these early works, revealed the finer aspects of true regionalism, the employment of local materials for reasons that had intrinsic value in themselves and the conscientious employment of environmental factors in a world of causation. But as the decade progressed he became increasingly realistic in his treatment of ordinary life, a change signalized by *A Summer in Arcady* (1896). And he ended the century with the fatal despair of Hardy in *The Reign of Law* and *Butterflies*. But Allen did not descend to Zolaesque naturalism, and he preserved idealism (or the ideal in the particular) even when confronted with his own depressed studies.

c. **Harold Frederic** (expatriate for fourteen years) with characteristic energy and industry wrote ten volumes—from 1890 to his death in 1898—ranging from extravaganzas to painstaking stories of the Civil War. Most significant is *Seth's Brother's Wife* (1887), an unvarnished tale of upper New York chronicling the decline of rural economy and the loneliness and soul starvation of country dwellers. The one ambition was to escape. Late came *The Market Place* (1899), attacking the vulgarity of the culture seekers. Frederic in this novel kept his role of entertainer, refusing to take his own message seriously, thus rendering the end unconvincing. The hero, who secured his wealth through dubious means and married, through his wealth, an impoverished noblewoman, found the life of a country gentleman a boring affair. Finally (in order of importance) appeared *The Damna-*

tion of Theron Ware (1896). Ware, a minister who kept on preaching after he had gone through his beliefs, and who had the vices of his quality, succumbed to temptation when intellectual and emotional forces beset him; and from an angelic agent, with the face of a saint, he changed into dishonest fool, liar, and bore, with the "face of a barkeeper." A victim of his own aspirations, Ware's fall was catastrophic. Frederic's present reputation is largely based on this study of the disintegration of a character when faith, radiant hope, and pride are swept away. Frederic diverged from the naturalistic pattern in that the central character is aware of his state and is a man whose misery sustains his life. The author was unable, moreover, to attain the requisite scientific detachment which explains conduct in terms of material pressures or causation.

3. American versions of naturalism, redolent of Zola.
   a. **Frank Norris** was a fairly consistent naturalist during his first half-decade of authorship. *Vandover and the Brute* was written in 1894 but not published until 1914. Vandover presents a duality of spirit, expressing itself in the desire for approbation toward manhood on one side, and verging into brutality on the other, absorbed in the business of eating, drinking, and sleeping. The beast triumphs. "Vandover is a Baudelaire *surhomme,* and conforms to the criteria of naturalism: the selection of characters of marked physique, of strong animal drives." Vandover's is a world of sordid misery, and he descends into its abyss, or is propelled into it by forces over which he has little control: fate, the ruthless will of Geary, and devotion to an esteem for the objects of his own world. "Little by little the brute has grown, and he, pleasure-loving, adapting himself to every change of environment, luxurious, self-indulgent, . . . had allowed the brute to thrive and to grow, its abominable famine gorged from the store of that in him which he felt to be the purest, the cleanest, and the best." (Hartwick.)

   McTeague—described, in the novel *McTeague,* as a blonde brute—is simple in mental response, ungainly in bearing. A typical naturalistic hero, he lacks the rationalizations that impart personality; his emotions are on the lowest level of classification, and of his fallen state he has no tragic recognition except as a matter of self-preservation. He is incapable of any kind of regret. The novel is naturalistic in the study of the degeneration of a man to a brute state, a reversion to the original type. Trina as a character is also naturalistic: her passion for gold becomes definitely psychotic. For her and for him the malignity of chance brings out traits that unmake the pair. The symbol of the novel is gold.

   b. **Stephen Crane** was purely a figure of the nineties (d. 1900). When the decade opened he was hardly of age. He became a reporter but lost his position on the New York *Herald* because he wanted to tell things as he saw them. Crane had little sense of propriety, liked to

shock people, and did not in ten years outgrow this disposition. He was a man of extreme activity, a decidedly neurotic person. Though his literary career was truncated when he was twenty-nine, he had already published fourteen volumes and a multitudinous variety of journalistic outpourings. Much of his work was purely impressionistic, for he saw life in fractions and rarely perceived sequence in the isolated scenes he recorded.

The *naturalism* of Crane was apparent in his *Maggie* (1896), in which he never allowed ethical stress to be felt. He stood aloof from the action and described it with all the casualness that isolated episodes might evoke. Crane envisaged man as an animal driven by instinct and victimized by forces indifferent to his fate, his hopes, and his designs.

His first definite success was *The Red Badge of Courage,* a story of the Civil War, which represents a real feat of the imagination. But note the pessimism: the story is the study of fear as the alleged hero psychologically draws the massed hate of the enemy toward himself, and fails to realize afterward that he has become a creature of sheer animal responses even when heralded as a hero. And always he was imprisoned: "there were iron laws of tradition and law on four sides. He was in a moving box."

V. The Novel of Sociology.

A. After *Looking Backward.*

Howells remarked of the Utopian reconstructions of society: "In those days the solution of the riddle of the painful earth through the dreams of Henry George, through the dreams of Edward Bellamy, through the dreams of all the generous visionaries of the past, seemed not impossibly far off."

1. Of the Utopian novels thirty-eight appeared in the years from 1890 to 1899, and these were diversified in treatment. The titles, many drawn from Bellamy, serve to indicate the nature of their contents: F. Rosewater, *'96, A Romance of Utopia;* S. B. Welcome, *From Earth's Center;* Arthur Vinton, *Looking Further Backward;* Ignatius Donnelly, *Caesar's Column;* A. M. Fuller, *A.D. 2000;* Thomas Chauncey, *The Crystal Button;* Walter Brown, *2894, or the Fossil Man;* J. J. Astor, *A Journey to Other Worlds.*
2. Best of the successors of Bellamy was **Howells,** whose *Traveler from Altruria* (1894) was completed with a supplementary volume more than ten years later. Howells's novel is a searching scrutiny of the relations in America of one man to another. The volume treats of an "ideal state of society" in which all men participate in the toil of the community, in which there is no caste such as results from inequality of goods, from amassed wealth on one hand and great suffering on the other. The means of production and distribution are all collectively owned and operated. Howells was the most penetrating of the disciples of Bellamy, and the book is his strongest outburst against the principle of exploita-

tion as demonstrated by the rising plutocracy of the land, but it is presented with such mildness as to disarm attack.

3. Advanced economic thought at the close of the century was apparent in two authors. **Edward Bellamy,** with a spirit sharpened by ten years of controversy and campaigning, became bolder in the economic criticism of *Equality* (1897), particularly in chapters labeled "Economic Suicide in the Profit System" (with resemblances to Ward's *Our Economic Morality*) and "The Parable of the Water Tank." Also clearly a product of its times and of searching thought was **Thorstein Veblen's** *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (not fiction).

B. The fictional pursuit, detective-like, of the social climber.

1. The new economic city, productive of the *nouveau riche* and of vulgarians riding in coaches, was first strongly perceptible in the nineties; and with a dismay bred of economic competition and cultural insecurity the representatives of the polite world in Boston and New York, Philadelphia and Washington—cities of the industrial North—felt their precincts unholily invaded, their supremacy shaken. This provided an interesting literary range for those interested in social economics.
2. One of the interesting Bourget-like characters singled out by the critical novelists is the social climber, the Lily Bart of the nineties.
   Signalized by **Arlo Bates's** *The Philistines* (1889), this type is found a second time in **Boyesen's** *Mammon of Unrighteousness* (1891), in which Kate Van Schaak, heiress and social leader, marries the man who has struggled upward, the captain of industry, masters him and proves his eventual blight. Another illustration of social climbers, though somewhat mildly handled, is the family of the Hendersons in **C. D. Warner's** *Golden House*. More distinctively **Robert Grant** in *Unleavened Bread* (1900) presented Selma White, a character study of psychological insight. The story is a carefully charted account of the love of money, power, and, above all, social recognition which she attempts to achieve. Her social climbing takes the course of successive marriages, each designed to advance her.

C. The fictional discovery of the vulgarity and callousness of the rising city plutocracy. Increased industrialization had had its effect on the rapid spread of city-life. Out of such a milieu could come no salvation.

1. The theme of *The Social Strugglers* (1893) **(H. H. Boyesen)** seems to be the "loss of human sympathies" consequent upon the possession of wealth.
2. Pleasantly critical of the predatory egoism of the women of Chicago in the Gilded Age are **Henry Fuller's** *The Cliff-Dwellers* (1893) and *With the Procession* (1895), penetrative novels pitched in the realism of Hardy, with an environment described in the manner of Zola, in which the antisocial conscience of the plutocrat is scored. But these novels are scarcely characteristic of their poetic author, and the rest of his books are those of the artistic dilettante.

3. Of the same tradition is **C. D. Warner's** *The Golden House,* a novel of New York City with a re-examination of the Gilded Age (see Warner's earlier collaboration). The inequalities of wealth are advanced, with a satire on the conditions and aspirations of the age: a New York with palatial homes and lavish entertainments on one side and poverty and squalor on the other.

D. The realistic view of the industrial barons (as in Boyesen's *Mammon of Unrighteousness*). Except for Howells's *Traveler from Altruria,* no awakened social conscience is apparent in industrial novels, for all too frequently the captains of industry were glorified as the great men of the age. It was not until after 1903 that social criticism became adequately marked to divert the new realism into the channels of sociology with an accompanying scathing view. The theme of the industrial baron as a menace to social welfare was handled with no great sturdiness in the nineties. Too many people were still hopeful of "getting-on" to make them despair of the "machinery" of predatory capitalism.

VI. The Goal of Romance in the Nineties.

A. The period of the Prisoner of Zenda romance (especially from 1896 to 1902). Why was it that from the middle of the nineties to the middle of the next decade we had a neo-romanticism?

There are many theories:

1. The success of *Lorna Doone* ushered in a series of works attempting to capture an alluring sense of romance.
2. The rise of sentimental romance (after the manner of the Scottish Barrie), the swashbuckling romance of Crockett and Weyman, and the ultra-romantic fiction of Anthony Hope prepared the way for the temporary reaction from realism in fiction.
3. In 1900 Maurice Thompson thus speculated:

> Great commercial interest seems to be turned or turning from the world of commonplace life and the story of the analysis of crime and filth to the history romance, the story of heroism and the tale of adventure. People seem to be interested as never before in the interpretation of history. It may be that signs in the air of great world changes have set all minds more or less to feeling out for precedents and examples by which to measure the future's probabilities.

4. The war with Spain brought out a martial feeling that made the romance of other heroic days peculiarly palatable. There was the journey to free a land—and all at once the bottom dropping out of the heightened war emotion. Women wanted romance but were disappointed at the external record of a few months' war. It was a thwarted generation—and the result was historical romance.
5. Stevenson was the cynosure of all eyes. He was incurably romantic, strikingly popular—particularly in America—and gave direction and stimulus to American writers. Models were provided in *Treasure Island* and *Prince Otto.*

6. *Ben Hur* led on every hand to the romanticizing of history. The thumping success of Wallace's novel did much to create a public demand for other works of this order.
7. The American popularity of *Quo Vadis* and other favorites from the pen of Sienkiewicz was also a potent force.

B. The theory set forth in F. Marion Crawford's *The Novel—What It Is* (1893):

The novel "must deal chiefly with love, for in that passion all men and women are most generally interested"; its first object is "to amuse and interest the reader"; it is a "pocket theatre" and the novelist himself is a "public amuser." Crawford is definitely aligned with the romanticists, though he insisted that romance "must be of the human heart and truly human, that is, of the earth as we have found it."

C. The nature of romance:

> In essence romance is things as we should like them to be. It is the play of make-believe. The present and actual are mean and inadequate, hence we create an elsewhere and otherwise that in satisfying our dreams compensates for the dissatisfactions of life. The character of our romance—the quality of our dream of things as we should like them to be—is the true measure of our potential selves. We betray our limitations in our romance. In childhood romance is the only reality. Untaught by experience and unhampered by knowledge the imagination creates its own milieu, in which a naïve egoism lives a full ego-centric life, ranging freely in the unknown and playing at make-believe in simple good faith. In youth romance coalesces with sex, and seeks the unattainable in the guise of love and a mate—this is the wine of romance that intoxicates. In maturity when many wines have been tasted and none satisfies, romance becomes a defence mechanism against the drab reality. The greater the disillusion—the more open roads that end in blind alleys—the greater need of prevaricating tenderly about life and the universe, if we are to keep our poise. Losing romance we shall find cynicism or stoicism or pessimism. Youth discovers everywhere the illimitable—*In der Fruehling steht mir etwas Unbestimmtes vor der Thuer;* the years bring narrowing horizons and *Was uns alle baendigt, das Gemeine*—that which binds us all, the commonplace. Hence the saving quality of romance. (Parrington.) *

D. The vogue of historical fiction.

The historical romance took the country by storm and enthralled countless readers. Any novel that pretended to a knowledge of the past was consumed, without discrimination, by the devotees of the form; they turned with seemingly equal enthusiasm to *Richard Carvel, To Have and to Hold,* and *When Knighthood Was in Flower.* It was a craze, however, which can be understood. "As has been shrewdly remarked, the themes of the general run of historical novels are so remote and ideas about them exist so nebulous in the popular mind that the writer can use any distortions that will pamper the fancy, and above all he can play on that extraordinary notion that human nature was different 'in those days,' and that the good

* From the Syllabus.

old times were 'pretty' and governed by fates sentimentally just." (Matthiessen.) Its popularity is ascribable also to a desire to escape from drab existence, to compensate for dissatisfaction.

E. Character of the romance:

> Primarily a costume romance, hence fond of the times when small-clothes were rich and worthy a gentleman's wearing. Much made of wigs, silk stockings, swords, snuff boxes, wines, food, gout; a painstaking endeavour to be historically correct in manners and talk; the language fashioned in the writer's workshop and embroidered with genteel archaisms. Definite character types—from Thackeray. The heroine capricious, imperious, clever, hard to win but greatly worth winning—a brunette, small, graceful, with a sharp tongue for her cavalier. The hero strong, tall, broad-shouldered, a skillful swordsman, faithful, adoring, long-suffering, stupid, whose love leads through duels to domestic bliss. . . . It is the small-clothes and manners that lend romantic interest, rather than action. (Parrington.)*

F. Output of the school of costume romance after 1896.

The product of the Cavalier school soon extended to more than a shelf; it was soon a whole library, but the reputation of many of the authors was for a day only. As Gregg said: "Those who practice it, tender virgins and elderly gentlemen, wake up every morning of the year to find themselves forgotten, with nothing to console them but large bank accounts." But there were lasting works, too, such as **S. Weir Mitchell's** *Hugh Wynne, Free Quaker* (1897). He presented his material with fine skill and wrote as if he were on "sacred historical ground" where error of fact or of inference would be an unpardonable sin. Enduring also was **Paul Leicester Ford's** *Janice Meredith* (1899), which presented the troubled spirit of the Revolution, and through exact historical knowledge caught the cross-currents of political intrigue, the strife between factions, and the human side of the great struggle. The novel had the "uncommon merit of being based upon genuinely scholarly knowledge."

Mary Johnston, who appeared with *Prisoners of Hope* (1898), was probably the most confirmed of those devoted to the form. Her highly popular *To Have and to Hold* set a romantic heroine against the background of wifeless colonial Virginia. An impoverished hero and impoverished heroine in distress—a waiting-lady in disguise—afforded the central romantic elements of a readable tale. Love became the heir of loyalty. *Richard Carvel* (1899), by **Winston Churchill,** provided a model for a Revolutionary romance but was itself a skillful adaptation of Thackeray technique, particularly in its character types. Primarily it was the old story of love and estate with the usual fluctuations and complications and a Loyalist villain of more than usual wiliness. Beyond this, the story moved around two centers: the activities of the Charles Fox circle in London, at Almack's, the Brooks Club, and other places of resort and gaming; and the ambition and activities of the patriot John Paul Jones on sea and land.

* From the Syllabus.

Worthy of note, also, was **Maurice Thompson's** *Alice of Old Vincennes* (1900), a story of Indiana at the time when George Rogers Clark captured that fort from the British. The work was a purely historical novel with a romantic heroine and orthodox hero and the usual love adventures placed against a background of local and general history, with a combination of nationalities, American, British, Creole, and Indian.

The early decline of the movement was forecast in the excesses of such works as **Major's** *When Knighthood was in Flower.*

VII. THE PROVINCIAL NOVEL ("B'GOSH" SCHOOL).

Two slightly disparate novels present the rural area in the late nineties: the first, **Westcott's** *David Harum* (1898), rustic philosopher; the second, **Irving Bacheller's** *Eben Holden.* Both are provincial novels, dealing with homespun types of character. *David Harum* is important solely because of the title character, his shrewdness and cryptic wit. David is a small-town banker with a passion for horse trading, and his dealings with the professional horse traders comprise the most amusing portions of the book. Eben Holden, in Bacheller's novel, is similar in certain respects to David. He, too, is the genial philosopher, shrewd but good-natured, with a love for horses. Both books are highly conventional in plot elements and sentiment; style in both cases is discursive and anecdotal. David's common sense balances the sentimentality of the book; the charm of Bacheller's book is not destroyed by the impossible situations in which Eben and Willy fall.

VIII. THE SHORT STORY.

Most of the writers of the period expressed themselves in the short story. It became a very distinct genre in the nineties, and the thing that marked it was its growing realism and the development of technique.

A. The Kipling influence.

This was the period in which **Kipling** came swimming into our ken. He deflected every figure in Europe and America. He stood for a certain type of local color which gripped and held. On his appearance he was wild and new. The advent of Kipling was after 1891, but then he came all at once, bringing in a wide view, the breath of a land other than our own. This gave stimulus to an epic view in **Jack London,** to a colorful journalism in **Stephen Crane,** to a journalistic technique and facility in **F. Hopkinson Smith.**

B. Naturalistic impressionism in **Stephen Crane.**

He followed the later realism in submerging plot interest, and in holding his style to a casual but impressionistic level. Best volumes of his stories are *The Open Boat and Other Stories* (1898) and *Major Conflicts.* From these there should be singled out for notice "George's Mother," "The Open Boat," and "The Blue Hotel."

One lays aside any selection of Crane's stories with two impressions: the mocking fortitude of the writer, and his magnificently telling style. Crane's characters do not display a hopeless naturalistic vision, nor a supine acceptance of fate: their human refusal to surrender even to terror brings them moments of godlike freedom. This may, of course, be a part of Crane's

ironic understatement, but it can be more honestly viewed as defiant gratitude greeting life.

C. Local color. (For J. L. Allen see IV, D. b above.)

1. **Bret Harte** continued his long series of stories principally localized on Californian slopes. After losing his consulship in 1885, Harte (remaining in England) renewed his writing with energy and, beginning with *The Heritage of Dedlow Marsh* in 1889, published an average of a volume a year for the next ten years. Scattered through the volumes were such distinctive narratives as "Colonel Starbottle's Client," "A Protégé of Jack Hamlin's," "An Ingénue of the Sierras." Though these stories show no flagging of energy or lapse in imagination, still Harte remained only a connoisseur of unusual material for fiction. But Harte himself continued to regard his work as fundamentally true, as may be seen from his definition of the local-color story: its essence was the "treatment of characteristic American life, with absolute knowledge of its peculiarities and sympathy with its methods; with no fastidious ignoring of its actual expression, or the inchoate poetry that may be found even hidden in its slang; with no moral determination except that which may be the legitimate outcome of the story itself; with no more elimination than may be necessary for the artistic conception, and never from the fear of the 'fetish' of conventionalism."
2. **Hamlin Garland,** proponent of local color in his fictional theory, began with farm tales. Eager to show how the real life of agricultural sections differed from the spacious pictures of the sentimentalists, Garland refused to inject an element of optimism into his tales, and thus the result was a straightforward record of the hardships and bitterness of the "Middle Border." *Main-Travelled Roads* and its companion volume shattered the false mirrors which more timid writers had held up to farm life. (For the theory of Garland, see pages 243, 245.)
3. **Alice Brown** became widely known as a story-teller of New Hampshire. In a series of tales which almost constitute a local history she strove to show individuals fighting for independence, for fullness of personality, and superior to grave obstacles confronting them. Inner drama arises as they veer away from a second marriage, postpone a first, or in other ways slight love or are slighted by it. The local-color volumes of the decade were two in number: *Meadow Grass* (1894) and *Tiverton Tales* (1899). Her pictures of country and village people, her home folk, are memorable, and nowhere are they portrayed (not even in Wilkins) more effectively than in her work.
4. **Kate Chopin's** devotion to local color was chiefly apparent in tales of Louisiana. After her marriage Kate Chopin resided for a time in New Orleans where she found a rich spectacle of life for study, though in those years she did little more than gather impressions. Summers at Grand Isle and winters in the city acquainted her with the romantic customs and traditions of the Creoles. Later, life in Natchitoches Parish furnished material for the character sketches of Cane River Creoles,

whom she described with penetration and sympathy. Her first volume of short stories was *Bayou Folk,* a volume full of individuality, warmth, humor and pathos. Three years later a second volume, *A Night in Arcadie,* contributed further studies of the life of the central Louisiana Creole country. *The Awakening,* her second novel, was given such rude reception that a third collection of stories, which had been prepared, never appeared.

5. **Mary E. Wilkins Freeman,** master recorder of New England, achieved success in the decade. Recognition came early in the nineties after the signal success her works (especially *A New England Nun and Other Stories*) had in England. Three other volumes followed before 1900. She "took New England for her locale, the New England of the fifties, sixties, and seventies, and her reality, while hard and cheerless, was always polite. Her tales made heroes of the long-suffering, the patient, the forbearing. She was given to martyrs and she always crowned them." (White.) Mrs. Freeman's realism was thus open-eyed but not caustic or formula-ridden. Her style, partly a result of her austere outlook, was simple, without redundancy or superfluity; in its directness it broke sharply with the romantic tradition. This early work was intense, somber, yet tremulous with pity, spontaneous, and unaffected by models.
6. **Sarah Orne Jewett** was known for the Maine locale of her stories: *Country of the Pointed Firs* (released in 1896) was an improved *Deephaven* and dealt with the same materials. It has been pronounced by Willa Cather one of the three best books written in America. The dissenter from this opinion will still admire the careful, tender, feminine touch in style and grace of narrative.

   Four other collected volumes in the decade sustained her reputation by the inclusion of distinctive stories: "A Native of Winby," "The Passing of Sister Barsett," "The Flight of Betsy Lane," "The Guests of Mrs. Timms," "Hilton's Holiday," "Aunt Cynthy Dallett," "Bold Words at the Bridge." Stories from the nineties constitute the bulk of the second volume of *Best Tales of Sarah Orne Jewett* (published in 1925). Jewett well understood the life she undertook to depict and also knew what medium she could best command.
7. Creole pride prompting her to correct what she regarded as (alleged) falsity in the pictures of G. W. Cable, **Grace King** wrote "Monsieur Motte" (1888), and added such stories as "On the Plantation" and "The Marriage of Marie Modeste" to complete a volume. *Tales of a Time and Place* followed in 1892 with "Bayou L'Ombre" and "Bonne Maman" as its distinctive pieces. *Balcony Tales* (1893), with scant attention to intrigue, achieved effective atmospheric characterizations. She was well qualified to write of Creole material, as she had been reared and educated in New Orleans.
8. **Joel Chandler Harris** continued his plantation and mountain stories in several volumes during the decade. The first of these was *Balaam and*

His Master (1891) containing "Ananias," "Where's Duncan," "Mom Bi," "The Old Bascom Place," and others.

In his stories about Georgia, Harris frequently expressed dissatisfaction with planter-owners for their lack of business acumen. Yet no special pleading, no propaganda mars Harris's clear analysis of contemporary social problems. He preached a gospel of localism rather than sectionalism; of the rising local-color literature he wrote: "No enduring work of the imagination has ever been produced save by a mind in which the provincial instinct was the controlling influence. . . . The writer who shall truthfully present and reproduce characters and conditions by which he has been surrounded, however narrow and provincial they may be, is sure of fame."

9. **Ruth McEnery Stuart** discussed the non-aristocratic aspects of New Orleans and Louisiana. Her Negroes were poverty-stricken and full of memories of the "big house" and of the days when they "belonged." "Carlotta's Wedding," "Aunt Amity's Silver Wedding," "The Second Wooing of Salina Sue," "Sonny's Schoolin'," and "The Gentleman of the Plush Rocker" are among her best stories.
10. Other local colorists of the decade were numerous, for the exploitation of customs and scenery was probably the outstanding literary feature. Over one hundred volumes classifiable as regional appeared during the ten-year period. Among the better producers of such material were Thomas Janvier, Chester Fernald, Ella Higginson, Charles F. Lummis, Mary Foote, John Fox, George Wharton Edwards, Harry Stillwell Edwards, and Mary Davis.

D. Stories of technique.

1. **H. C. Bunner** can be praised for both humor and technique.

The stories collected by Bunner as *Love in Old Clothes* (1896) appeared in the magazines of the eighties and later in the files of *Puck*, of which he was editor. His *Short Sixes* (1891) and *More Short Sixes* (1894), characteristic volumes, displayed the brevity, the wit, the concision, and the constant surprise element demanded in a humorous magazine. Other works in the decade included *Zadoc Pine and Other Stories* (1891), and *Made in France* (1893). Of those then writing Bunner came closest to our own times.

2. **Ambrose Bierce,** the sardonic Gray Wolf, was not a bulky writer; his position as a short story artist depends on two volumes of the early nineties: *In the Midst of Life* and *Can Such Things Be?* He occupies a place of distinction as a teller of stories of the Civil War, of stories of the ghostly and ghastly, with inevitable impressiveness. His world was peopled with grisly specters from a realm of blackness, and was the result of a battlefield and a peacetime experience which no sentimental reflection could soften.

E. Journalistic world in Davis.

In the decade Richard Harding Davis wrote seven volumes of short stories, all in a journalistic vein and covering a range of material from Delmonico's

to pirate dens, and from New York to Calcutta. Two of these volumes, *Gallegher* and *Van Bibber,* were definitely products of the newspaper office and vied with *Soldiers of Fortune,* a novel, in approbation. Davis was of New York, yet this did not repel a generation of rural and other urbanite readers.

Though the stories of Davis undoubtedly possessed some charm, in their glibness, vivacity, and their delight in multifarious human activities, they suffer because of their superficiality and their journalistic haste. They are probably more dated than any of the better-known stories produced during the two decades of Davis's literary career.

IX. Non-Fictional Prose.

A. Politics and government.

1. **John Fiske's** historical activity included *The American Revolution* (1891) and *The Discovery of America* (1892).
2. **Woodrow Wilson,** whose contribution to literature includes such historical volumes as *Division and Reunion* (1893) and *A History of the American People* (1902), expressed his political philosophy in *An Old Master and Other Political Essays* (1893).
3. Other historians concerned themselves with varied areas: **Henry C. Lea,** *Inquisition;* **Theodore Roosevelt,** *The Winning of the West* (1889–96). The publication of two books—*Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890) and *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793–1812* (1892)—by **Mahan,** an American naval officer, created quite a stir among naval circles. These books came during a period of marked rivalry between leading nations regarding the size of their navies. Europe immediately hailed Mahan as an authority on naval matters. Subsequent contributions in the 1890's, which though well written, never attracted as much notice as his first two, were: *Life of Admiral Farragut* (1892); *Life of Nelson* (1897); *The Interest of America in Sea Power* (1897); *Lessons of the War with Spain* (1899); *The South African War* (1900); and *The Problem of Asia* (1900).
4. **William Jennings Bryan,** on the strength of skill in oratory, was nominated for President by the Democratic convention at Chicago, 1896. He delivered his well-known speech, the "Cross of Gold," in support of the movement for the free coinage of silver and came up from comparative obscurity to head the Democratic party. Two books written by him in the 1890's record his fight on the silver issue and other political questions: *The First Battle; A Story of the Campaign of 1896* (1896); and *The Second Battle or The New Declaration of Independence, 1776–1900; an Account of the Struggle of 1900* (1900).

B. Science and philosophy.

1. In psychology and philosophy **William James** was the outstanding figure. He supported the psychological theory of Pragmatism (the meaning of an idea consists in the particular consequences to which it leads) and the philosophical theory, Empiricism (the origin of all knowledge is experience). His *The Principles of Psychology* appeared in 1891 in two

large volumes and in the following year came out as a textbook in briefer form. His later works dealt exclusively with philosophical and religious questions. They include: *The Will to Believe and Other Essays in Popular Philosophy* (1897); *Human Immortality* (1898); *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902).

2. The theory that freedom of education and science from religious interference is most serviceable to religion, education, and science was defended by **A. D. White,** president of Cornell University, in the *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom* (1896).

C. Social thought.

1. **H. D. Lloyd** arose in the 1890's as a leader against the injustices practiced by growing monopolies. His most celebrated work, *Wealth vs. Commonwealth* (1894), denounced such combinations in general, and especially the Standard Oil Company. His other works published during the 1890's were: *A Strike of Millionaires against Miners* (1890); *Labour Copartnership* (1898); *Newest England* (1900); and *A Country Without Strikes* (1900). (The last three books mentioned came as a result of his study of social experiments in England and New Zealand.)
2. **Jacob Riis,** shocked by the filth, poverty, and disease in urban slums and submerged areas, made war upon the tenement, by articles, news accounts, and books. Chief among the latter were: *How the Other Half Lives* (1890); *The Children of the Poor* (1892); *Out of Mulberry Street* (1898); and *A Ten Years' War* (1901).
3. **Lester Ward** was eminent as a pioneer in sociology in the United States. Among his writings in the 1890's were: *The Psychic Factors of Civilization* (1893); *Outlines of Sociology* (1898); and *Sociology and Economics* (1899).

D. Literary criticism.

1. **Woodrow Wilson's** *Mere Literature and Other Essays* (1896), with its clear-sighted analysis of the connection that scholarship bears to literature, and its penetrating study of the relationship of real literature to national culture, carried a message that should be perennial: "If this free people to which we belong is to keep its fine spirit, its perfect temper amidst affairs, its high courage in the face of difficulties, . . . it must continue to drink deep and often from the old wells of English undefiled."
2. **George E. Woodberry,** though best known as poet and teacher, cannot be overlooked as a critic and essayist. *Studies in Letters and Life* (1890) fix him as a critic. Collections of his essays included *Heart of Man* (1899) and *Makers of Literature* (1900). William James described his prose style as "grave and noble in the extreme."

E. Familiar prose.

1. The first volume of essays by **Agnes Repplier** appeared in 1888, and from then until recently she has been a constant contributor to magazines. Her first distinctive volume was *Points of View* (1891). This she followed with *In the Dozy Hours* (1894), and *Compromises* (1904). From this decade on she demonstrated developing power.

2. **Henry Van Dyke,** noted Presbyterian minister, takes his place among the more important writers of essays and nonfiction in the 1890's. Two of his essays about outdoor subjects are widely read: *Little Rivers* (1895); and *Fisherman's Luck* (1899). The work by which he is generally known, *The Story of the Other Wise Man,* was first read as a Christmas sermon but published through popular demand.

X. The Second Group of Singers in the Nationalistic Period.

A. Vagabondia, and reaction from the sentimental.

1. **Bliss Carman** collaborated with **Richard Hovey** in three volumes: *Songs from Vagabondia* (1894), *More Songs from Vagabondia* (1896), *Last Songs from Vagabondia* (1900). All these make Carman, with Hovey, a poet of roadside adventuring, a poetic super-tramp.
2. With Bliss Carman, **Hovey** presented "spring songs of the Open Road" (Whitmanesque) in his *Songs from Vagabondia,* dashed off enthusiastic Dartmouth poems, and stood as a poet of good-fellowship (see especially his introduction to "Spring," written for a fraternity gathering, with its gay, familiar stein song). During the Spanish-American War he wrote intensely patriotic verse such as "Unmanifest Destiny," poetry celebrating the confidence of the hour in the high and great future of America. Hovey was to make a beginning also in poetic dramas of Arthurian material, definitely anti-sentimental, a labor which death brought to an end.

B. Poetry's escape from its traditional bonds.

1. The first publication of **Emily Dickinson** occurred in the nineties. Although her poetry was to wait until the twenties for an enthusiastic overestimation, her crisp poetic fragments, defying rules of rhyme and form, her introspective self-communings made their appearance in posthumous volumes of 1890, 1891. Hers were verses of whimsical charm, highly subtilized and full of daring thoughts which she had set down—solely for herself—steadily rejecting friendly counsel to publish.
2. **Stephen Crane** was as unconventional in poetry as in prose, using before any others imagistic methods—daring "free" verse—in *Black Riders and Other Lines* (1895) and *War is Kind* (1899). These verses had no wide popularity, though they were not without influence on the newer voices of the succeeding decades.

C. Society verse, Herrick-like trifles, and the Purple Cow period.

1. **Henry Cuyler Bunner,** editor of *Puck* for a score of years before his death in 1896, appeared as a poet in *Airs from Arcady* (1884), *Rowen* (1892), and *Ballads of the Town* (1896). Bunner wrote poems of skill, spontaneity, and finish, full of mocking absurdities; he was an American Austin Dobson.
2. The poetical reputation of **Eugene Field** was at its height in the first half of the decade (d. 1895), though his fame was established more on the basis of his clever sketches than on the poetry which he poured into his daily columns. He turned out a variety of parodies, brilliant fragments, child lyrics, lyrics of sentiment and irreverence, yet clung to the

claims of a Western poet. Collections: *A Little Book of Western Verse, Echoes from the Sabine Farm,* and *Love Songs of Childhood.*

3. **Frank Dempster Sherman,** master of light verse, especially in form and technique, specialized in short lyrics. *Vide: Lyrics for a Lute* (1890) and *Little Fold Lyrics* (1892). Enthusiastic over Herrick and Lovelace of the seventeenth century and Aldrich and Dobson of the nineteenth, he was a carver of beautiful and pleasant trifles.

D. The sonneteers.

1. **George Santayana,** philosopher in verse, contributed to the literature of the nineties sonnets of real distinction, tinged with Platonism.
2. **George E. Woodberry,** readable at all times, is chiefly memorable for a dozen or so interesting sonnets such as "America and England in Danger of War," "Our First Century," "At Gibraltar," and "Love's Rosary."
3. **Lloyd Mifflin** wrote two volumes of interest in the nineties—*At the Gates of Song* (1897) and *The Slopes of Helicon* (1898)—the first containing 148 sonnets and the second adding 21 to the list, all distinctive in subject matter without hint of sequence. From these a dozen or so excellent sonnets, free from the conventionality and poetizing that marked the bulk of his work, may be culled.
4. Though **Lizette Reese** began her poetical career with *A Branch of May* (1887), she did not secure readers until the nineties afforded two additional volumes for examination: *A Handful of Lavender* (1891) and *A Quiet Road* (1896). Her skill at fashioning perfect lyrics is apparent. Always a careful craftsman, she early achieved distinction in the sonnet form, as the reputation of "Tears" (1899) attests.

E. The traditional group.

1. **Louise Imogene Guiney** left America for England in 1901, but not until she had produced three volumes of poetry. Although deeply versed in sixteenth century bards and conservative in outlook, she produced no mild imitations of older poets.
2. **Madison Cawein,** a Kentucky poet much in need of winnowing, produced in the decade nine volumes of verse including *Lyrics and Idyls* (1890), *Poems of Nature and Love* (1893), and *Garden of Dreams* (1896). This might be called his most representative period, though five volumes and a collected edition appeared in the following ten years. He achieved a fair distinction in nature poetry, but the quantity of his verse has somewhat obscured his merit.
3. **Richard Watson Gilder** is difficult to place as a poet, since he displayed lyrical zeal as early as 1875, but he was at the height of his reputation as editor and poet in the nineties.

XI. The Days of Mr. Dooley.

A. **Finley Peter Dunne** rose to the position of number one humorist during the Spanish-American War days. He devised for the conveyance of his familiar wisdom a dialogue between two characters, Mr. Dooley and Mr. Hennessy, the latter little more than an interlocutor.

Political parties, immigration, current events, Bryan, Beveridge, Roosevelt—topics of national interest—passed through the alembic of his humor.

B. The famous fables of **George Ade** made their appearance in 1898, and soon had, because of their everyday vernacular and man-in-the-street flavor, a popularity that was revealed by constant quotation. The fables became even more popular in the next decade. (*Fables in Slang,* 1900.)

C. **Alfred Henry Lewis** created the "Old Cattleman" as the fictional vehicle for his humorous Wolfville sketches.

D. **John Kendrick Bangs,** who later became widely known as a lecturer, was popular in the nineties as a writer of amusing verse and prose, which totaled finally almost fifty volumes. Most famous during the decade were *The Idiot* and *A House-Boat on the Styx.*

XII. The Rise of American Drama.

The drama of the time was not in itself great, but it was very important in the history of American letters as marking a great outburst of individual activity and as ushering on the stage a half-dozen dramatists whose names will be remembered when their pieces are utterly forgotten.

A. **Bronson Howard** was the oldest of the outstanding dramatists, having made a professional beginning as early as 1870. His was the only name widely known when the decade opened, though he produced nothing distinctive in the years that followed.

B. **James A. Herne** was the Robertson of the American stage in his desire for real stage properties. A combination of playwright and actor, he arrived at the apogee of his dramatic career in the nineties. By that time he had definitely discarded the older fashion of types and achieved what Garland called for in *Crumbling Idols,* the interpretation of real life (see his article "Art for Truth's Sake") by the use of commonplace and natural characterization. He particularly disliked the artificial and melodramatic. His plays, effective pieces, were with two exceptions never widely popular. The fullest expression of his theories is to be found in *The Reverend Griffith Davenport* (an able play on the slavery theme), and *Margaret Fleming.* More popular pieces, in accord with the regional tendencies of the time, were *Shore Acres* (long a popular favorite), *Hearts of Oak,* and *Sag Harbor.*

C. **William Gillette** popular dramatist in the eighties, continued his success in the nineties, chiefly because his aim in drama was to entertain. Skill he achieved in adaptations from the French (*Mr. Wilkinson's Widows, Settled Out of Court,* and *Because She Loved Him So*) and in original farces and melodramas such as *Too Much Johnson* and *Sherlock Holmes* (in which the playwright took the leading role). His best work was *Secret Service* (1895).

D. Master of humorous plays was **Charles Hoyt.** This decade was his best period with *A Texas Steer* (a comedy of the capital), *A Temperance Town* (an old soak), *A Runaway Colt* (Chicago baseball man), and *The Stranger in New York.* His real significance was as a writer of farces (such as *A Brass Monkey, A Bunch of Keys, A Trip to Chinatown*).

E. **David Belasco,** independent stage manager and playwright, wrote during the period *The Younger Son* (1893), *The Heart of Maryland* (1895), and (with Fyles) *The Girl I Left Behind Me,* "emotional dramas" produced before his fight with the Theatrical Syndicate. For him the period was an interregnum between his collaborations with DeMille and those with J. Luther Long. His most permanent contributions in drama came later.

F. **Augustus Thomas** definitely served apprentice days in the nineties; and while he was a figure of importance and an able craftsman of the stage, he did not fully arrive until the next decade. Playgoers remember him for two types of plays: (1) plays of economics and politics such as *New Blood* (1894) and *The Capitol* (1895); (2) plays of locality such as *In Mizzoura* (1893) and *Arizona* (1899), which raised Western melodrama to the plane of dramatic art. Thomas's *Alabama,* a romantic drama of the Civil War written in 1890, was regarded as the first American pastoral play.

G. **Clyde Fitch** was a dramatist of rising reputation. Devoted to plays of contemporary life, he turned at the time of the Spanish-American War to original historical plays in *Nathan Hale* (1898) and *Barbara Frietchie* (1899). These and character studies, such as *Beau Brummel* (1890) and *Frederick Lemaitre* (1890), are still called for by amateur producing groups. Seven of his plays from 1891 to 1900 were adaptations from the French. He went on to more distinctive work after 1900.

XIII. Revolution in the Magazine World.

"In this period two hundred and fifty thousand regular monthly buyers of periodicals became two millions."

A. The conservatives. The staple magazines then in existence were the *Atlantic, Scribner's, Harpers,* and the *Century.* These were the "reading" magazines, and conventional in tone.

1. The *Atlantic* of October 1897, declared Francis Matthiessen was a symbol of the "emptiness of the literature of the late nineties." Of the American names he discovered they "were hardly loud enough to be even an echo of the names that are gone."
2. The *Century,* edited by R. W. Gilder; *Harper's,* edited by Henry L. Alden; and *Scribner's,* edited by E. L. Burlingame, were all inspired by the highest idealism and free from vulgarity. Speaking of their editors, W. A. White remarked: "They were three in one and one in three, a blessed trinity that beamed over America of that day, kindly lights of literature and learning, beacons that shone benignly unto the perfect day."

B. The new magazines.

The first to appear was *McClure's,* which sold for fifteen cents a copy (May 28, 1893). *Cosmopolitan* came out with a magazine at 12½ cents an issue, and then *Munsey's* at ten cents. The *Cosmopolitan* grew more wicked from year to year. Obviously the outlook of all the new magazines differed from that of Gilder and Company, but chiefly in moving "closer to contemporary life."

C. The periodical mushrooms.

There was a whole group of toadstool publications, ephemeral imitators of English magazines of revolt, such as *The Lark, The New Bohemia, The Twinkle,* etc. *The Chap Book* and *Yellow Book* were circulated in a thousand country bookstores and became the symbols of the *fin de siècle* decade, the *New Yorkers* of their day. On every hand there were imitations, few of which survived into the next decade or even to the next year.

CHAPTER XVI

THE RED-BLOODED DECADE (1900–1910)

I. The Political and Economic Scene.

The decade was marked by frenzied economic awakening and stock-taking after the Spanish-American War. The passing of the frontier, the encroaching power of the new corporations, the breakdown of industrial organization, the influx of large masses of foreign population, the cash-nexus theory of wages all contributed to the revaluation of American economics and politics. Externally it expressed itself in the attempt to tie up business and government in the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and in increased curbing of the power of corporations as revealed in the Interstate Commerce Commission. In literature it expressed itself in the muckraking movement and in the attempt of authors everywhere to enter into rapport with the new economic thought.

II. Leading Works of the Decade.

1901 Churchill, *The Crisis;* Freeman, *The Portion of Labor;* Muir, *Our National Parks;* Norris, *The Octopus.*

1902 W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience;* J. Riis, *The Battle with the Slum;* Robinson, *Captain Craig;* Owen Wister, *The Virginian.*

1903 H. James, *The Ambassadors;* London, *The Call of the Wild;* Norris, *The Pit.*

1904 H. Adams, *Mont Saint-Michel and Chartres;* O. Henry, *Cabbages and Kings;* H. James, *The Golden Bowl;* Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities.*

1905 Santayana, *The Life of Reason;* Wharton, *The House of Mirth.*

1906 H. Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams;* O. Henry, *The Four Million;* Sinclair, *The Jungle.*

1907 O. Henry, *The Trimmed Lamp.*

1909 London, *Martin Eden;* Moody, *The Great Divide.*

1910 Lomax, *Cowboy Songs.*

III. Fiction Explores Wider Areas.

A. **Hamlin Garland** and new frontiers.

Though contributing nothing in the decade by which he will be long remembered, Garland, who continued active as novelist, sought fictional substance in remote areas: from Wisconsin to Dakota (Moccasin Ranch), to Nevada and the Coast was his advance; thence to the world of the invisible.

1. The realm of spiritualism was utilized in *The Light of the Star* and *The Shadow World.*
2. Garland voiced strong protest against predatory exploitation in the West. In this decade he stood, as in the 1890's, for idealism with a purpose. Thus Nature's noblemen were glorified, as in *The Captain of the Gray-Horse Troop* (race protection, Indian rights, stalwart frontiersmen).

Thus romance was justified by devotion to duty, as in *Cavanagh, Forest Ranger* (another outcry against exploitation vigorously reprehending the encroachment of cattle and sheep men on public domain). The glorification of the West in Garland's stories was epitomized in *The Eagle's Heart* (1900), a saga and romance of Black Mose, reputed rival in fame to Billy the Kid, who, though he had completed a circle of adventure in the Rocky Mountain regions, kept his character sufficiently unsullied for romantic heroines and readers.

B. **Jack London:** typical figure of the decade.

1. The Alaskan frontier afforded London a locale. After his opening effort and first triumph in 1900, *The Son of the Wolf,* he wrote the books by which he will be longest remembered: *The God of His Fathers, A Daughter of the Snows, Children of the Frost, The Call of the Wild,* and *White Fang.* These stories reproduce the intense life of the frozen North in such a way as almost to give a visual impression.
2. Socialism, too, was a new area for fictional writers, as new as Bankoh to the middle-class mind of that generation. In a series of "biographical projections" London expressed his revolutionary ideas, fraught with danger as a jungle, under such titles as: *People of the Abyss* (1903), *The War of the Classes* (1905), *The Iron Heel* (1908), and *The Revolution* (1910).
3. At the close of the decade London turned to the South Seas for new and exotic material.
4. London's naturalism consisted of a fondness for "blond beast" character types (his Nietzschean period extended beyond 1905), for superman heroes, apparent in *The Sea Wolf* (1904), wherein domineering individualism is combined with a disregard for life and its values. London thus presented characters who could live intensely, roughly, and cussedly in a raw-boned world, where "hardness" is a requisite quality. His was the cult of barbarism, of the "abysmal brute."

IV. Dominant Centers of Fictional Interest.

A. The survival of historical romance.

1. The popular favorites of an older time were still before the public: Scott, Thackeray, Eliot, Dickens. Talcott Williams estimated that for 1901 over 100,000 copies of Scott were sold and over 200,000 of Dickens. The titles of Thackeray were equally popular with those of Scott.
2. Of American romances there was little cessation in popularity for three or four years, as may be noted in F. W. Halsey's *Our Literary Deluge.* The most popular books for 1901 and 1902, as attested by the reviewers, were *Janice Meredith, The Crisis,* and *Helmet of Navarre.* Others were not trailing far behind. In the late summer of 1901 the sale of novels recently published totaled as follows:
   David Harum, 520,000; *Richard Carvel,* 420,000; *The Crisis,* 320,000; *Janice Meredith,* 275,000; *Eben Holden,* 265,000; *Quincy Adams Sawyer,* 200,000; *D'ri and I,* 100,000; *To Have and to Hold,* 285,000.
3. Some of these works were not ephemeral. While **Churchill's** *The*

Crisis (1901) had a suspiciously popular appeal—so large that "for weeks together there were stores in every big city where *The Crisis* was selling 1,000 copies a week"—nevertheless it gave "a new generation of Americans their first vivid conception of the struggle in which the nation was reborn." Churchill clung close to reality, especially in the St. Louis scenes. *The Crossing* (1904) Churchill characterized as "the beginning of that great movement across the mountains which swept resistless over the continent until at last it saw the Pacific. The Crossing was the first instinctive reaching out of an infant nation, which was one day to become a giant." The book, which appealed to a wide audience as a chapter in the great epic of westward migration, contained such historical figures as Boone, Sevier, Robertson, Wilkinson, Jackson, and Clark. **Sarah Orne Jewett's** *The Tory Lover* (1901) chronicled the romance of a conservative lad who for love threw himself into the patriotic service of John Paul Jones and eventually won his way out of suspicion, treachery, and a military prison. Other novels were equally romanticized. **Cable's** *Cavalier* (1901) had less softness of outline than his earlier works, but the character types, both Yankee and Southern, were still highly idealized and appealed to a reunited people. The story itself was an adventurous narrative of cavalry expeditions in Mississippi. Enduring too was **Mary Hartwell Catherwood's** *Lazarre* (1901) which "revived an old myth" of Louis XVII of France. Also of the French area was **Mary C. Crowley's** *A Daughter of New France* (1901—centered in Detroit). Less popular in character and more symbolic was *Long Will* (1903), by **Florence Converse,** a novel which took the reader back to the days of Piers Plowman. The story, a lofty, measured prose poem without robust action, had some strong scenes, such as the assertion of manhood by the young Richard, the death of Wat Tyler, and the riots in London. Different and establishing a new type of historical romance was *The Conqueror* (1902) of **Mrs. Atherton,** a highly fictionalized treatment of Alexander Hamilton.

4. The movement of appropriating historical materials for fiction died of its own plethora. Success in the writing of historical romances became increasingly difficult, for with the jaded and slightly educated taste of readers, it required knowledge and talent to produce an illusion. Contributing cause of the decline, moreover, was the lusty red-bloodedness of the decade as well as the reaction, perhaps inevitable, to the vogue of the form. Powerful authors could not be permanently deflected from their orbits.
5. The year 1907 sounded the knell for the school, though as a craze it was at an end in 1903. Unpublished romances were shoved into bottom drawers for another decade and a half when they again made their appearance—but with considerable recasting.

The most popular subjects were the Civil War, colonial settlement, the French area, westward expansion, witchcraft, indentured servants, the Revolution.

B. Fiction and the urban scene.

The polite, urbane life of the nineteenth century, which had been a world of leisure, was supplanted in the eyes of fictionists by a world of energy, the world of the makers, the realm of Big Business. The new novel discovered the bee-hive of production in industrial centers.

1. The arena of urban politics and the boss. In the study of the boss the search led to the political machine, and this had its chief roots in the city. Forthright criticism of the politician ensued.
   a. Investigation of politics was signalized by **Ford's** *The Honorable Peter Stirling* (1894). This was followed by such novels as **Gertrude Atherton's** *Senator North* (1900), **Williams's** *J. Devlin-Boss* (1901), **M. L. Luther's** *The Henchman* (1902), **A. H. Lewis's** *The Boss* (1903), **Elliott Flower's** *The Spoilsman* (1903), **Brand Whitlock's** *The Thirteenth District* (1902), **D. G. Phillips's** *The Plum Tree* (1905) and **Booth Tarkington's** *In the Arena* (1905, short stories).
   b. The most notable satire of political and corporation rottenness appeared in the work of Winston Churchill—studies of the inherently corrupt political system which might potentially be changed by the effective educational program of one who sees the right. Both Churchill and Ford chose as heroes young lawyers, possessed of all the manly virtues, particularly honesty. Ford sought for messengers of light.
      (1) *Coniston* (1906), study of the political boss in the State Legislature, exposed lobbying and political chicanery in such a way as to arouse public action. "Judge Bass ruled by Proxy—the power behind the throne but never visibly upon it." Railroads secured their privileges through him, and through him the Governor was seated. Huge sums were expended for power and huge sums returned to his coffers as tribute. An unfailing system in the hands of Jethro Bass and equally effective in the clutches of the Railroad Consolidation to which he voluntarily surrendered—this was the reign of Democracy wherein one dollar's integrity was as good as another's.
      (2) *Mr. Crewe's Career* (1908), though dealing with the boss in the urban scene, relied upon a background of agricultural stability. It has present-day interest because it shows the workings of political forces. The role played by party bosses, able lieutenants, the party caucus, the convention, propaganda, personal contacts, judicious distribution of favors, and all the other multitudinous agencies of party organization in shaping the course of American government are clearly portrayed.
2. An intellectual's reaction to industrial Chicago.

Robert Herrick was a pathologist who diagnosed the diseases of the city. Two main themes occur in his work: (1) how the economic city warps the psychology and ethics of the businessman; (2) how it reacts upon the home and marriage by its crass materialism.

a. *The Common Lot* (1904) is a study of the life of an architect who, lured by the love of money, surrounds himself with unprincipled wealthy associates and discards his professional ethics. His environment—the world of graft, of feverish competition, of the gambling spirit, of jerrybuilding, and of greed—demoralizes him and destroys his sense of beauty: "The great industrial city where he had learned the lesson of life throttled the finer aspirations of men like a remorseless giant, converting its youth into iron-clawed beasts of prey, answering to the one hoarse cry, 'Success, Success, Success!!.'"

b. *The Memoirs of an American Citizen* (1905), a novel autobiographical in form, presents the economic city in which Van Harrington and his rival Strauss (mere swine) fight over the battered heads of "little hogs" to bigness. The work, inspired by the author's social conscience, becomes an exposé of the stockyards and the cut-throat predatoriness of its owners. Van Harrington typifies Herrick's conception of the captain of business who has dismissed bothersome scruples and cast away obstacles like fairness or common honesty. Gaining social position by marriage and power by bribery, he advances in a world of ruthless competition to the headship of a great packing plant, and ends, sans popular support, as a gilded Senator. Nietzschean philosophy marks this capitalist: the strong man gets to the top; all others are weaklings.

c. *The Web of Life* (1900) began the study of Herrick's continuous theme: the problem of finding an honorable career in a world where so many materialistic men barter their ideals for money. In it a physician revolts against a soft, lucrative practice and the goal of profits.

3. The predecessors of *The Financier.*

The rise of the financial wolves was chronicled and reprehended in **H. K. Webster's** *The Banker and the Bear* (1900); **Charles K. Lush's** *The Autocrats* (1901); **David G. Phillips's** *The Master Rogue* (1903); **Frank Norris's** *The Pit* (1903—see below); **Robert Herrick's** *Memoirs of an American Citizen* (1905); **Francis Lynde's** *The Empire Builders* (1907); **Will Payne's** *The Automatic Capitalist* (1909); and **Robert Grant's** *The Chippendales* (1909).

C. Epic of the wheat—**Frank Norris.**

1. Norris's projected trilogy of the wheat.

Probably the greatest novel of the decade, *The Octopus,* was written in San Francisco near the scene of the wheat tragedy which the author recounted. Norris, staunch enthusiast for the great American epic, sought in wheat his own prose masterpiece, and finished before his untimely death two volumes of his venture.

a. *The Octopus* (1901) is volume one of the Epic of the Wheat—a story descriptive of wheat production in California. It begins with the sowing of the golden grain. One can see the farmer following the "harvester from childhood, growing up in an atmosphere of seedtime and

harvests and foreclosed mortgages." In general a story of the fight between the farmers of San Joaquin Valley and the Railroad Trust, it rests specifically against the background of the "Mussel Slough Affair" of 1878. C. P. Huntington is in it and the Pacific and South-West Railroad. There are certain depressing passages, such as the train running through a flock of sheep, which afford a key to the author's realistic handling of his material and which reveal the working of his deterministic philosophy as individuals are crushed or dwarfed by social and economic forces. It is also naturalistic in its view of Nature: "Nature was, then, a gigantic engine, a vast cyclopean power, huge, terrible, a leviathan with a heart of steel, knowing no compunction, no forgiveness, no tolerance; crushing out the human atom standing in its way, with nirvanic calm, the agony of destruction sending never a jar, never the faintest tremor through all that prodigious mechanism of wheels and cogs." The anti-trust feeling is there, too! Presley, speaking of the Pharaohs of the railroad, remarked: "They own us, these task-masters of ours; they own our homes; they own our legislatures . . . they own the ballot-box . . . they own the courts. We know them for what they are,—ruffians in politics, ruffians in finance, ruffians in law, ruffians in trade, bribers, swindlers, tricksters." Despite such stress *The Octopus* was the first of the American soil novels. It was pronounced by Howells a "great book, simple, sombre, large and of a final authority as the record of a tragical passage of America, of human events."

b. *The Pit* (1903) carries on the story of the wheat driving impotent men to their own tragic destinies. It drew more purchasers than *The Octopus* because it was more integrated and the characters more individualized, but for all the improvement in form and artistry, it lacks the elemental strength and power of its predecessor. *The Pit* has as its setting the empty melodrama of the stock market with the "bears" and the "bulls" rending each other. It chronicles the tragedy of a man who tries futilely to get a corner on wheat, and upon whose spirit the consuming power of business seizes so violently that he is wrecked financially and matrimonially. For a time he thwarts the purpose of the wheat and the inexorable laws of supply and demand, but the epic destiny of the wheat will not be restrained.

c. "The Wolf" was to have given the last phase of the epic—the consumption of wheat in Europe, the "relieving of a famine in an Old World community"—but the author died before he could complete the work. Norris sometimes in these novels gave Zola-like pictures, but after the nineties he no longer adhered very strongly to the naturalistic pattern.

2. Norris's fictional theory.

Norris, who had started out his fictional career as a disciple, first of Kipling and then of Zola, and had followed consistent Zola technique in

McTeague, came, like most naturalists, to develop a larger view, to assume a socialized outlook. *The Responsibilities of the Novelist* (1903) defined his ideas, as follows:

a. The ethics of the novelist:
   (1) The influence of the novel makes it imperative that the author portray truth.
   (2) An author who tells lies for the sake of royalties is guilty of fraud.
b. Novel with a purpose:
   (1) That novel is best which has a purpose, and it requires the greatest skill to create.
   (2) The purpose novel "preaches by telling things and showing things," not by direct appeal.
   (3) The purpose novel is a great force for the advancement of mankind: the novelist must collaborate with "the pulpit" and "the desk." The novel must preach a humanitarian message.
c. Other dictums: Realism of the commonplace is superficial; it shows life only as the succession of unimportant incidents. True fiction must take cognizance of variations from the normal, search behind the scene for hidden motives. Sentimentalism should be "handed down the scullery stairs."

D. The muckrakers.

The inquiry of this movement was in full swing from 1903 to 1910. "The Shame of the Cities" was revealed in concerted progressivism, in reform agitation. Topics of dominant interest were slums, sweating of labor, and buccaneers of business. These were treated in what came to be a campaign of exposure carried out on a wide-flung front.

1. The novelistic protests.

With unflinching integrity the novelists confronted the industrial order of their day, portrayed its miseries, stresses, and ironies and dug unhesitatingly into its corruption, its bribery, its antisocial prejudices and objectives. They sought to depict the clashes of a disordered society. In most of their works propaganda was driven home through the words of key characters who analyzed more penetratingly than their fellows vital, current issues. But though all too frequently the novelists sought to intensify the message by rhetorical vehemence, and argued more in their pages than becomes artistic workmen, yet they furnished the most enduring feature of the muckraking movement.

a. A persistent exposer of the corruption of the cities, who for a time gained a journalistic reputation, was **David Graham Phillips.** He possessed "a hot-tempered zeal against fraud and oppression" and was perhaps the most voluminous writer among those who had scandals to reveal. There was a whole shelf: *The Master Rogue* (high finance); *The Deluge* (Wall Street in particular); *Light-Fingered Gentry* (insurance robbers); *The Second Generation* (inherited ease); *Susan Lenox* (his best novel, with glimpses of slums and gangsters, politicians, and high-handed factory managers). Phillips illustrated

the limitations of the novelistic indictment in this decade: its liberalism was concerned with the contemporary event without long-range plan or program. Accusation there was but no mission.

b. **Upton Sinclair** was the most consistent of the novelists, though not strictly a muckraker. He constantly elucidated upon the results of his own special investigations. In *The Jungle* (1906) Sinclair concerned himself with the antisocial character of Big Business—a text he applied in his enlightening, racy exposition of the methods of ruthless big corporations engaged in the meat-packing business which trapped the souls and bodies of their workers. Added indictment featured scandals of tainted meat, tracing them to the unsanitary conditions in the industry. This is a book which was widely read, a distinction which it still retains.

2. The periodical outburst.

By the muckrakers is generally meant the group comprising **Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, S. H. Adams,** and others. The pioneer in the movement was *McClure's Magazine,* then under the editorship of **S. S. McClure,** whose program for articles revealing the partnership of bad business and corrupt politics was inaugurated with Ida M. Tarbell's exposé of the Standard Oil Company, and continued, in the midst of a circulation boom, with R. S. Baker's studies of the railroads. The method of the McClure muckrakers was carefully set forth in a hundred pages of Steffens's *Autobiography* which attested their crusading zeal for fact. Steffens's laborious investigations in St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Boston, etc. were expounded. Thus the material of the muckrakers came from first-hand information, law-court evidence, legislative investigations; and such files of it were collected that the legal department of the magazine was prepared to defend its special investigators against all suits. The bold attack upon corruption so marked in *McClure's* soon spread to *Collier's* (Samuel H. Adams's articles on The Great American Fraud—patent medicines) and to *The Arena* (**Rudolph Blankenburg's** account of politics in Pennsylvania). *Everybody's* printed **Thomas W. Lawson's** "Frenzied Finance," and the *Cosmopolitan,* soon the medium of authors screaming in hysterical prose, high-lighted Phillips's "Treason of the Senate." Ida Tarbell, **Emerson Hough, Alfred Henry Lewis,** and Ray Stannard Baker featured the lives of business magnates produced by competitive industrial society. The excitement died out in the magazines by 1908, largely through pressure of advertising agencies, though partly from public distrust of the later muckrakers whose "emotionalized propaganda" was without adequate foundation in fact. The movement had such a popular response for a time, however, that the magazine circulation of the decade increased a thousand per cent.

3. Full-volume inquiries.

Several critics were thorough in their examination of the causes of political and economic corruption and the unsavory ways of plutocracy:

Henry D. Lloyd, *Wealth against Commonwealth* (1894, but reprinted 1903);
A. M. Simons, *Class Struggles in America* (1903);
Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904); *The Struggle for Self-Government* (1906);
Gustavus Myers, *History of the Great American Fortunes* (1910);
Charles Edward Russell, *Stories of Great Railroads* (1912).

V. The Last Novels of James.

James's works after 1900 reveal a loyalty to an artistic realm sometimes out of telegraphic communication with this earth; yet they also serve to illustrate a complete mastery of the Jamesian technique, the devotion to compositional centers, points of view, subtlety, and, perhaps, "lucidity through expansion." They represent, in short, the final perfection of the method peculiar to the author, the mastery of situation and of the characters involved in it. But the control was at the expense of those adventures, motives, and national traits (here reintroduced) that bring with them a measure of credibility. Despite such limitations, however, his novels of the decade represent a definite advance over those produced during the closing years of the nineteenth century. Though in all his later works the style was labyrinthine and sometimes inconceivably verbose, he did achieve a kind of perfection which satisfied his own longings for artistic form. His three technically skilful studies after 1900 mark a re-emergence of James's earlier concern with emigrés, and the cultural variations of Englishmen and Americans. This was a theme he had escaped for fifteen years during his exclusive absorption with English subject matter. The novels, certainly among his best, were almost unnoticed by the public.

The Ambassadors (1903) is the most excellent example of James's technical machinery although it is not the work he liked best, perhaps because he felt the use of a narrator limited somewhat the artistic development of his theme. Nevertheless, he sticks closely to the rules recognized for the type of novel here selected. It is richer in personalities, scenes, and incidents than those which followed, but it is not so complex or delicate as *Wings of a Dove.* It illustrates the typical situation which James attempted to work out in most of his fiction: a group of characters with involved relationships to each other, with the added complication that the most completely presented character in the book never actually enters it.

The Wings of the Dove (1902) hinges, as a novel, upon the character of Milly Theale, doomed to death but sustained for a time by the will to live. Involved is the mercenary scheme of a calculating friend Kate, who would have money first, and then, in proper sequence, love. The story has a beautifully wrought ending, although as a narrative it is not so acutely interesting as either of the two great triumphs which followed.

The Golden Bowl (1904) is a psychological mixing bowl. From it are dipped not the ingredients of the plot, but the varying attitudes, reactions, and speculations of four central characters about events carefully under the control of the master workman, the novelist. The story itself, involved and thin, consists of the working out of a predicament affecting two women, Charlotte and Maggie.

It is another document of subtle refinements; more broadly it is a finely articulated study of deceit and its unmasking.

VI. The Feminists.

A. **Edith Wharton:** cool patrician and disciple of Henry James.

1. Her first important fictional piece was *The Valley of Decision* (1902), an historical romance of Italy in the 1790's. While weak in mechanics, the novel displayed her facile handling of milieu. She followed it with two novels which, though adding little to her final reputation, prepare us for the Mrs. Wharton of the second decade, technician and artist. *The House of Mirth* (1905) introduced her theme and area, the world of fashion in New York. Lily Bart, parasite, "attempted morality in a polluted circle and failed." Artificiality of civilization is the theme but it lacks appeal today. *The Fruit of the Tree* (1907) was a logical product of the "Jungle" era, presenting against the background of plutocratic wrongs the growing problem of "He and She." Edith Wharton's treatment is devoid of a spirit of reform. There is no surgeon's lancet in her hands, and the industrial world here introduced—for the sole time in her works—is added merely to complicate the matrimonial difficulties.
2. One of Edith Wharton's novelettes, *Madame de Treymes* (1907), suggests strongly, as does *The Reef* (which followed in 1912), the influence of Henry James. Her discipleship is apparent not only in her subject matter (international society) and attitudes, but in her manner of treatment (the single point of view, the posing of a problem, the detached and ironic tone). Both must be classed as analytic workers, extremely conscientious in their labors and vitally interested in polish and form. The art of both must be labeled as fundamentally intellectual in its approach to manners, moral conduct, and human relationships. Both lack passion and appeal, but have faultless technique and poise. This relationship has been noted by the French critic, Regis Michaud, who remarks:

> Like Henry James, she draws from and caters to the élite. She imported the novel of manners to America and gave to it an original turn. It would have been impossible for her to write or for us to read them as they are without constant reference to the aristocratic and cultural background which Henry James insisted upon in his novels. . . . There is nothing telepathic in her delineations. . . . Her novels are as clear and unmysterious as Fifth Avenue on a Sunday morning after church. Contrary to Henry James, she dramatizes more than she appreciates.

B. **Ellen Glasgow,** uncompromising but gentle rebel.

While she was chiefly concerned during the decade with what we might call historical romances—*The Voice of the People* (1900), *The Battle-Ground* (1902), *The Romance of a Plain Man* (1909)—yet there was realistic treatment of Virginian life, as in *The Deliverance* (1904) and *The Miller of Old Church* (1911). She was "uncompromising in her desire to give 'blood and irony'" and "rebelled from the first against the weaknesses of the sentimental tradition."

C. **Margaret Deland,** penetrating student of the feminine mind. Already a well-known voice because of a daring religious novel, she contributed in 1906 one of her most popular works, *The Awakening of Helena Richie,* thus turning to social problems in an unflinching manner.

VII. The Naturalists.

A. The chapters of **John Muir's** *Our National Parks* (1901) were collected from the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly.* Muir, in his championship of the cause of the national parks, was probably the most influential individual in bringing about legislation for their establishment.

B. **Theodore Roosevelt** helped maintain his colorful personality by two sportsman's books: *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter* (1902); *African Game Trails* (1910).

C. **Stewart Edward White** was a most voluminous writer after 1901 with *Camp and Trail* (1907), and fictional work stressing the out of doors: *The Blazed Trail* (1902), *The Silent Places* (1904), *Arizona Nights* (1907), and *The Riverman* (1908).

D. **John Burroughs** remained for the period the best known of the American naturalists, issuing from his "pineslab cabin" many articles and four books, including *Far and Near* and *Leaf and Tendril.*

E. The nature-faking controversy stirred literary as well as sportsman circles for several years. During this decade a school of nature writers penned highly imaginative fiction which they attested was true to life, genuine natural history. Chief among these were **William J. Long** and **Ernest Thompson-Seton.** Had such writers been content to gain verisimilitude in some manner other than by affirming the truth of their fiction, the controversy which ensued would not have been sustained, but Long and his colleagues stuck to their guns. The criticism of pseudo-scientific nature writers was begun by Burroughs in the interest of scientific truth and reinforced by Roosevelt when Long's books were introduced as supplementary reading in the schools.—The attack opened in the *Atlantic* in 1903, extended to the *Century, Harper's,* and *Everybody's.* More specialized magazines meanwhile took up the subject. After a lull of a year or two the controversy broke out anew from the White House. The *Outlook* joined the fray with the declaration that "imagination in natural history is desirable." This drew more fire from E. B. Clark, Barton Everman, George Shiras, James Ward, and others. The controversy did not extend beyond the close of the decade.

VIII. The O. Henry Decade in the American Short Story.

A. **O. Henry** startled reading Americans into attention with surprise endings. From his first stories in 1899 until his death in 1910, he composed 250 pieces, most of them the work of his last six years. He was startlingly creative, and his achievement one that caused as much attention as the swinging of a comet into our ken. Paradoxical were the man and his work, though he had two marks of distinction: (1) as a humorist who refused almost steadily to take himself seriously, either in atmosphere or ending; (2) as a technician who could use suspense, surprise, calculated

artifice. O. Henry was peculiar, brilliant, whimsical, but lacking in depth of characterization. He is not to be used for continuous consumption. His world was chiefly the New York of his time and of the populace of the lower order. He wrote not of the four hundred but of the four million. The devices of humor he employed with skill were mockery, allusiveness, non sequiturs, misquotations, irreverence, euphemism.

B. **Jack London** was the best paid short-story writer and with O. Henry leader of the day. Barring one lapse, he had a volume for every year of the decade. His short stories, as his novels, dealt with highly colored romantic themes, designed, however, to appeal to red-blooded men, to present life in the great outdoors, to dash the face of comfortable middle-class life with the cold water of the primitive. His was a characteristic voice in the age of Roosevelt, and he supplied real adventure to a generation that secured theirs vicariously. For characters he selected men with the bark on.

C. **Edith Wharton** began her short-story career with stories of New York society, though she inclined also to tales of artistic life, cosmopolitan and continental. After the *Great Inclination* (1899), her first collection of short stories, she turned consistently but unhurriedly to the short-story form, producing thirty-three stories by 1910 (most of them contributed to *Scribner's,* and gathered up in five collections). In her subject matter she is American (though in mid-decade she removed to France), but in all else there is a Slavic-Gallic note and touch. Her own words afford an adequate description of her art: the result of the new psychological technique has been "to give to the short story, as French and Russian art have combined to shape it, great closeness of texture with profundity of form. Instead of a loose web spread over the surface of life they have made it at its best a shaft driven straight into the heart of human experience." Her short stories are ironic analyses of "artistic life, of tragic passion, and of crises in cosmopolitan life," studied with temperamental aloofness. She wrote three novelettes also, culminating in the last named: *The Touchstone, Sanctuary,* and *Madame de Treymes.*

D. **F. Hopkinson Smith,** "Gentleman Vagabond" and literary engineer, gave the public what it wanted in the journalized short narrative: vivid, intense sketches of adventure in Asia, Turkey, or on the Atlantic seacoast in such volumes as *At Close Range, The Veiled Lady, Forty Minutes Late.* But Smith was also interested in "that self-sacrificing and often sacrificed 'other fellow'—whom we often forget either to thank or recognize or honor," and admonished: "Let the boy get down and smell the earth, and let him get down to the level of his kind, helping the weaker man all the time and never forgetting the other fellow." Such was his point of view in *The Underdog* and *The Other Fellow.*

E. The "Van Bibber" fame clung to **Richard Harding Davis** during this decade; and though he was no longer the consistent favorite that he once had been, he sustained his reputation by such volumes as *The Lion and the Unicorn, In the Fog, Ranson's Folly, Once Upon a Time.*

F. **Margaret Deland** continued her series of "Old Chester Tales" in a volume which she titled *Dr. Lavendar's People.* The doctor himself is a memorable fictional type, slightly sentimentalized. He is the dominating character of his village where life goes on complexly, filled with human problems not infrequently issuing in tragedy. But tragedy is toned down by the charm of character and the idealization of motive which actuates life in a community of "psychological but sentimental reality."

G. **Zona Gale** in 1909 began a distinguished literary career with *Friendship Village.* The struggle of women to maintain a courageous independence in the face of bereavement, of loneliness, and of poverty is described in many of her stories. Her first volume opened with a mood of contentment, and though the work is written in a sparse, poetic style, it is affirmative of the goodness of small-town life. Later in her career she was to present faithful records of inhibited lives, and to penetrate beneath the surface with the mercy of a surgeon's scalpel.

H. Besides these more important figures, other workers in local color made a contribution to the fictional output of the decade. **J. B. Connolly** selected the seacoast, fishermen, and river life for his stories; **Joseph C. Lincoln** followed him with much the same locale. **Elsie Singmaster** and **Helen R. Martin** worked among the Pennsylvania Germans, and produced convincing vivid sketches of the highly integrated community life in certain Pennsylvania counties. **W. N. Harben** wrote tales of the Georgia hills; **Ruth McEnery Stuart** continued her Negro and Simpkinsville stories of Louisiana and Arkansas; **Gertrude Atherton** contributed exotic romances of the early Californian days; **Harte** and **Harris** published their last volumes.

IX. POETRY, 1900–1910.

In poetry the period was an interregnum, as feeble almost as the corresponding decade a hundred years before. For a time it seemed that the poetry of the nineties, as expressed in Crane, Hovey, and others, might become a vital, stimulating force, but the early demise of these rebellious spirits put an end to an incipient movement. Poets of the older tradition did little to cultivate a fallow field, partly because of death, as in the case of Aldrich, or of overzealousness, as in the case of Cawein. Emily Dickinson did influence certain innovators, but her literary following came late, too late for the trust-busting period: her work did not generate original perceptions and epigrammatic utterances of her kind. Even from overseas there was little help. The experimentalists from France fostered minor craftsmen, and Kipling for all his fluency and sensation provoked admiration and reading rather than imitation.

A. Though he never reached his greatest potentialities, **William Vaughn Moody** was a gifted and accomplished figure, the ablest of the poets of the decade. Primarily an artist with Miltonic concepts, Moody was a student of the poetic medium, aspiring for, as he expressed it, "the instinct of conquest in language, the attempt to push out its boundaries, to win for it continually some new swiftness, some rare compression, to distil from it a more opaline drop." But he was no idle singer or theorist, for

in poem after poem he sat in judgment on social injustice, industrialism, imperialism, particularly in "The Quarry," "Gloucester Moors," "The Brute," and "On a Soldier Fallen in the Philippines." Hot denunciation was the result of his own sense of right which would not let him keep silence. Of his "An Ode in Time of Hesitation" (1900), calmer product of the war, Lovett declared that "it marks the height of public poetry in America." Certain of his works were products of his own mysticism and of the scientific-religious ferment of the time, especially "The Menagerie." Moody held that there is place for spiritual ultimates in a materialistic universe. In a poetic trilogy (not quite completed) he attempted the interpretation of the meaning of human life, fate, and man's relation to the divine, but triumphed in fragments rather than in whole dramas.

B. The New England poets were still the general favorites. By 1912 the authors of reminiscences had done the worst they could for the authors of the genteel tradition, but in most reading circles, the decade was still their own; no voice of sufficiently rousing summons came to challenge their supremacy.

C. **James Whitcomb Riley,** bard of the eighties, was at the height of his poetical reputation; by numerous readings of his verses in various cities, he not only kept his poetry before the readers of the nation but won new followers everywhere.

D. **Thomas Bailey Aldrich** came again to the minds of older readers with the final selection from his poetic work, *Songs and Sonnets* (1906).

E. **Edwin Markham** in the closing year of the nineteenth century had broadened the paths of poetry with his *The Man with the Hoe* (1899). Liberalization continued in his celebration of the emancipator, *Lincoln,* in 1901.

F. **Edwin Arlington Robinson's** *Captain Craig* (1902), written while he held a succession of odd jobs in New York City, gained new readers for the then obscure poet. Among these was Theodore Roosevelt, president of the United States, who was sufficiently impressed to obtain a position for Robinson in the New York Customs House. The appearance of *The Town Down the River* marked the end of Robinson's government duties, and substantiated his claim to poetic excellence. After 1910 his work showed only a deepening and development of the psychological penetration present in it from the first.

G. **Madison Cawein's** *Poems* (1907) contains among nature lyrics a group of seventy-nine "nature" sonnets. Howells thus evaluated his work: "He has the gift, in a measure that I do not think surpassed in any other poet, of touching some smallest or commonest thing in nature, and making it live from the manifold associations in which we have our being, and glow thereafter with an indistinguishable beauty." (*North American Review*).

H. **George Woodberry,** important in this decade as a critic, brought out *Poems* in 1903, a collection of earlier works to which he added a dozen lyrics and occasional pieces.

I. Published during the period were quite a number of minor poets, whose names strike the ear with an almost unfamiliar sound: Helen Gray Cone, Robert Underwood Johnson, Josephine Preston Peabody, William Herbert Carruth, and Caroline Hazard.

X. DRAMA.

The years from 1900 to 1910 were not without triumphs in drama, but the varieties can scarcely be summed up by any one formula. Playwrights, affected like the novelists by dreams of the past, gave their devotion to romantic drama shortly after the turn of the century. But the commercial theatres showed a wide diversity in dramatic offerings, most of them mere expressions of the time-spirit in a literal sense. Pride of the period, though never widely acclaimed by the critics, was **Clyde Fitch,** who averaged better than two plays a year to maintain his unchallenged primacy. The theatre itself was undergoing a transformation, largely through the improvement of standards in matters of setting, costuming, lighting, and stage-business. To such development **David Belasco** was the greatest contributor, but the theatre-going public, chiefly impressed by external effects and little concerned about the truth of characterization, did not spur dramatists to careful workmanship, true taste, or thoughtful deliberation on the truths of life. Thus much of the drama was from the standpoint of art or thought relatively unimportant: it rarely probed beneath the surface. There was some tendency toward greater seriousness as the decade progressed, and accordingly a greater reliance upon ideas. Protest against the demands of mere practical playwriting for commercial houses was made by William Vaughn Moody and **Josephine Peabody,** both of whom sought to restore a literary quality to dramatic productions.

A. **William Vaughn Moody** established himself as a dramatist with the publication of his *The Great Divide* in 1909. The play, almost immediately successful, presented the psychological problem which arose when the ideals of the East and the West met in conflict. His second play, *The Faith Healer* (1909, rev. 1910), though good closet drama, has never been convincing on the stage because of its vagueness.

B. **Langdon E. Mitchell** stood as a figure of interest in the decade through the popularity of his *Becky Sharp,* which was completing a two-year run at the opening of the century, and *The New York Idea,* a successful play (1906) which cleverly satirizes the merry mixup that divorce occasions in liberal New York and administers laughing rebuke.

C. Although **Clyde Fitch** had enjoyed ten years of stage success by 1900, it was by the plays of his last ten years that he won an international reputation. Utilizing the new theatrical technique and clinging to the American scene, he achieved a reputation for skill, craftsmanship, verve, and liveliness. His aim and purpose he thus characterized: "What I am trying to do is to reflect life of all kinds as I see it. To write plays, first, that will interest and mean something; and, after that, amuse. I would rather entertain everybody than one body. . . . I am trying especially to reflect our own life of the present, and to get into the heart of the pictures made by the past." After 1900 he entered into this "life of the present" in a series

of plays around central ideas that reveal his knowledge of character: *The Stubbornness of Geraldine* (fidelity), *The Girl with the Green Eyes* (jealousy), *The Truth* (lying, etc.). In these what Moses has called "the psychology of the story-teller" became apparent. Some of his plays (especially *The Climbers,* 1901, and *The City,* 1909) possess a real documentary interest.

D. From 1903 to 1908 the comedies of **George Ade** had a tremendous vogue. "Rollicking comedies" with feathery satire of American types, the county chairman, the college widow, etc., they quickly gained for him a reputation as humorist and wit.

E. **David Belasco** did not produce literary masterpieces, but so unerring was he in knowledge of lighting and stage mechanics that his plays always had drawing power. Famed for his scenic realism, he worked much in collaboration, especially with **J. Luther Long:** *Madame Butterfly* (1900), *Adrea* (1904), and *The Darling of the Gods* (1902). Western glimpses, reflecting his early life, are obtainable in such plays as *The Girl of the Golden West* (1905). Equally known is *The Return of Peter Grimm* (1911).

F. **Charles Rann Kennedy's** *The Servant in the House* (1907) illustrated practical Christianity as opposed to mere lip service.

G. During half the decade under consideration **Augustus Thomas** worked mainly in the farce comedy, producing in this medium *The Earl of Pawtucket* (1903), *The Other Girl* (1903), *Mrs. Leffingwell's Boots* (1905), but the increasing seriousness of the period influenced him as it did others, and in 1907 he wrote *The Witching Hour,* followed by *The Harvest Moon,* plays which deal with the psychology of subconscious suggestion. The contemporaneousness of his dramas is expressed in his own words: "The theatre is a vital part of everyday life; it is an institution, and as an institution it has a claim upon the popular attention principally in that fact. When it becomes a thing preservative, a museum for certain literary forms, or a laboratory for galvanizing archaic ideas, it is almost useless, and seldom successful as a business enterprise."

H. **Fielding Burke's (Olive Dargan)** first publication, *Semiramis and Other Plays* (1904), showed a decided Elizabethan exuberance. Her second volume two years later came out under the title *Lords and Lovers and Other Dramas.* She later devoted her time to the novel.

CHAPTER XVII

THE WORLD WAR DECADE

I. The Decade Before 1920.

The beginning of the decade was marked by the death of certain notables: Clyde Fitch and Francis Marion Crawford died in 1909; the year following came the demise of O. Henry, Mark Twain, William James, and William Vaughn Moody. "1920" is more difficult to justify. It is customary to refer to the time from 1914 to 1933 as a period distinct in itself, given to experimentation, naturalism, and futility, yet the first years of the broader period did not share in this mood of unconventionality and disillusionment. The literary forces of 1914 did not extend beyond seven years, and few of the real products of the war were perceptible in literature until after 1920. Then came **Emery's** *The Hero* and **Dos Passos's** *Three Soldiers* (1921) as unimposing monuments of a changed temper. Thus one may justifiably call the years from 1910 to 1920 the war decade, and regard it, if not as an organic unit, at least as a period displaying its own distinct characteristics.

II. The War in American Literature.

Shortly after the war came an extended revolt against conventionalism and traditional standards, but the changing temper did not affect literature until the twenties, not so far as the decencies were concerned and the optimistic outlook on life. Most notable literary products of the World War period itself were the state papers and addresses of **Woodrow Wilson,** whose utterances were not only studied in secondary schools but analyzed in college classes as well. Wilson had created an interest in his literary exertions as early as his Georgia days with *The State* (1889) and was able to impress his contemporaries after 1912 as the literary President.

Scant challenge of the official view of the war appeared down to 1920, and of positive reaction to grim conflict there was little published besides the outbursts of **David Starr Jordan.** Some wartime poetry stirred patriotic emotions, but so sanguinary were the trenches, so thoroughly was the individual soul swallowed up in mechanized units, that the conflict produced a smaller lyric chorus than America had heard in previous military ventures. The most famous war poems recited in the United States were those that could be readily discovered in the British poets, Brooke, Graves, and others. Sentimental war fiction from abroad, especially that of Coningsby Dawson, found an audience. Besides, Americans were reading Wells's *Mr. Britling See It Through;* they were haunted by "The Spires of Oxford."

For a perception of American reaction to the war a vantage point ten years removed must be taken, though there was genuine poetic inspiration in 1918: **Alan Seeger,** in "I Have a Rendezvous with Death," and the Canadian **Colonel John McCrae,** in "In Flanders Fields," spoke from the heart. From Spring-

field, Illinois, came "Abraham Lincoln Walks at Midnight." Among other poetic writings of the period were the war pieces of Helen Gray Cone, Josephine Peabody, George E. Woodberry, but none of these achieved distinction.

III. Leading Works.

1911 Dreiser, *Jennie Gerhardt;* Wharton, *Ethan Frome;* Harrison, *Queed.*

1912 Amy Lowell, *A Dome of Many-Coloured Glass;* Dreiser, *The Financier.*

1913 Cather, *O Pioneers!;* Churchill, *The Inside of the Cup;* Frost, *A Boy's Will;* Wilson, *The New Freedom.*

1914 Frost, *North of Boston;* Amy Lowell, *Sword Blades and Poppy Seed;* Tarkington, *Penrod;* K. Gerould, *Vain Oblations.*

1915 Masters, *Spoon River Anthology;* Teasdale, *Rivers to the Sea.*

1916 Dewey, *Democracy and Education;* Robinson, *The Man against the Sky;* Sandburg, *Chicago Poems;* Wharton, *Xingu and Other Stories;* McFee, *Casuals of the Sea.*

1917 Cabell, *The Cream of the Jest;* Garland, *A Son of the Middle Border;* Millay, *Renascence and Other Poems;* Sherman, *On Contemporary Literature;* Hergesheimer, *The Three Black Pennys.*

1918 Adams, *Education of Henry Adams;* Beebe, *Jungle Peace;* Cather, *My Antonia;* Sandburg, *Cornhuskers.*

1919 Cabell, *Beyond Life;* Hergesheimer, *Java Head;* Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America.*

1920 Gale, *Miss Lulu Bett;* Lewis, *Main Street;* Sandburg, *Smoke and Steel;* Wharton, *The Age of Innocence.*

IV. Novelists of the Decade.

A. **Willa Cather,** novelist of Nebraska.

O Pioneers! (1913), her first important novel, is not, as the title seems to suggest, a prairie-schooner story; it represents pioneering in the genuine sense of an unrelenting fight against an untoward world, and thus the work becomes the second among American soil novels. Alexandra Bergson by strength and vitality wins a triumph over the somber wastes, the vast hardness that is the land. Cather's second novel, *My Antonia* (1918), continues the soil tradition but on a more lavish scale, for a whole community is presented in its various phases. Generally accounted her masterpiece, it is the story of Antonia, daughter of an immigrant family, whom tragedy early stalks in her quest for beauty and life: her father commits suicide, throwing the burden of the family upon her; village dances acquaint her with bounders; a desertion in Denver sends her home to work and quizzical glances. But Antonia triumphs, becomes the mother of a brood, and lives on, one of the stout upstanders of life. *The Song of the Lark* (1915) makes clear a primary objective in Cather's novels, character development rather than cumulative plot complications. In it a young woman's development is traced from an early life of shy, awkward existence to a state of triumph in opera.

These novels of the decade were the trio by which she gained status as a novelist. Each represents a form of success achieved only after struggle and pain from a beginning that was bleakly unpromising. The triumph,

like that of Alexandra Bergson and Antonia Shimerda, comes from within, as a result of primitive energy that refuses to be submerged. In all three novels the pioneers of the soil and the studio struggle for an inner harmony and development, and through the measure of their endowment and abundant nature attain it.

Cather's protest against the overfurnished character of the modern novel affords a clear interpretation of her aims and achievements in the field of fiction. "She manages to create an atmosphere of literal authenticity without recourse to the useless device of cataloguing a thousand irrelevant verities."

B. **Theodore Dreiser** and the naturalistic novel.

The work of Theodore Dreiser, though first neglected, eventually became the center of a critical controversy among limited readers that has lasted ever since. His first novel, *Sister Carrie,* appeared in 1900 and was immediately suppressed by the publishers. With the publication of *Jennie Gerhardt* (1911), however, the first novel was reissued. Most of his small circle of readers were shocked by the work, and it was not until 1925, when his *An American Tragedy* appeared, that he was talked about in other than "smart" circles. Even then his works were seldom read through.

Unquestionably the critics who accepted his novels in this decade only expressed, in their enthusiasm, their personal philosophy. By the great majority of readers his work was ignored because of the author's amoral view. *Sister Carrie,* for instance, is the story of a young girl who leaves a small town for Chicago (later New York). She drifts into a number of sordid affairs and eventually becomes a great actress. Although she is the downfall of one of her lovers, Dreiser never assumes that her victim has received his just deserts, nor that Carrie herself was to be punished for her sins. The same theme and attitude are apparent in *Jennie Gerhardt,* the story of another girl who is tempted from her poverty by the luxuries offered her. Again Dreiser does not sit in judgment against his characters. In his concept of man, moral and social controls have little influence; rather, man is regarded as living the "hardy, eager life of the animal that has nothing but its perceptions, instincts, appetites to guide it." Dreiser is further committed to a thoroughly obsolete biochemical theory that man is governed by uncontrollable impulses best described as chemisms. These make his conduct a mere animal response to inner conditions or urges. This underlying philosophy makes difficult the portrayal of subtle or even strong characters. Dreiser, in consequence, has created a gallery of weak characters whose final demise produces a feeling of gratulation rather than tragic purgation.

Contrasted to this gallery of weak characters, patent enough, are Dreiser's hard-hitting, dynamic buccaneers of business. These appear in what have been called his key novels, *The Financier* (1912) and *The Titan* (1914), works which comprise a picture of industrialism and present a story of predatory acquisitiveness in the realm of big business. Both are modeled upon the career of Charles T. Yerkes, a traction magnate of Philadelphia

and Chicago, fictionalized as Frank Cowperwood. He is possessed by an insatiable greed for power and rises to wealth and position through the triumphs of corruption and organization.

Also of this decade was *The Genius* (1915), the story of a young artist, which repeats Dreiser's frank and uninhibited treatment of sex. As in his other narratives, Dreiser fails to establish the accepted standards of life as rules for his characters, and writes realism beyond culture and perspective. The chief impression conveyed by Dreiser's novels, aside from their philosophy of scepticism and naturalism, is the effect of power which he secures by sheer mass. His literary offenses, of course, are as obvious as his celebration of the law of the jungle. He is unable to portray any subtleties, either of beauty or character; he has no concern for style and, as a consequence, often writes heavily and flatly. However, he has carried on the work of Frank Norris and Jack London with sincerity and courage. He has gone far enough to be called a craftsman in the kind of realism which he employs.

C. **Winston Churchill** and the problem novel.

From the historical romance which had been his love during the preceding decade Churchill departed, and turned to the examination of various problems of modern life. His criticism he first directed at the marital relations in *A Modern Chronicle*. This was followed in 1913 by *The Inside of the Cup,* a study in modern religion which aroused such bitter discussion as to keep the book a best seller for more than two years. In the novel he slashed away at plutocratic control of churches which led to doctrinaire preaching and clerical aloofness from the problems of a social world. Democracy in religion and social justice which would cure the disease that makes charity necessary were the cardinal tenets in the author's scheme of muscular Christianity. In *A Far Country* (1915), satirizing the absorptive devotion to business, especially when profit-madness leads to unscrupulousness on every hand, Churchill re-grappled in part with the theme of Herrick, the problem of the man who has sold his brains for gold. Finally, in *The Dwelling Place of Light,* published two years later, he chronicled the difficulties of an intense American girl, who, though caught by the forces of life in a polyglot town, went with poise and inner strength to her tragic destiny. Industrial conflict, closely knit with the story, was presented with charity of spirit toward both owners and workers, though the author viewed with scepticism the simplified revolutionary doctrines and the alleged idealism of syndicalist leaders.

D. **Ernest Poole** and the aspiring radical.

The culmination of the novel of protest came with Poole's *The Harbor* (1915), which is vibrant with emotion over the lot of the foreign, ignorant masses who suffer on the New York waterfront. For accuracy in the strike scenes, he drew from both his Chicago and New York experiences. Graphic is his description of wrongs which led to labor organization, of the feeling of strength which their great mass meetings conveyed, and of the methods by which business crushed the morale of the workers. But the

book is more than a capital-and-labor drama: it is the story of the making of a man and the history of a harbor where the law of change prevails. Billy, the hero who wants to write, finds at last a promise of a great subject in the harbor—first as it was in the days of his father, with the glorification of American shipping the great objective; second, as it was and is under Big Business, with efficiency the great ideal; and as it might be under the working classes, struggling for more life and control.

His Family followed in 1917.

E. The exotic tradition in Hergesheimer.

Joseph Hergesheimer came to notice with *The Three Black Pennys* (1917), which had considerable vogue. Classifiable as a genealogical novel and featuring the outcropping of ancestral traits in an ironmaster's family in Pennsylvania, it is in reality three stories or character studies linked only by a common family characteristic—the moody, rebellious Welsh strain which recurs irregularly in the Penny line. The work is important as an exhibition of Hergesheimer's talent for portraiture and for recreating the atmosphere and moral tone of periods removed from our own. *Java Head* (1919), however, was the novel which brought his reputation to the fore and quickly established him among readers. It is a story fundamentally of East and West, of Taou Yuen's philosophy and way of living and the repercussions which her arrival created in the town of Salem. The beauty of the story is not inseparable from the tragedy, which is brought about by fear, partly induced by the effect of an alien society.

In the same year appeared *Linda Condon,* a vivid narrative not greatly removed in theme from its predecessor. The novel is a portrait study of Linda from early girlhood through middle age, or a psychological analysis of an emotionally impotent woman, who, naturally cold and self-sufficient and negatively influenced by a libertine-aging mother, spends so much time in solitude that she becomes utterly unable to share herself with anyone. Her beauty and her self-sufficiency are her sole possessions. The book depends not upon plot but upon the slow idealization of beauty; and as ideal beauty Linda becomes the inspiration for the greatest work of Dodge Pleydon, sculptor.

The outstanding characteristic of Hergesheimer's work is the detached attitude he maintains toward his characters. They are dissected and marvelously reconstructed again before the reader's eyes; yet the reader never imagines them to be alive and apparently neither does the author. They are simply beautifully executed word paintings. Still these portraits comprise his work. Elaborate settings, exotic and remote ingredients, objects of sensuous beauty are the means of securing his effects. Though he wrote on during the twenties, his first works are notably his best.

F. **Booth Tarkington** and the middle-class novel.

Before 1922 Tarkington produced a series of readable novels. He reached a wide audience with *Penrod* (1914), a boy's volume abounding in hilarity and energy, *Penrod and Sam* (1916), and *Seventeen* (1916). While these all have a fine sense of fun, they are not without satirical thrusts at con-

temporary civilization. His earliest novel of the decade not classifiable as juvenile was *The Flirt* (1913), product of a marked genius for characterization and a flair for plot. At the close of the war he wrote three novels, *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1918), *Ramsey Milholland* (1919), and *Alice Adams* (1921), for which he was twice awarded the Pulitzer Prize—an indication that his ambition to "study American life" was accompanied with some power, though he too frequently lapsed into appeals chiefly entertaining. *Alice Adams* carried a girl from adolescent dreams to grim realities. The story was also a marital study pursued with less devotion to its theme than Eliot's *Middlemarch*. The parents of Alice, once ardent lovers, became less than tolerant of each other at times, particularly when the father was nagged on to financial ventures by a wife anxious for the marriage prospects of a daughter. *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1918), a story of three generations in Indianapolis, traced the rise and decline of an aristocratic fortune against the background of the epoch from 1873 to 1916. The family splendor lasted "throughout all the years that saw this Midland town spread and darken into a city." Like Thackeray's *Vanity Fair,* it was a novel without a hero, for the central figure and third in line of the Magnificent Ambersons was an arrogant but incompetent snob whose fate led him to hazardous toil. His lot was not abject, however, for there were concessions to the happy ending. The novel did attempt to present the complex structure of a whole community, with marked satiric thrusts. Its theme may be summed up in the words of the author: "Of all the ideals of life . . . the least likely to retain a profile is that ideal which depends upon inheriting money." *The Magnificent Ambersons, The Midlander* (1923), and *The Turmoil* (1915) constitute a loosely constructed picture of social and industrial changes in an Indiana city, published as a trilogy, *Growth* (1927). Tarkington has enjoyed wide popularity but he has never been acclaimed a great genius. His intellectuality is too light to warrant a higher reputation than he has achieved. And yet his ability at characterization, his analysis of feminine traits and foibles is marked, and "his articulation of the thoughts of his actors almost faultless."

G. **Ellen Glasgow,** novelist of modern Virginia.

Sherman's advice that her works should undergo a twenty per cent reduction in bulk applies to the novels of this decade, especially since the objectives she spent so many words advancing have already been achieved. Four novels, not among those accounted her best, illustrated her story-telling gift during these years and her absorption with the problem of women as a segment of Southern life not aligned with the modern: *The Miller of Old Church* (1911—really a soil novel, with the miller embodying all the crude virtues of the practical rising generation), *Virginia* (1913), *Life and Gabriella* (1916—the story of twenty years in the life of a courageous woman who achieves success in love and business after a disastrous start), and *The Builders* (1918—"a study of the parasitic woman"). The second named chronicles the difficulties of one who thinks the careful performance of household tasks an adequate fulfillment of duties on the part of a wife.

Her faulty training and tragic incapacity as companion and critic are major points of attack.

H. **Upton Sinclair,** untrammeled novelist of protest.

Some of his better known novels of the decade are *King Coal* (1917) and *100%* (1920), both explicitly propaganda novels. His earliest work after 1910 was *Love's Pilgrimage,* a naturalistic novel much in the manner of Flaubert's *Sentimental Education.* The story follows the artistic career of Corydon and Thyrsis, a romantic and sincere couple who front life with idealism and all but make a sacrifice of health for their ideals. As in tragi-comedy, the dreadful alternative is narrowly averted. In 1913 there followed *Damaged Goods,* a novel erected upon the structure of Brieux's *Les Avariés.* His best non-fiction was the *Brass Check* (1919) in which he attacked the newspaper as an agency of propaganda.

I. **Margaret Deland,** master of analysis.

Henry M. Alden in a moment of great enthusiasm acclaimed Mrs. Deland's *Iron Woman* (1911) the best piece of work by a feminine hand after George Eliot. A psychological and environmental novel on the broad theme that the "child is the father of the man," and the woman, too, it relates the story of the childhood of four youthful actors in whom are furled the banners of good and evil that are later displayed, with all the consequences of tragic emotion, when the passions of life are aroused. Thematically the author's support, not elaborately set forth, is for the preservation of marriage as an institution which makes life civilized. The realistic technique involves close studies of an earlier heroine, Helena Richie, and the Iron Woman, whose energetic personality rides roughshod over the niceties and femininities of life. Grant Overton remarked of the book:

> It is not fiction at all, it is biography, the best and brightest and most instructive kind of biography. . . . The studies of the people in it are too minute for fiction and the people themselves are over-plausible. The wealth of detail with which she enriches her splendid story makes it a biography, or a cluster of biographies; and considered as biographies, these people are a vivid success. . . .

J. **Dorothy Canfield (Fisher)** and the humanistic tradition in American fiction.

Though not a brilliant writer, she is a competent craftsman aware of the cross-currents of emotion and the mental struggle of the intelligent, well-educated, middle-class American. Mrs. Fisher is a woman's novelist; rarely does she lose the subjective point of view which a writer writing of and for women must necessarily maintain. Her works in general are clear but somewhat loquacious. Four of importance appeared in the decade: *Hillsboro People* (1915, short stories of New England), *The Squirrel Cage* (1912), *The Bent Twig* (1915), and *The Brimming Cup* (1921). Such books reflect her keen interest in problems of her own day—education, marriage, parental responsibilities, and "Young Moderns"—in the handling

of which an old-fashioned tone is sometimes conveyed. *The Squirrel Cage* registers protest against a materialistically social existence in which men display only a manic concern for work and profits and women become social parasites in an empty community life. Marital life is robbed of human relationships and aesthetic perceptions. In the second of the novels, her setting of the fictional stage is frequently too patent, especially when the prelude of preparation is only for a stint of conversation, not too real in character. Sylvia Marshall, led to believe from early childhood that the real pleasures in the world are music, poetry, fine novels, beauties of nature, honest work well done, is confused and not a little bitter when she discovers how important a part money plays in the lives of most people. In the rarefied, luxurious atmosphere of her aunt's summer home in Vermont, Sylvia comes to know a life far different from that of her Ohio existence. Her aunt's friends, aesthetes all, seem to consider wealth a requisite of culture. And by this life and association and subsequent Paris days, she is confused and distressed. Analysis follows analysis as she debates her own beliefs and outlook. Gradually, however, as the shallowness of the lives of these idle, wealthy beauty-lovers becomes apparent to her, and as she grows to love Austin Page, who considers his fortune a hindrance to the true enjoyment of life, Sylvia's early training reasserts itself, thus justifying the title. *The Brimming Cup* (1921) contains a deeper note—the discontent of a woman who has been brought up in a great urban world and is learning to live in a village.

K. Wharton and the Jamesian tradition.

Edith Wharton is known as the author of a series of social chronicles which range from inner studies of the Four Hundred to the depiction of the social climber in action. She warrants consideration by virtue of three memorable works. The first is *Ethan Frome* (1911), a novelette which presents the barren life and stark tragedy of a New England mountainside. The story is told in essentially dramatic form with a style stripped of all unnecessary artifices. Tragic is the life of Ethan Frome, who, attempting to bridge the loneliness of life, is trapped by marriage, seeks escape in death, but suffers a mangling catastrophe which drags its weary, bitter length through the years. The story sustains itself throughout its novelette pages upon a high level of narrative skill.

The Custom of the Country (1913) was Edith Wharton's contribution to the fiction of the social climber, wherein is traced the progress of Undine Spragg from "Apex" to ambassadorial heights. It is not to be characterized in such simple terms, however, for it is both a novel of international contrast (after James) and a continuation of the problem novel technique of preceding decades. *The Age of Innocence,* best of her society novels, pictures the futile struggle of an individual against the conventions and taboos of New York society in the 1870's. She has recreated this social atmosphere vividly, and shown convincingly its pressure on members of the group. Newland Archer, confronted with what appears to be a moral dilemma, is unable to free himself from the narrow conventions that bind him. In

an epilogue the old problem reappears, with Archer schooling his son so as not to reenact the old mistake. Of the Mrs. Grundy world here displayed, Boynton remarks:

> [Mrs. Wharton's] manner belongs to this world. It is keen, brilliant, clever in the way of the social dictator who has a highly developed sense of form, a sharp eye, and a sharper tongue. The dialogue gleams and glimmers, seldom falling to the level of actual conversation. It is attenuated, like the people whom it characterizes; it is doubtless quite fair to them; it has a distinction like their own and like Mrs. Wharton's descriptions of them. They are a part of America today; but the reader can take them only as the author usually does, with a slight measure of compassionate amusement. Spiritually they have the kind of phosphorescence that is caused in some organic matter by decay.

V. The Poetic Outlook.

A. The poetic scene.

The death of William Vaughn Moody in 1910 symbolized the passing of the "Old Guard." Others of the older poets had already gone, or lapsed into virtual silence. Bret Harte died in 1902, Stephen Crane in 1900, John Hay in 1903, Thomas Bailey Aldrich in 1907; and Joaquin Miller was to be silenced in 1913, Riley in 1916; **Edwin Markham** was to go on into the thirties singing unimportant tunes, but *The Man With The Hoe* had been published in 1899.

In the first decade of the century dozens of elaborately "artistic" volumes were presented—for a consideration from the authors—by such publishers as the Roycroft Press and Thomas Mosher of Portland, Maine, but once they had served the Christmas trade these books were forgotten. Several poets were writing verse that had earlier inspired more or less hope among critics, but by 1910 they were recognized as minor voices. Among these were Madison Cawein, Katherine Lee Bates, John Bannister Tabb, Paul Laurence Dunbar, Edith M. Thomas, Frank Dempster Sherman, Louise Imogen Guiney, Bliss Carman, Lizette Woodworth Reese (of whom a dozen sonnets and lyrics remain fresh and enduring). **Harriet Monroe,** a conventional poet, was soon to become the leader in the Revival of Poetry which evoked denunciation and acclaim for its brusque denial of convention.

Such was the scene on which dawned the "new poetry"—a phrase characterized in the preface of Monroe and Henderson's book of that title, as "no doubt rash and most imperfectly descriptive . . . but one difficult to replace with any form of words more exact." By 1918 John Masefield could say of the American scene: "A great poetic revival is in progress" and could compare the period with the pre-Chaucerian and pre-Shakespearean ages as "making ready for the coming of a great poet."

B. Causes of the poetry revival.

It is not difficult to agree with Masters that the revival had no progenitor because it was no single movement but an agglomeration of many groups

ranging from imagists to realists, innovators to classicists. Nevertheless Wilkinson, Monroe and Henderson, Amy Lowell, and Untermeyer, all prophets of the renaissance, did point out various influences which doubtless were operative in producing the general ferment.

Wilkinson was the first publicly to recognize that America's "conquest of the continent" had created the leisure necessary for the enjoyment of beauty and led to the relegation of the "handmaid theory" of art.

Possibly a part of this emerging "aesthetic selfhood" can also be traced to the rediscovery of **Walt Whitman,** through French and American critical media. The French *vers librists* learned something of their technique from Whitman—though in an intellectualized form that the lusty Walt might ill have recognized—and the *vers librists* early became the spearhead of both defense and attack of the "new" poetry. Another early poet credited with influencing the "new" age is **Emily Dickinson.** Although she was less stridently acclaimed than Whitman (indeed Pattee says "she influenced young innovators in nothing save rebellion against law and order in versification"), Untermeyer could call her "a forerunner of the new spirit —free in expression, unhampered in choice of subject, keen in psychology— to which a countryful of writers has responded."

But not only the American tradition was drawn upon to feed the springs of inspiration. Longfellow had expropriated the riches of German and Italian and Scandinavian literature; now the seekers after a knowledge of "what poetry really is" turned even farther afield. To be sure, the French *vers librists* and symbolists were the direct inspiration of those who rallied around the Imagist standard; Greek poetry (notably in Masters's *Anthology*) and Italian canzones (*vide* Pound) and the songs of Provençal troubadours were levied upon. The poets turned eastward as well, and the decade abounds in translations and re-expressions of the Persian, the Sanskrit, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Hindu.

For all their flourish of new shibboleths, the "new" poets were insistent upon their place in "the great tradition," calling Keats, Burns, Coleridge, Shelley, and Byron to witness their right to discard the Chaucer-imposed iambic measure and seek "a vehicle suited to their own epoch and . . . mood."

A more immediate and mensurable contribution to the revival of poetry Miss Wilkinson credits to the many "unselfish men and women working for poetry as for a cause." **Jessie B. Rittenhouse** made her first appearance in 1904 with *Young American Poets;* her much better known *Little Book of Modern Verse* [American], in 1913, was the natural outgrowth of years of lecturing and otherwise encouraging innovators of poetic forms. Together with **Edward J. Wheeler,** then editor of *Current Opinion,* a magazine hospitable to new poets, Miss Rittenhouse founded in New York the Poetry Society of America, which soon had branches in many universities and women's clubs. Another sponsor of poets was **William Stanley Braithwaite,** who began in 1913 the annual publication of an *Anthology of Magazine*

Verse. The patron saint of the "new" poetry was Harriet Monroe whose *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse* was the great inspiration, with the slogan: "To have great poets you must have great audiences."

C. The revival of poetry.

During the last half of the decade the air was full of poetic excitement. Everyone was writing poetry or trying to write it; everyone was reading it or intending to. In April 1913, **Max Eastman's** *The Enjoyment of Poetry* appeared and was reprinted six times before nine years had elapsed. In that record lies a reflection of the period's expanding audience for poetry. Poetry magazines and books of poetry were published in abundance, lectures were given and attended, and *Spoon River Anthology* became a best-seller. Poetry was in the air!

It was a new poetry that was being produced: new forms, new meters, and subject matter; the language of poetry was undergoing a surface change. To be conventional was to be condemned. The "new poets" were striving desperately to express the temper of the age as they interpreted it. Experimentalism had begun as early as 1912 with **Ezra Pound's** *Ripostes,* which was influential though never widely read. **T. S. Eliot** was another leader. His models were followed by devoted young poetasters who produced strange distortions in their efforts to be "modern."

New schools sprang up, only to die inglorious deaths by the end of the decade—imagism, symbolism, polyphonic prose, *vers libre,* vorticism, experimentalism of all kinds. They had many features in common, chiefly the challenging of the old idea that only a narrow range of subjects belonged to the poet. Amy Lowell and her Imagists were probably the outstanding and the most capable of the experimenters. The Imagists professed a set of definite tenets: freedom of form (usually free verse), freedom of subject matter, exactness, concentration, and an aversion to all poetic clichés. **Amy Lowell's** critical analysis of the Imagists and their creed (*Tendencies in Modern American Poetry,* 1917) defined the school and distinguished it from other experimental groups. She had both social position and courage, and as Allen Tate declared, "Miss Lowell's talent for being a popular figure had convinced the public, for a time, that it was interested in poetry." This "militant exponent" of the new verse gathered the raw recruits of the movement into a company to give it force and direction. Able lieutenants were **John Gould Fletcher** and **H.D.,** Imagists both, who were widely read and much imitated.

Vachel Lindsay earlier attracted attention with his strongly marked rhythms and his vivid poetic diction, although he differed widely in theory and practice from other members of the group. **Masters, Millay,** even poets like **Robinson** and **Frost** who remained conventional in metrical patterns were taken up "on the rising sea of the time and were soon riding the full crest of the wave."

While Amy Lowell, Fletcher, and other experimenters made an impression for a time, much of their influence and most of the force of the movement they represented had been dissipated in seven or eight years. These

"radical engineers of renascence," in their revolt against the poetry of the past and conventionality of form, stressed variety and technique to the neglect of unity, articulateness, thought, and emotion, and thus failed to produce lasting achievement. That part of the movement known as Imagism was largely played out by 1920. It had lasted only five spectacular years and died because it was art-shop poetry. William Troy, in offering an explanation of its downfall, remarked: "Imagism was doomed to become a dead movement not only because it was barren of ideas, but also because it was deficient in the special kind of intelligence that is required for finer poetry. Imagist verse, except for the best of H.D. and Pound, is vague, pallid, and diffuse. It is poetry conceived under too low an intellectual pressure ever to become crystallized into meaning!"

D. The Midwestern school of new poets.

1. Stimulated by the free verse in *Poetry* (1914), **Masters** began to write a series of short poems, in the form of confessional epitaphs, built upon the paradoxical idea that death unstoppers speech rather than seals it. The book was hailed by certain critics as a sociological picture of a midwestern village, but to the census-taker it would seem unconventional, exaggerated, and formula-written. No town has such a category of misfits, frustrates, and morbid individuals; but here in Spoon River are some two hundred or more—

> The weak of will, the strong of arm, the clown, the boozer, the fighter—
> All, all, are sleeping on the hill.

In the healthier atmosphere of today, when not every protest against smugness pleases, we may weigh the merits of Spoon River: the catastrophes that Masters chronicles are too violent; the doomsday realism is sensational, with a law-court unusualness; the characters are too sex-ridden (one hundred victims of sex in one form or another). The poet seems to be saying that all human life is full of dishonesty and repression, and that only when dead, and thus beyond fear, want, or desire, can individuals speak the truth. Corollary to this is the conviction that most people are but "whited sepulchres," gleaming without and corrupt within. Such a view has its limitations; yet Masters was concerned with real social sins and flings out against exploitation as an essential feature of selfish individualism parading as business. The quality of his verse is unquestionably uneven though at times powerful. In his later volumes, of which there are many, he seems never to have reached the goal he achieved in his first.

2. **Vachel Lindsay** as a poet possessed a whimsical and liberating imagination and an almost evangelic zeal for beauty. Early in the decade this obscure aspirant for poetical distinction went on what one might designate as a Western preaching tour in which he campaigned for beauty and distributed or sold his pamphlet, *Rhymes to be Traded for Bread.* In 1912, *Poetry* began publication, and Lindsay was one of the earliest

discoveries. He came out with a volume of poems in 1913, but it was not until *The Congo and Other Poems* (1914) that his fame mounted. Though for a time he was heralded, much to his dismay, as a "jazz" poet, in soberer estimates he was regarded as a kind of modern troubadour, chanting upon national "reciting tours." He thus speedily won renown and appreciation of his technique. Such recitals were necessary to make understood his peculiar manner of verse, half-spoken, half-sung. Poetry, according to this poet, was to be recited as the choral ode was recited, with the employment of positive musical strains where the lyricism of the theme demanded it.

The medium harmonized in turn with his lyrical convictions: faith in beauty, goodness, and rural democracy; the genuine drama of the present; the vitality of the common.

A second popular volume was published by Lindsay in 1917, *The Chinese Nightingale and Other Poems.* Of interest to readers of his poetry is his "Autobiographical Foreword" in the 1923 collected edition of his poems.

3. **Carl Sandburg,** more than any other of the "new school" poets of the decade, spoke out in his own authentic tones and in sharp awareness of his environment. His literary career as such began in 1914 when Monroe's *Poetry* magazine accepted his "Chicago" and other poems. This and subsequent contributions were printed in 1916 in *Chicago Poems.* They were followed by *Cornhuskers* (1918), *Smoke and Steel* (1920), and *Slabs of the Sunburnt West* (1922). These titles make clear, better than phrases of description, the world he concerns himself with. It is a world larger than Chicago or the prairies that he celebrates: it is the whole tempo of American life, cities viewed in their representative capacity, and the industrial and agricultural life of the whole nation. Here the parallel with Whitman springs to mind. His wide sympathies include the steel of Chicago, the red chrysanthemums blooming from the chimneys of foundries, the prairie flowers, broad harvest fields, the grave. Because he writes from some inner necessity, he gives no thought to traditional laws or patterns and he carries the free-verse principles to the straining point. He does not always succeed in the interpretation of things that come within his vision and the words he employs are not always those immediately accepted by his readers as poetical. Such practice makes for power and vigor, but it also makes for uncouth images and strange and rending ideas.

E. Traditional poets given impetus by the revival.

1. The work of **Edwin Arlington Robinson** is full demonstration that merit does not spring merely from novelty of material and that great poetry may have features which commend it only to the accessible few. During half the decade under consideration Robinson was virtually ignored. In 1910 he published *The Town Down the River* (containing *The Master,* a strong poem in praise of Lincoln), and after its publication gave his time entirely to literary work. After an attempt at play-

writing, he published *The Man Against the Sky* (1916). *Merlin* (1917) and *Lancelot* (1920) followed, and in 1921 his *Collected Poems* which, though not signalizing the end of his career, afford a stopping place for summary judgment.

It was the success of the 1916 volume that brought to the attention of American readers Robinson's earlier unrecognized works, volumes written in obscurity but with exquisite finish and searching analysis. Robinson's style was not revolutionary (he began his poetic career with the study of Hardy and Crabbe, as befitted the chronicler of Tilbury Town), but he did introduce a psychological technique that seemed not only ingenious but mature as well. Robinson was interested in the more unusual aspects of man's individual vision: he anticipated the dominant theme of the twenties in his concern with the tragic "incongruities in human character" and his analysis of the failures of life. In this category belong Richard Cory, Miniver Cheevy, Captain Craig, and that series of memorable personalities that readers after 1915 were discovering. His recurrent themes are human, psychological reactions to an untoward universe, the study of man as affected by the failure of his endeavors writhing in the throes of spiritual struggle.

Even the Arthurian poems of Robinson are not totally attuned to old-world culture: they are not chivalric nor sentimental in the Tennysonian sense.

> Mankind, these poems seem to hint, is made up of doomed creatures all moving to their end according to some scheme which they cannot understand, with no absolute consolation except that possibly they may be able to perceive their fate and so not be duped by it into cherishing false hopes. (Shafer.)

2. **Robert Frost's** *A Boy's Will* and *North of Boston,* published in London, were reissued in America in 1915. In 1916 appeared *Mountain Interval,* and with this threefold claim to notice, Frost began to gain fame.

His poetry conveys the life of New England "North of Boston" in all its homespun variety: it is sometimes too accurately descriptive of its abandoned farms, sometimes too hauntingly close to the manner of a region, but whatever his success in his medium, he never attempts sensationalism to achieve his effects. In a quiet manner and with simplicity he portrays the struggle of rural dwellers, the harshness of life eked out by scratching about on rocky hillsides.

Frost's poetry from the first has been written in conventional lyric form and blank verse. To the poetic style that became popular in the twenties he has not subscribed. In one of his college lectures he pointed out his own concept of realism: "There are two types of realist—the one who offers a good deal of dirt with his potato to prove that it is a real one; and the one who is satisfied with his potato scrubbed clean—To me the thing that art does for life is to strip it to form." Such reticence in style may still enrich meaning, as Frost so ably demonstrates, even without

an attempt to make clear the representative nature of the incident or character.

F. Other voices.

1. **Arthur Davison Ficke** issued in 1914 a volume of *Sonnets of a Portrait-Painter* which has strong appeal for those who like a narrative basis for a sonnet sequence. It is a story of the love of an artist for his beloved. Although the sequence lacks a sustained continuity, individual sonnets are beautiful and compelling; and at times he sounds an intensely lyrical note. Of the ten volumes of poetry which Ficke has published, these sonnets are undoubtedly the best. At all times he is subjective, expressing a love for the beauties of life with genuine poetic artistry.
2. Although **Torrence** spent many years as poetry editor of the *New Republic,* fulfilling his position with distinction, it is as a poet that he is important. His poetry reveals an artistry of form and an exactness of realism that marks him as a great, if not a prolific, poet.
3. The poetry of **Sara Teasdale** in the years between 1910 and 1920 revealed the development of the technician into the artist. Her *Helen of Troy and Other Poems* (1911) was inexperienced. With *Rivers to the Sea* (in 1915), the artist began to appear and she sounded what came to be her characteristic note. *Love Songs* and *Flame and Shadow,* released in 1917 and 1920 respectively, carried on the feminine version of the human love story as seen by a now fully developed and sensitive creative genius. Sara Teasdale's poetry is always highly personalized. She expresses emotion simply and delicately, but with intensity of feeling and subtleties of rhythm and harmony. Love, life, beauty, their transitoriness—these are her themes, expressed in terms of her own reactions to them. Her poems sometimes lack depth, but they never lack seriousness of purpose or sincerity. Although her range is narrow, within its limits there is perfection of lyricism and feeling.

VI. LITERARY ARBITERS.

"The New Criticism" appeared simultaneously with the New Poetry and was just as remarkable a development. The lively discussion of critical principles, which persisted throughout the decade, involved many antagonistic views. There was the conflict between the staunch defenders of the old critical tradition based on classical standards and the modernists who questioned those standards. There was the division between those who measured literary works as products of their time and those who sought to consider them in a kind of critical vacuum, with little or no regard to historical factors. Disputes also arose between the liberal and conservative sociological critics. The controversies flourished on two levels. To the scholars **Joel E. Spingarn** addressed (1910) his blasts against all old kinds of criticism and his praise of Croce. To the scholars **John Macy** presented his revaluations in *The Spirit of American Literature* (1913), **Van Wyck Brooks** announced *America's Coming of Age* (1915), and **Paul Elmer More** offered his defense of tradition by careful evaluations of the finest thought of the past and by his stress upon the distinction between man's way and nature's way. In this tradition were **Irving Babbitt,**

whose *New Laocoön,* a plea for fixed standards in ethics, art, criticism, and literature, influenced academic thought for many years, and **Stuart P. Sherman,** whose mixture of humanism and democracy and stress upon sound psychological truth in the artist's picture of life gave him a place of significance in the critical world. All three types of criticism he held in fairly even balance. For the general public **James Huneker, H. L. Mencken,** and **George Jean Nathan** smashed old idols and discovered new geniuses in each issue of the *Smart Set, Puck,* and other magazines and newspapers. Earliest of this group was Huneker who, in his impressionistic articles, revealed a complete divorce of moral attitudes from criticism. His *Promenade of an Impressionist* (1910) and *Ivory, Apes and Peacocks* (1915) gained him a following among young writers.

VII. THE ESSAY.

A. The familiar essay.

In the decade came the first considerable development in American literature of what we designate as the personal or informal essay; it made its way despite the concern of Americans with wartime affairs and postwar problems. This type of essay had, since Montaigne, been various in form, exercising a freedom from restraint and following the dictates only of poise, good taste, and individual whim. By 1920 it had become even lighter, more informal than in the days of Lamb, and witnessed, if possible, a stronger infusion of personality. It was full of "sparrow whimsies," reverie, and moods. Thus glowing with intimacy, it became charmingly companionable: it created the "feeling that behind the words is a human being and not an omniscient voice." The manner was totally foreign to formal argument, didactic sermons, or muckraking revelations: it was devoted to the entertainment or cultural stimulation of the reader. In form it grew to have less structure than essays of Emerson, displaying few outward marks or organic bonds whereby outline might be detected. Toward the end of the decade it enjoyed for a time a revival, especially in the *Atlantic Monthly* collections, but it never became a highly popular form despite the ripe talent and leisurely mood exhibited in its composition.

In this informal essay, established writers, such as **E. S. Martin** and **Agnes Repplier,** were still active; from the latter a total of three volumes (*Americans and Others,* 1912, *Counter-Currents,* 1916, and *Points of Friction,* 1920) maintained her name before a new generation of readers. Martin's sole effort in the decade was *Reflections of a Beginning Husband.* Also active was **Samuel McChord Crothers** whose reputation had been gained as early as 1903, but who was in full career with *Among Friends, Humanly Speaking,* and *Pleasures of an Absentee Landlord.* Scholarly and mature, these essays emphasize his sensitive and cultured personality and his whimsical good-humor.

Meanwhile new voices were being heard. **Katherine Fullerton Gerould** began an essay career by scattered magazine pieces, in part collected in *Modes and Morals* (1920). **Elizabeth Woodbridge (Morris)** published three volumes in six years, ranging in interest from out-of-door sketches and farming experiences to literary matters and delightful trifles. The

essays were all highly personalized, with mild reflections and applications or light paradox terminating them. **Charles S. Brooks** started with Yale Press editions of *Journeys to Bagdad, There's Pippins and Cheese to Come,* and *Chimney-Pot Papers.* **Robert Cortes Holliday** in the three years from 1918 to 1920 published four volumes of charming essays, the titles of which give strong hint of their contents: *Walking-Stick Papers* (1918), *Peeps at People* (1919), *Broome Street Straws* (1919), and *Men and Books and Cities* (1920), volumes instinct with charm into which he projected his own personality. Other essayists of the period included Ralph Bergengren, Frances Warner, Winifred Kirkland, and Meredith Nicholson.

A special class with a large following was the columnists, journalists whose writings must be listed as familiar essays. Chief among these was **Christopher Morley,** who had the proper combination of urbanity, pleasant sophistication, fantasy, and self-revelation to make his works palatable in an age beginning to be annoyed with the inevitable impersonality of large commercial journals. The first collected series of Morley was brought out in 1921, but prior to that appeared his *Shandygaff* (1918), *Mince Pie* (1919), and *Pipefuls* (1920). In 1921 he began the editing of a series of *Modern Essays.*

B. The nature essay.

1. Closely related to the strictly informal essay is the nature or travel volume. **John Muir** in 1911 published *My First Summer in the Sierras,* an extended autobiographical chapter, and in the following years of the decade went into final printed form. Muir had for years been too busy with solitary expeditions to polish his quantities of notes for book publication. Before 1911, he had, in fact, written only two books, but in 1912 came *The Story of My Boyhood and Youth,* a book of notable vitality, simple sincerity, full of anecdotes and adventure and observation. In 1915 his *Travels in Alaska,* posthumously published, told the story of his exploring expeditions in 1879 and later. Muir died in 1914 but his notes and journals came into the hands of William Frederic Badé, who brought out three additional volumes: *A Thousand Mile Walk to the Gulf* (1916), *The Cruise of the Corwin* (1917) and *Steep Trails* (1918). All these volumes testify to his wealth of experience, the breadth of his imagination, to his poetic delight in nature's majesty and his appreciation of the wild. Enjoyment of solitude in isolated wildernesses and the breathless sublimity of mountain heights are recorded with real illumination in sensitive descriptions.

2. In the field of naturalism Muir's work was not an isolated phenomenon, for **John Burroughs** was author of six books after 1910, one of them posthumously published in 1922 (*Collected Works,* 1922). Burroughs's ideas were gleaned from Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman, and for a time, in the Rooseveltian period, he evinced enthusiastic satisfaction with science. Four volumes from 1912 to 1916, however, were produced under the philosophical pressure of *Creative Evolution.* About 1911, according to his biographer, his reading of Bergson began, and forthwith

Burroughs accepted joyously the Frenchman's celebration of intuition and instinct as a happy rounding out of man's vision of the world. Thus for several years Burroughs viewed skeptically the attempt to understand nature by means of intellect. Before 1920, however, he returned to early masters.

3. In 1918 **William Beebe** took over the work of these two and began his jungle series, the first of which was *Jungle Peace,* in which "a scientist is not so important with his science that he is obsessed by it." Beebe was a naturalist who could express his observations, his moods, and experiences with imagination and charm, a man who perceived with intensity and related with clarity.

VIII. The Professional Best-Sellers.

In order to make the story of literature at all adequate, the sub-literary activities of the best-sellers must be taken into account. In this group there stands **Gene Stratton-Porter,** whose first popular work had been produced in 1903, but whose later novels were a publisher's phenomenon in the World War decade, especially *Girl of the Limberlost* and *The Harvester* (1912) and *Laddie* (1913). She employed an attractive combination of nature rhapsody, simple emotion, and domesticated primitivism. Equally popular was **Harold Bell Wright,** who produced several important titles during the decade, averaging one for every two years. Included in his writings are *The Winning of Barbara Worth* (1911) and *When a Man's a Man* (1916). Other best sellers of those days included **John Fox, Jr.** (in reprintings), **Henry Sydnor Harrison,** and **Joseph C. Lincoln.** The latter, while exploiting the peculiarities of Cape Cod folk in a popular vein that did not bear close scrutiny, nevertheless had an element of sincerity that somewhat commended his work to the critical.

IX. American Drama, 1910–1920.

A. The dramatic scene.

After the death of Clyde Fitch and William Vaughn Moody, there was a definite lull in dramatic activity, though by mid-decade a renewal of interest in the theatre was perceptible. But stage drama was no sooner off upon a new start than it received a setback. The movie had come to stay, and Hollywood had become the producing center for celluloid drama that was to take over more and more areas. With its standardization of plot motifs and its search for emotional appeals of the lowest common denominator, it led to great competition in the commercial houses for plays that could compete: those with a limited appeal to "intellectuals" were all too frequently crowded out. But it was not long before the art theatres and other independent agencies became interested in such plays as the professional theatre would not venture into backing; and many new factors, meanwhile, prepared the way for change and experimentation. Theatre-goers organized themselves into a protective Drama League of America in 1910. Visiting foreign companies, like the Irish Players in 1912, brought repertory ideas to our star-ridden stage. The designs of Max Reinhardt, Gordon Craig, and Joseph Urban offered relief

from Belasco realism. **Percy MacKaye's** pageants put thousands of amateur actors on the stage. Soon the little theatre movement, stimulated by reaction to the policies of the commercial syndicate and offering an outlet for scores of people who had no other opportunity for self-expression, grew mightily even in isolated communities. All the large cities of the United States responded to the movement, and soon even a book upon "Little Theatres" appeared. Such groups as the Provincetown Players and the Washington Square Players led the way to a full development. (The hey-day of the movement, however, was in the twenties.) During the decade there was a marked awareness of the Continental activities of Strindberg, Shaw, Chekhov, Maeterlinck, Dunsany, Sudermann, and others.

B. Representative figures.

1. **Eugene Walter** gave several fine examples of the heightened new melodrama. In *The Easiest Way* (1908), *Fine Feathers* (1912), and *The Knife* (1917) there is melodrama with real artistic treatment and human appeal.
2. **George M. Cohan** made perhaps the greatest contributions to farce-comedy in the years after 1910. The comic element, indispensable in this form, came chiefly from use of realistic native actions, "catch" songs, and theatrical themes. *Get-Rich-Quick Wallingford* (1910) was one of the most successful plays, of which the title suggests the theme. *Seven Keys to Baldpate* (1913) is still popularly accepted. *The Miracle Man* (1914) rises above farce into a more serious vein.
3. **Edward Sheldon's** plays were typical of the definite American quality in the dramatists of the period. *The Nigger* and *The Boss* (both published in 1911) and *The High Road* (1912) depicted various phases of American life. *The Nigger* somewhat falsified the Southern Negro problem, but *The Boss* achieved truer standards of excellence. Politics and business formed its background, with the interest focused on the marital relations of an apparently incompatible couple. *Romance* (1913), the love story of an Italian opera singer, was his greatest popular success. Sheldon's theatrical technique and dramatic effectiveness were well illustrated in *Garden of Paradise,* a dramatization of Hans Andersen's *The Little Mermaid.* Sheldon, who revealed that he could handle both romance and realism, was somewhat handicapped by the box-office consciousness of commercial theatres.
4. **Rachel Crothers** was the outstanding feminine dramatist. Early in the decade she grappled with a topic then absorbing the energies of Herrick and Canfield, the problem of woman's place in modern society. The emergent woman appeared in *Ourselves* (1913) and *He and She* (1911, but titled *Herfords* in 1917), a play involving matrimony and professional jealousy. Based on an actual situation, *He and She* relates the story of a sculptor husband and wife who enter an important competition. The wife wins but gives up her artistic ambitions to let the husband take his rightful place as the breadwinner for the family.

Crothers's plays are primarily social comedies, made sprightly by the author's satire and thoughtful laughter, but treated with feminine grace and charm.

5. **Percy MacKaye,** getting away from Greek influence, produced several good plays upon American themes. *The Scarecrow* (first produced in 1910) was taken from the story of "Feathertop" by Hawthorne. In *Yankee Fantasies* (1912), a volume of one-act plays, native themes were treated, but with remoteness. Native realism in character and scene was best revealed by *This Fine-Pretty World* (1923), a comedy of the Kentucky mountains. During the decade MacKaye was busy with masques and pageants: A Masque of Labor (*Pittsburgh Pageant,* 1914), A Bird Masque (*Sanctuary,* 1913), A Civic Masque (*Saint Louis,* 1914), A Community Masque (*Caliban,* 1916), A Christmas Masque (*The Evergreen Tree,* 1917).
6. **Susan Glaspell** was the leading one-act playwright. Of the first collection of eight plays that she published, all had appeared under the auspices of the Provincetown Players. The best known of the volume is *Trifles,* a play of suppressed emotion heaping up an accumulation of circumstantial evidence. Plays in a lighter vein, but nevertheless important, are *The People, Suppressed Desires,* and *Tickless Time.*
7. Of the three long plays which **Philip Moeller** wrote, *Madame Sand* is best, though not greatly superior to his *Molière* (1919). It is based upon the life of the great French writer but unlike many biographical plays achieves sparkle and brilliance. The employment of three outstanding love affairs in as many acts does not destroy the essential unity of the piece nor does the broad verity of the portrait repress the comic elements inherent in her paradoxical life and character. Moeller's portrayal of the feminine novelist is alive, dramatic, and true to life. Besides his three long plays, Moeller has also written a number of light and clever one-act plays.
8. **Frank Bacon** wrote the most popular comedy-type drama of the period. (*Lightnin',* 1918). In this type he had been preceded by **Winchell Smith** (*The Boomerang,* 1916) and **Booth Tarkington** (*The Country Cousin,* 1917) and was followed by **Frank Craven** (*The First Year,* 1920).

X. Magazines of the Decade.

The great magazines of the decade, as in prior years, were *Scribner's, Century, Harper's,* and *Atlantic Monthly.* The *Century* continued its stress upon fiction and feature articles (art, travel, literature, etc.). It especially boasted progress in the art of illustration, as well it might, for **Alexander W. Drake,** great art editor, had been with the magazine from 1870 to 1915. From 1909 to 1913 **R. U. Johnson** was editor, with the policy of the magazine unchanged, but in the latter year there was a housecleaning of departments and other modernizations. "By 1919 the *Century* carried less illustration; the magazine was devoted mainly to public affairs and short stories." (Mott.)

Harper's, consistent in policy, held "interestingness" to be its keynote. It

averaged seven short stories a month (contributors included Howells, Deland, Wilkins, Glaspell, Hutchinson, May Sinclair, Conrad, Nicholson, etc.) and prided itself on publishing more articles on travel and adventure than any other magazine. It was also self-heralded as a non-technical magazine to which men of science regularly contributed. **Henry M. Alden** remained as editor of *Harper's* until 1919, terminating fifty years service at the editorial desk. Until 1921 **W. D. Howells** wrote the "Easy Chair" papers. The *Atlantic* remained divided between fiction, essay, poetry, and book reviewing. Editor of the decade was **Ellery Sedgwick,** under whose management the magazine displayed a paradoxical combination of liveliness and dignified composure. Mott thus described the change: "Under the new management the *Atlantic* showed a sense of the profound importance of the economic, social and political changes in contemporary life, all of which it reflected with dignity and frequently with literary charm." **E. L. Burlingame** ended a long editorship of *Scribner's Magazine* in 1914. From the beginning the magazine under his editing had maintained a high standard of excellence and progressiveness. In the year 1915 it described itself as a "charming companion of unquestioned good breeding" and as "constantly and sympathetically in *touch with life.*" *Scribner's* leaned heavily upon fiction, with Galsworthy, Wharton, Fox, and others furnishing serials, and Connolly, Gerould, Williams, Steele, Tassin, Bunner, Benefield included among those furnishing the monthly quota of short stories. War articles made inroads during 1917 and 1918 upon pages normally devoted to travel and fiction. Outstanding features of the decade were Theodore Roosevelt's "Hunter Naturalist in the Brazilian Wilderness," Colonel Goethals's story of the building of the Canal, and Edith Wharton's war reports from France.

Meanwhile there were changes in the magazine field. The *Dial,* which had been a conservative journal of literary criticism down to 1916, was reorganized in that year, left Chicago and conservatism, and until 1920 became a radical organ for the appreciation of new tendencies in literature and for the expression of opinions about world affairs. The *Independent* in 1913 came under the management of **Hamilton Holt,** changed format and went in for illustration. It absorbed the subscription lists of three other journals.

Lippincott's, which had enjoyed a reputation as a fiction magazine, was edited in its last two years by **E. F. Allen,** became *McBride's,* and under the new name died in less than a year (September 1915). Mention has been made elsewhere of the founding of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse.* The *New Republic,* championing the cause of liberalism, was founded in 1914. The *Nation,* until then without a rival in its field, underwent a change with the rise to the editorial chair of **Oswald Garrison Villard** in 1918.

CHAPTER XVIII

AFTER 1920

I. Fiction.

The World War, however destructive to the younger generation, did not obviously affect the writings of established American authors. **Mrs. Wharton,** after years of relief work, returned to her society novels with *The Age of Innocence* (1920). **Theodore Dreiser** resumed his verbose novels of the poor with his popular *An American Tragedy* (1925). **Ellen Glasgow,** continuing her series of realistic Southern tales, was discovered by the critics about 1925, and her novels *Barren Ground, The Romantic Comedians, They Stooped to Folly,* and *Vein of Iron* achieved phenomenal success. **Upton Sinclair** continued his exposés of corruption in America with *The Goose-Step, Oil,* and *Boston.* **Willa Cather,** though not improving on her early novels, still gained applause with Midwestern tales (*A Lost Lady, Lucy Gayheart*) and won new readers with her historical romances, *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927) and *Shadows on the Rock* (1931).

Booth Tarkington, alone of the elder writers, displayed a changed mood in the postwar years. *The Midlander* (1923) heaped up tragedy for its realtor-hero. After that Tarkington's tone reverted to its earlier gaiety, and his tales were interesting chiefly as tinted portraits of modern American life—the chain-store business (*Young Mrs. Greeley*), a summer resort (*Mary's Neck*), and an apartment house (*The Lorenzo Bunch,* 1936).

But for younger authors, the postwar mood was critical, disillusioned, bitter. The word "debunk" was coined by **W. E. Woodward** in 1923, and the "debunking" process was applied as generally as muckraking had been two decades earlier. "You are a lost generation," said **Gertrude Stein** to her Paris circle of American expatriates who had exchanged prohibition dollars for depreciated francs, and the phrase was applicable also to those who had not fled.

Perhaps no author expressed the postwar disillusionment so emphatically as did **Sinclair Lewis,** who began writing as a Yale undergraduate under the influence of H. G. Wells and Upton Sinclair. He soon abandoned their critical tone to sell sentimental verses and short stories to the popular magazines. His first five novels (except *The Job,* 1917) were Tarkington-like, semi-autobiographical confections. But he turned to satire in *Main Street* (1920); this scathing attack on small-town dullness and bigotry became unexpectedly a best-seller and started its author on a more independent, truth-seeking career.

Babbitt (1922) in its first hundred pages caricatured unforgettably the events of one typical day in the life of an American businessman. So vivid was the sketch that the chief character entered our language as a descriptive term. In *Arrowsmith* (1925), Lewis produced a real hero, a doctor who seeks truth in a hostile world of small-town superstition, city politics, laboratory jealousies, and humanitarian (though anti-scientific) impulses. With a positive central theme, memorable secondary characters, and a variety of scenes, it remains his best novel.

Dodsworth (1929) presented the successful American businessman in a more favorable light, though his wife compared him adversely with more polished and cultured European men. *Ann Vickers* (1933) treated feminism and reform work; *Work of Art* (1934), hotels. *It Can't Happen Here* (1935), more nearly approaching the subject matter of Upton Sinclair, was a

tract against fascism in the United States.

Outward marks of Lewis's success included a Pulitzer prize (1926—which he refused), and the Nobel prize (1930), in addition to stage and screen versions of most of his novels. Like Dickens, he is prolific in invention of characters and incidents, and vigorous in his satiric thrusts at contemporary evils.

Simultaneously with the rise of Lewis came a postwar change in short-story fashions. The surprise-ending formula of O. Henry that had satisfied writers in the previous decades now seemed overworked and mechanical. **Sherwood Anderson** and **Ring Lardner,** abetted by the foreign influences of Chekhov and Katherine Mansfield, led the way in shifting the emphasis in short stories from plot to characterization.

Sherwood Anderson first attracted wide critical attention by the publication of *Winesburg, Ohio* (1919), a collection of small-town character sketches that followed *Spoon River* and preceded *Main Street.* The author called *Winesburg* "The Book of the Grotesque," and his short-sentence style admirably reflected the bewildered thoughts of his moody adolescents and frustrated adults. Later came *Poor White* (1920), a novel dealing with the shift from farms to factories in rural Ohio; *Dark Laughter* (1925), which showed the influences of Freud and Miss Stein; and his revealing autobiography, *A Story-Teller's Story* (1924).

Anderson's chief success lay in analyzing mental currents, but, in contrast, **Ring Lardner's** concern was the accurate recording of common American speech. Graduating from the sports page of a newspaper, he pictured (and deflated) egotistic ballplayers, boxers, golfers, jazz musicians, and their fans. *Round-Up* (1929), his best and largest collection of short stories, shows both his accuracy in dialogue and his contempt for dullness and chicanery.

Other realistic expressions of postwar disillusion are found in **Zona Gale's** story of a drudge, *Miss Lulu Bett* (1920), **F. Scott Fitzgerald's** "flapper" novel, *This Side of Paradise* (1920), **Ernest Poole's** *Blind* (1920), **H. G. Aikman's** *Zell* (1921), **Charles Norris's** *Brass* (1921), **Floyd Dell's** autobiographical fiction, the Ohio and New England novels of **Louis Bromfield,** and **Ruth Suckow's** drab tales of Iowa.

So deep was the disillusion concerning the World War itself that from 1919 to 1921 American publishers accepted no material on this topic. Then **John Dos Passos** broke the ice with *Three Soldiers* (1921), a sensational tale that started a nine-year vogue of bitterly pacifistic novels, plays, and movies. Dos Passos's novel dealt not so much with battle scenes as with the debasing effects of army discipline. An ex-ambulance driver, **E. E. Cummings,** pictured the horrors of a military prison in *The Enormous Room* (1922). Less convincing were **Miss Cather's** *One of Ours* (1922) and **Mrs. Wharton's** *A Son at the Front* (1923). *What Price Glory?* by **Laurence Stallings** and **Maxwell Anderson** was the dramatic sensation of 1924. Later came **Hervey Allen's** autobiographic *Toward the Flame,* **Captain John Thomason's** reminiscences, *Fix Bayonets!* and **Leonard Nason's** neglected *Chevrons,* with its amusing dialogue and gruesome hospital scenes. The vogue reached its height in 1929 with four popular successes, all quickly transferred to the stage or motion pictures: R. C. Sherriff's play *Journey's End* (British), Arnold Zweig's *The Case of Sergeant Grischa,* Erich Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (both German novels), and **Ernest Hemingway's** *A Farewell to Arms.* After this outburst, the public, again surfeited with the War, turned to other literary themes.

The foregoing authors from Lewis to Hemingway brewed their bitterness out of the stuff of contemporary life, but a smaller group of authors mixed their satire with fantasy or romance. **Cabell** assembled his tales from many volumes of ancient folklore; **John Erskine** rewrote the Homeric and Arthurian legends; **Christopher Morley** and **Robert Nathan** utilized the present but viewed it through lenses of whimsy and

fantasy. Superficially all four wrote tales of escape, but in the course of their romancing, they hurled frequent darts of satire at the ills and paradoxes of modern life.

James Branch Cabell began writing romances—when tales of knighthood were in flower at the turn of the century—and he continued obscurely until the suppression of *Jurgen* (1919) as an immoral work. The four-year battle over this book made Cabell famous; during the conflict he revised and re-issued eight books and published eight new ones, among them his best romance, *Figures of Earth* (1921). His tales usually concern the medieval European kingdom of Poictesme; Jurgen is his Ulysses, rover and lover, and Manuel his national hero, compounded of Christ and Achilles. His style is rhythmic, archaic, ornate; he weights his narrative with the philosophy of escape, yet spices it with subtle ironies, malicious comments on his contemporaries, and *doubles entendres*. The work of "Branch Cabell," his more recent cognomen, is far less significant.

Christopher Morley's essays, poems, and novels are all in the familiar style; his realism dissolves in sentiment and caprice; puns explode on every page. His early novel, *Parnassus on Wheels* (1917), inspired several traveling bookshop ventures, but the more pungent *Where the Blue Begins* (1922) is perhaps his best novel. His introspective autobiography, *John Mistletoe* (1931), and his *Translations from the Chinese* (verse) are among his best books.

John Erskine kept faithfully to ancient legends in *The Private Life of Helen of Troy* (1925) and similar novels, but he filled gaps in the tales with psychological interpretations and witty dialogue which reflected his own views on modern problems. **Robert Nathan,** like Morley, treated the present fantastically. His melancholy tales of schoolmasters, puppets, talking animals, and angels showed the influence of Anatole France. Though regularly praised by the critics, he has enjoyed only one popular success, *One More Spring* (1933).

In the early twenties most of the disillusioned novelists expressed their criticisms in conventional patterns; Lewis, for example, was a twentieth-century caricaturist like Dickens, a documenter like Zola. But the younger writers often ignored problems of subject matter and devoted themselves to experiments in form. These were most obvious in poetry and the drama, but they were also reflected in fiction.

The importance of **James Joyce's** *Ulysses* (1922) as an influence on our experimental fiction cannot be over-rated. His "stream-of-consciousness" method (borrowed from Dujardin) presented the disorderly flow of thoughts and emotions in equally disorderly prose. His verbal combinations (end-to-end as in "greengoldenly," or superimposed as in "benighth"—*night* plus *beneath*) attracted both scoffers and imitators. While no one has attempted a second *Ulysses,* its style may be found in scattered short passages of Lewis, Stallings, Bromfield, Dos Passos, Faulkner, Thomas Wolfe, Saroyan, and others.

Gertrude Stein's prose pointillism (with repetitions replacing grammar—"A rose is a rose is a rose") was used in much modified fashion by Sherwood Anderson, Hemingway, and Fanny Hurst. **Proust's** method, with its sudden excursions back and forth in time, attracted admiration in this country rather than imitation. **Edmund Wilson's** *I Thought of Daisy* (1929) is a notable exception. More important, however, than these technical innovations was the popular discovery of Freud in the early twenties. Novelists, like Anderson, the chief and best representative of the psychoanalytical school, too often burdened their narratives with long analyses in the Freudian manner.

Ablest of the American experimental novelists is **John Dos Passos.** From expressionistic drama or the motion picture he borrowed the device of sudden shifts without transitions; from Joyce he took the stream-of-consciousness method and some verbal eccentricities. Then in his trilogy, *U. S. A.* (*The Forty-Second Parallel, 1919, The Big Money*), he provided a factual

background for his story with three devices of his own. Biographical sketches of prominent persons (Wilson, Debs, Ford, etc.) throw a slanting light on his fictitious characters; "newsreels" present a mixture of newspaper headlines, speeches, and songs of the period; and the "camera eye" records rather vaguely the author's personal recollections of the time.

Ernest Hemingway, war ambulance driver and friend of Dos Passos, is less of an experimenter. The early influence of Sherwood Anderson is most obvious in the short, staccato sentences of Hemingway's stories. In postwar Paris he came under the sway of Miss Stein, and her fondness for repetition appears in his dialogue, though he rarely follows her in abandoning grammar. In fiction and nonfiction Hemingway is always semi-autobiographical. He based his best novel, *A Farewell to Arms,* on his observations in wartime Italy; *The Sun Also Rises* portrayed his "lost generation" in Paris; other books (dealing with bull fights, hunting and fishing expeditions, Western and Florida scenes) reflect his later life.

Most notable and most imitated of his characteristics is Hemingway's "hard-boiled" manner—his blunt statement of events without benefit of psychological analysis or auctorial omniscience. This "behavioristic" (a term borrowed by the critics from Dr. John B. Watson's psychology) method is the opposite of Joyce's; its speed and vigor half conceal from the reader the author's underlying sentimentality.

Hemingway's hard-boiled tales are usually concerned with normal persons in shocking situations, but his followers in their efforts to shock frequently use abnormal characters. Thus **William Faulkner's** grotesques, unlike Sherwood Anderson's, are violent and dangerous; his *Sanctuary* (1931) combines Poe-like horrors with Freudian abnormalities. **Erskine Caldwell's** *Tobacco Road* (1932) treats Georgia "crackers" with a mixture of humor and naturalism. Other disciples of what Henry Seidel Canby has called "The Cult of Cruelty" include **James T. Farrell, John O'Hara, James M. Cain,** and **John T. McIntyre.**

The depression brought forth a radical effort to direct this naturalistic writing into the channels of Marxian propaganda. Dreiser's *Tragic America* (1932), Sherwood Anderson's *Beyond Desire* (1933), Hemingway's Spanish war reporting, and some writings of Caldwell and Farrell illustrate this shift. But most of the proletarian novelists were radicals capable of only one or two semi-autobiographical novels—three notable exceptions being **Albert Halper** (*The Foundry*), **B. Traven** (*The Death Ship*), and John Steinbeck (*Of Mice and Men, The Grapes of Wrath*). Josephine Lawrence's domestic tragedies (*Years Are So Long*) and Thomas Wolfe's lyric broodings (*Look Homeward, Angel*) reflect middle-class perturbation.

The reading public, however, has more and more frequently sought escape from such naturalism in the delights of historical romance. Since 1925 best-selling lists have usually included one or more of these escapes to the past. In addition to the imported tales of Sabatini and P. C. Wren, the following American romances have been successively popular in recent years: **James Boyd's** *Drums,* **Thornton Wilder's** *The Bridge of San Luis Rey,* **O. E. Rolvaag's** *Giants in the Earth,* **Edna Ferber's** *Cimarron,* **Joseph Hergesheimer's** *The Limestone Tree,* **Elizabeth Madox Roberts's** *The Great Meadow,* **Willa Cather's** *Shadows on the Rock,* **Hervey Allen's** *Anthony Adverse,* **James Boyd's** *Roll River,* **Margaret Mitchell's** *Gone with the Wind,* **Walter Edmonds's** *Drums Along the Mohawk,* **Kenneth Roberts's** *Northwest Passage,* and **Frank Hough's** *Renown.*

II. The Drama.

In the first decade of the twentieth century the American drama was a stagnant art in the grip of the "Theatrical Trust," but signs of new life appeared about 1910. The Klaw and Erlanger monopoly met rivalry and defeat. Subsidized "New Theatres"

were built in Chicago and New York. In colleges Professors George Pierce Baker, Frederick H. Koch, and their followers taught playwriting successfully. And the "Little Theatre craze," beginning about 1909, spread to 464 groups in the United States by 1923. Of these the two most important were in New York City: the Washington Square Players, who reorganized as the Theatre Guild in 1919, and the Provincetown Players, who sponsored all of Eugene O'Neill's early plays. The result of all these activities was a flowering of American drama in the decade of the twenties, limited to the largest cities because of the inroads of the movies elsewhere, but higher in quality than ever before in the history of our theatre.

The same year (1920) that saw the emergence of Sinclair Lewis marked the arrival of **Eugene O'Neill** in the Broadway theatre. Before that he had done odd jobs in his father's theatrical company, shipped as a sailor as a result of reading Jack London and Conrad, studied playwriting a year under Baker at Harvard, and worked five years at writing, producing, and acting in one-act plays for the Provincetown group in Massachusetts and New York.

The World War affected him less than his personal troubles—tubercular, marital, economic, philosophic. His plays, therefore, from 1915 to 1925 are based on what he experienced and saw: jungle, New England farms, sailors, "lungers," gold-hunters, etc. Rough yet poetic, they remain his best work. Two, *Beyond the Horizon* (1920) and *Anna Christie* (1921), won Pulitzer awards, and *The Emperor Jones* (1920) has had a triple life as play, opera, and movie.

Since 1925 his plays (with the exception of *Ah, Wilderness!*, 1933) have been not recollections but dramatizations of ideas—and O'Neill is no more a philosopher than Theodore Dreiser. He has frequently borrowed the situation of his plays: *Marco Millions* (1928) from the Marco Polo legends, *Lazarus Laughed* (1928) from the Bible, *Dynamo* (1929) from Henry Adams, and *Mourning Becomes Electra* (1931) from Greek drama. Only one of these symbolic plays, *Strange Interlude* (1928), has enjoyed great success; dealing with a heroine "lost" in the postwar world, it is closer to the times than perhaps any other of his plays.

It is the almost unanimous opinion of critics that O'Neill is the greatest American dramatist; foreign recognition has come with numerous productions in Europe and the Nobel prize award in 1936. He is perhaps unique among modern authors in presenting life as a struggle of man against fate rather than against environment.

In addition to his own merits, however, he has been invaluable in freeing the theatre for further experiments. Almost all his plays except the reminiscent *Ah, Wilderness!* challenge the conventions of the stage. He has revived the use of masks, the soliloquy, and the aside; he has written successful half-length and double-length plays. His characters grapple with the sea and fall down to worship dynamos. He tackles the forbidden themes of infanticide and miscegenation. His high percentage of successes has encouraged managers to allow other dramatists to experiment more freely.

Most of the American experimenters merely copied the symbolism and the short, swift scenes of expressionistic European plays, some of which the Theatre Guild was producing on Broadway. The Guild itself sponsored **Elmer Rice's** *The Adding Machine* (1923) and **John Howard Lawson's** *Processional* (1925). Lawson's earlier *Roger Bloomer* flourished briefly in Greenwich Village, and many other experimenters owed their production to Little Theatre groups. Except for O'Neill the most persistent of the innovators were probably Lawson, Rice, and **Philip Barry.** **Marc Connelly's** Biblical, musical, Negro fantasy, *The Green Pastures* (1930) rivaled the amazing success of O'Neill's *Strange Interlude.*

The only parallel to O'Neill's long list of hits is the record of **George S. Kaufman,** author of seventeen successful comedies since 1921. All but one are collaborations.

With Marc Connelly he wrote *To the Ladies* (1922) and *Beggar on Horseback* (a dream fantasy); with Edna Ferber, *The Royal Family, Dinner at Eight,* and *Stage Door;* with Morrie Ryskind, the musical political satire, *Of Thee I Sing;* and with Moss Hart, *Once in a Lifetime* and *You Can't Take It with You.* A skillful constructor of plots and a master of witty, satirical dialogue, Kaufman enhances his farcical situations with sparkling commentary on contemporary life. Other writers of comedy have enjoyed less constant success than Kaufman. **S. N. Behrman,** a graduate of Baker's course at Harvard, concealed thin plots beneath his brilliant dialogue in *The Second Man* and *Biography.* **Barry's** conventional treatments of the eternal triangle in *Holiday* and *The Animal Kingdom* were box-office successes, but his more original attempts at fantasy, *In a Garden* and *White Wings,* were less fortunate. **George Kelly,** a Philadelphia graduate from vaudeville ranks, is well known for *The Show-Off, Craig's Wife* (1925), and other bitter-sweet comedies of middle-class family life. **Rachel Crothers** in recent years continued her series of problem-comedies with *Expressing Willie, When Ladies Meet, Susan and God,* and other timely plays.

Regional plays flourished for a time in the twenties. Under the guidance of Professor Koch at the University of North Carolina, **Paul Green** wrote plays about that area—notably *In Abraham's Bosom* (1926) and *The House of Connelly* (1931). **Lynn Riggs** combined rhythmic dialogue and folk ballads in *Green Grow the Lilacs* and *Big Lake.* **Lulu Vollmer's** grim tragedy of poor mountain whites, *Sun-Up* (1923), eventually proved popular enough to be filmed, and the Caldwell-Kirkland *Tobacco Road* has exceeded even the record-breaking Broadway run of **Anne Nichols's** *Abie's Irish Rose* (1922).

Postwar problems furnished themes for several liberal or radical dramatists. **Sidney Howard,** Baker-trained and a student of industrial life, is best known for his pragmatic melodrama, *They Knew What They Wanted* (1924), and his mordant study of mother-love, *The Silver Cord* (1926). He was also highly successful as a translator of foreign plays and as an adapter of novels for stage and screen. **Elmer Rice** scored hits with two plays of New York life, *Street Scene* (1929) and *Counsellor-at-Law* (1931). **Robert E. Sherwood** followed Shaw in witty dramatic parables; from *The Road to Rome* (1927) to *Idiot's Delight* (1936) pacifism is his favorite theme, though he has treated other subjects in *Reunion in Vienna* and *The Petrified Forest.* The depression turned Paul Green and Elmer Rice to proletarian themes, but their radical and experimental plays were not so successful as those of **Clifford Odets** and **George Sklar.**

Most versatile and successful of this group of "problem playwrights," however, is **Maxwell Anderson.** Pacifism, unjust courts (especially in the Sacco-Vanzetti case), crooked politicians, crass commercialism have been treated in his vigorous, moving plays. His best-known prose plays are *What Price Glory?* (with Stallings), *Saturday's Children,* and *Both Your Houses* (1933). After 1930 his loose blank verse was successful both in historical dramas like *Elizabeth the Queen* and in modern plays about gangsters and crooks such as *Winterset* and *High Tor.* As O'Neill produces less frequently, critical attention and argument center more and more on the unusual blends of realism, fantasy, propaganda, and verse that characterize many of Anderson's dramas.

III. Poetry.

The trends of poetry since the World War resemble those of prose fiction. A group of prewar poets survived with little change, whereas the younger poets exemplified disillusion, experiments in form, the cult of cruelty, and an escape to the past.

The "New Poetry" movement was a war casualty even though the poets themselves survived. The three most conventional bards fared best. **E. A. Robinson** (1869–1935) reached an increasing public with the fanfare of several collected editions, three Pulitzer prizes, and a book-club distribution

of *Tristram* in 1927. **Robert Frost** also gained acclaim through new volumes, *New Hampshire* (1923), *West-Running Brook* (1928), *A Further Range* (1936), prizes, popular lectures, and residence on several college campuses. **Conrad Aiken,** combining the rhythms of Yeats and the psychology of Freud, gained widespread recognition in the twenties. **Elinor Wylie,** flowering late and dying early, reflected Shelley and Donne in dazzling gem and metallic metaphors.

But **Amy Lowell's** popularity, so dependent on her vivid personality, declined after her death in 1925. **Masters,** still prolific in verse and prose, never equaled his *Spoon River* success. **Lindsay,** moodiest of minstrels, saw his popularity wane before he died in 1931. **Sandburg,** less sensitive than Lindsay and less bitter than Masters, has devoted much time in recent years to writing fantastic tales for children, to collecting folk ballads, and to his Lincoln biography. His later verse in *The People, Yes* (1936) reflected Lincoln's sympathy, rather than Whitman's barbaric yawp; his aim was to present the philosophy of the common people—now trite, now revolutionary.

Edna St. Vincent Millay, youngest of the "New Poets," first attracted attention at the age of twenty with a mystic poem, "Renascence," and then, after graduation from Vassar, reflected Greenwich Village flippancy in *A Few Figs from Thistles* (1920). The years since have seen her develop beyond personal lyrics on love and death to *The King's Henchman* (an opera libretto—1927), *Fatal Interview* (1931—a sonnet sequence on love), and *Conversation at Midnight* (1937—topical arguments in loose sonnet form). Both in early intensity and later disillusioned calm, Miss Millay is notable for the music of her verse, its sure rhythms and haunting sounds.

Among poets who first emerged into prominence in the twenties, **T. S. Eliot** was the most influential; he loomed as large as Lewis did in fiction and O'Neill in drama. Under Irving Babbitt at Harvard Eliot learned the humanistic regard for discipline and standards; simultaneously he became acquainted, through Arthur Symons's book, with the French Symbolist movement. Other early influences were the seventeenth-century Webster and Donne and the modern Ezra Pound.

From 1908 to the early twenties Eliot wrote verse chiefly—sophisticated witty quatrains and analyses of quiet frustration. By 1920 the "lost" generation of England and America had caught up with this disillusioned mood, and they hailed *The Waste Land* (1922) as the epitome of postwar despair. (Conservative critics denounced as gibberish its forty-seven somewhat incomprehensible pages with quotations from more than forty writers in seven languages.)

While the argument over *The Waste Land* still raged, Eliot turned toward a second interest, literary criticism. His critical essays were typically humanistic in their subtle interpretations of standard authors and their abundant comparisons between classics.

Emerging from *Waste Land* futility by way of studies in poetry and plays, Eliot announced a new position in 1929: "classicist in literature, royalist in politics, and Anglo-Catholic in religion." He had already become a British subject in 1927; he now counted humanism only an auxiliary to religion; his disillusion gave way to a humble spiritual mood; he turned to dramatic poetry in his pageant *The Rock* (1933) and his play *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935). Such is Eliot's career: Symbolist poet, humanist critic, religious dramatist.

The younger poets of the twenties, for the most part, followed Eliot in experimenting with methods used by the French Symbolists, Donne, and Ezra Pound. From the Symbolists they borrowed the sudden shifts from the grand manner to the sardonic, the use of motifs as in Wagnerian opera, the confusion of the senses ("green odors"), and the bewildering method of developing a thought by the free association of ideas. From Donne or from Pound they learned to pick up, "like a magpie, various shining fragments of ideas and to stick them about here and there in their verse." Creation of

poetry became a critical, scholarly process between the initial "unique personal feeling" and the final communication in print.

With such methods of composition, Eliot may rightly admit "that it appears likely that poets in our civilization must be *difficult.*" Most of the poets were not sweet woodland singers, but scholarly teachers of literature, authors of critical prose, who fashioned their verses with an erudition that called for explanatory footnotes. The readers, accustomed to chronological narratives, often could not follow the stream-of-consciousness method. Furthermore, readers, used to the obvious rhythms of Lindsay and Kipling, found unattractive the even flow that came from French verse or the irregularities that imitated Gerard Hopkins. Hence the erudite poets often suffered from lack of readers; "we are the hollow men . . . this is the dead land," they cried.

It is difficult to group these poets who aimed to express "unique personal feelings." Perhaps the only common possession of T. S. Eliot, Conrad Aiken, Archibald MacLeish, Robert Hillyer, E. E. Cummings, Joseph Auslander, David McCord, and Malcolm Cowley is the individualistic spirit of Harvard. A more compact group flourishing at Vanderbilt University under the sponsorship of John Crowe Ransom included Donald Davidson, Allen Tate, Merrill Moore, and Robert Penn Warren. These poets organized their own magazine, *The Fugitive* (1922–5), and more recently became leaders of the Southern agrarian (literary) movement. Among poets who followed Robert Frost rather than the Symbolists were Mark Van Doren, Raymond Holden, E. Merrill Root, and David McCord. With the exception of Ransom and MacLeish very few were influenced by the modern British experiments in assonance and dissonance. Equally few (MacLeish, Genevieve Taggard, Horace Gregory) expressed radical social or political ideas.

Among the large number of short poems that have appeared in recent years, a few long poems stood out and attracted general attention. A year after the success of Robinson's *Tristram,* appeared **Stephen Vincent Benét's** *John Brown's Body* (1928), a Civil War epic written in a variety of verse forms. Two years later **Hart Crane** tried in *The Bridge* to capture the spirit of America in a cryptic interweaving of Pocahontas, Rip Van Winkle, Walt Whitman, the Brooklyn Bridge, and other themes. In the thirties **Archibald MacLeish** mixed Symbolism and revolution in *Conquistador,* a long poem about Mexico, and in a poetic play, *Panic.*

Apart from all this stands the poet **Robinson Jeffers.** As early as 1914 he felt that Mallarmé and his followers were leading into a blind alley of pure but barren poetry. Renouncing Symbolism, settling in Carmel on a California headland, he forged a stoic philosophy for a melodramatically cruel world. He is as fond as Faulkner is of abnormalities, "of pain and terror, the insanities of desire," of bad dreams that may serve to divert the cruelties of God. His form is often the long free-verse line of Whitman, but he has lost the optimism of the Golden Day. His hedonism goes no further than absence of pain, the honey-peace of old poems, the quietness of stones. First attracting attention with *Tamar and Other Poems* (1925), he shocked the public with *Roan Stallion* (1926) and gained renewed praise and protests with *Cawdor, Thurso's Landing, Give Your Heart to the Hawks,* and other volumes. In contrast to Eliot's conception of poets as "hollow men," Jeffers thunders forth his forebodings about the vanishing republic, the dying earth, the slowly blackening sun.

IV. Biography, History, Literary Criticism.

In the 1920's the debunking biography accompanied the debunking novel. In magazine sketches and books authors removed the heroes of the past from their pedestals and examined them for cracks and blemishes. **Gamaliel Bradford's** psychographs, Lytton Strachey's acid etchings (*Queen Victoria,* 1921), and **Henry Adams's** depreciatory *Education* (1918) were literary in-

fluences that accorded with the disillusion of the times.

At their worst these biographies were one-sided collections of scurrilous anecdotes. At their best the verbose pomposity of earlier works was replaced with careful documentation, an infusion of human warmth, and a study of the historical setting. Notable for their exactness in details are **Rupert Hughes'** *George Washington* and **R. S. Baker's** *Woodrow Wilson.* **Hervey Allen's** *Israfel* (Poe), **Matthew Josephson's** *Zola,* and **Sandburg's** *Lincoln: The Prairie Years* are sympathetic portraits of these men seen against the background of their day. Other writers chose picturesque characters—Barnum, Brigham Young, Tom Paine, Anthony Comstock—as subjects for lively narrative. Collections of sketches, like **Paul de Kruif's** *Microbe Hunters* (1926) and **Constance Rourke's** *Trumpets of Jubilee* (1927) became best sellers. A host of autobiographies also appeared, especially by authors, foreign correspondents, and doctors; typical ones were Sherwood Anderson's *A Story-Teller's Story,* Dreiser's *A Book about Myself,* Mrs. Wharton's *A Backward Glance,* Lincoln Steffens's *Autobiography,* Vincent Sheean's *Personal History,* and Victor Heiser's *An American Doctor's Odyssey.*

History was not merely debunked of its old defects but also outlined anew so that the "lost" world could find itself at least in evolutionary terms. **Claude Bowers's** *Jefferson and Hamilton,* **Walter Millis's** *The Martial Spirit* (Spanish-American War) and his *The Road to War, 1914–7* were among the more popular re-appraisals, in addition to many by professional historians. The outline vogue originated in H. G. Wells's *Outline of History* (1920), which added prehistoric evolution and the neglected Orient to the conventional pattern. Popular American imitations or variations included: **Will Durant's** *The Story of Philosophy* (1926), **Lewis Browne's** *This Believing World* (1926), and **James Harvey Robinson's** *The Mind in the Making* (1921).

In literary criticism **H. L. Mencken** was the most-read writer of the twenties. Stemming from Nietzsche and Shaw, he had blossomed, with the dramatic critic **George Jean Nathan,** on the *Smart Set* (1908–23). His fame spread widely with his series of *Prejudices* (1919–27) and his editing of the *American Mercury* (1924–33). His vigorous humor drew books and literary criticism to the attention of "the booboisie"; his jeers at "the Sahara of the Bozarts" stirred new writers to production; and his attacks on Puritanic restrictions and censorship were strong and effective. Since he was essentially a shock-trooper, both he and his readers tired of the noisy battle in the late twenties.

Many other writers of the decade contributed items to the New Criticism. **Stuart Sherman,** shifting from college to journalism, left a liberal classicism for a more tolerant study of contemporary authors. **Van Wyck Brooks** and **Joseph Wood Krutch** applied Freudian analysis to Mark Twain and Poe. **John Livingston Lowes** analyzed poetry (*The Road to Xanadu* and *Convention and Revolt in Poetry*) and **Joseph Warren Beach** examined modern fiction (*Twentieth Century Novel*) with unequaled thoroughness. **F. L. Pattee** stressed the people's contribution to American letters in three comprehensive period studies, and **V. L. Parrington** applied the Jeffersonian touchstone to American thought in his influential *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927–29).

In the first year of the depression (1930) the humanists of the early 1900's (Babbitt and More) and a second generation of their followers (**Norman Foerster, Robert Shafer, T. S. Eliot,** etc.) offered their philosophy to a bewildered nation. The result was critical debate in newspapers, magazines, and books with the humanists arrayed against such liberals as **Carl Van Doren** and such Marxians as **Edmund Wilson** and **Granville Hicks.**

In general, the critics since 1920 have paralleled the creative writers. Like the

naturalistic novelists and debunking biographers, they have expressed their postwar disillusion. They have risen to explain or to attack or to defend the technical experiments of poets and dramatists. Like the romancers or the radicals, they have offered their plans for escape or for reform to this troubled America.

INDEX TO MAJOR AUTHORS AND SUBJECTS

Since this work is in itself a kind of index, analytically arranged, a comprehensive listing of all titles and authors has been thought less valuable than in works exclusively chronological in treatment. Both for this reason and for economy, the authors and subjects noted below, less than one-third the total entries, are those appearing a number of times or those which have been given extended notice. Names of minor authors are generally not indexed unless they are discussed in more than one place. Also omitted are names occurring in tables or lists only. No titles and only half the authors here appear, but those omitted may be found by consulting the proper outline sections in the appropriate decades.

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