

THE BOOK

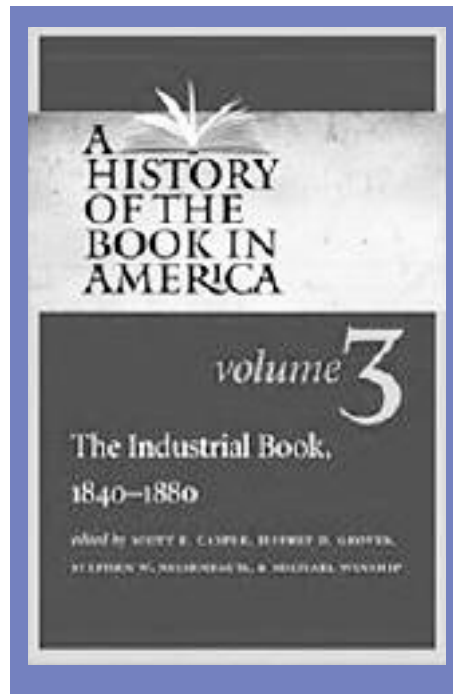
JULY 2007, NUMBER 72

Now Available: *The Industrial Book, 1840–1880*

Edited by Scott E. Casper, Jeffrey D. Groves, Stephen W. Nissenbaum, and Michael Winship, Volume 3 of *A History of the Book in America* has been published and is now available from the University of North Carolina Press. *The Industrial Book, 1840–1880* is the result of many years of hard work and patience on the part of the editors and contributors, and the American Antiquarian Society is pleased to add this volume to the HBA bookshelf.

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“Re-Reading the Early Republic: From Crèvecoeur to Cooper”

PERSPECTIVES ON THE 2007 SUMMER SEMINAR LED BY WAYNE FRANKLIN

THE LEADER'S VIEW

A vibrant, multitalented crew hailing from various disciplines, institutions, and places (both geographic and biographic) gathered at the American Antiquarian Society (AAS) the week of June 18, 2007, for what proved to be an exhilarating voyage into the choppy textual waters of the early republic. The seminar intensively explored the changing conditions under which American works from the Revolutionary era to 1830 were written, published, distributed, and read. We began by examining the serially composed narrative essays of the French émigré St. John de Crèvecoeur, presently being re-edited by Dennis D. Moore. Writing prior to the time when literary publishing had effectively emerged in America, Crèvecoeur proceeded without a clear sense of the public context of his works. He therefore produced a bewildering array of interrelated English and French texts that tended to elaborate prior scripts with a rich but confusing freedom. Even today many of Crèvecoeur's writings, especially his 1784 and 1787 French versions of his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), remain relatively unknown by American scholars.

In the second stage of our exploration, we turned to the group-authored scripts of the Lewis and Clark expedition (1803–1806). Although the various actors in the expedition had a clear sense of the public context within which they worked, and although they wrote extensively about the experience, the effort to produce a synthetic narrative of the venture was much delayed. Troubles with composing and editing the 1814 *History of the Expedition* were aggravated by the various business failures that sank several of the printers and booksellers involved in the work's publication. Not until the end of the nineteenth century, we discovered, were many of the texts that had been produced by the original members of the party made widely available. And only in the past decade has the monumental edition undertaken by Gary B. Moulton made all of the original journals of Lewis and Clark and the other members of the party fully accessible in print and online.

Our final test case—that of novelist James Fenimore Cooper—provided both continuities and contrasts with the first two. Like Crèvecoeur and Lewis and Clark, Cooper is now being freshly edited, at last making available reliable texts of his fiction and nonfiction. In this instance, the problem was not the lack of earlier texts or the unsettled state of the book trades in his time but, rather, the very abundance of editions in which his fifty some novels and other works survive. Although Cooper began writing in 1820, when American literary figures (including Cooper himself) typically paid for the publication of their works, by 1826 he had so shrewdly created an audience

willing to buy American novels that he was offered a very lucrative contract by the large Philadelphia firm of Carey & Lea. As a result of his immense popularity at home and overseas, Cooper was always available to readers in a mind-boggling array of print versions. In his case, then, it was success that clouded his works and made the fresh establishment of their original contours essential.

In all these cases, the participants in the seminar were aided by the extraordinary riches of AAS. Tables spread with volumes by Crèvecoeur and Lewis and Clark, and whole carts loaded down with Cooper imprints, will linger long in all our memories. But we were guided as well by the expert help of a trio of other faculty: Lance Schachterle, current editor-in-chief of the Cooper Edition; Jeffery Walker, who has an important new collection of Cooper letters in preparation; and David Whitesell, the extraordinarily adept bibliographer who is the new curator of books at AAS. If we never got lost—for good, anyway—it was owing to their steady sense of the route.

Wayne Franklin, University of Connecticut

MATRICULANTS' RESPONSES

The scholarly benefits gained from this exhilarating seminar are easy to affirm. Wayne Franklin's daunting syllabus, with its links to important texts on the history of the book in early America, provided a teaching and scholarly resource that all of us will, I suspect, be using for years to come. His approach to the seminar's central authors—Crèvecoeur, Lewis and Clark, and Cooper—concentrated on the evolution of the book trade from gentlemanly avocation to the selling of a literary brand in a commercial industry. The heart of the matter, however, repeatedly led us beyond time-bound changes within the early American republic. We were always returning to the crucial question “Who is the author?” rather than the now overused “What is an author?” Lively presentations by Lance Schachterle and Jeffrey Walker on printing and editing, aided by the superb professionalism of the AAS staff, provided neophytes in textual matters such as myself (and I was not alone) with hands-on exposure to changes in early-nineteenth-century book production. Nor were the creature comforts so essential to sustaining five days of seven-hour meetings in any way neglected; we enjoyed roomy accommodations, plentiful good eats, and opportunities for informal conversation within the spacious grace of the AAS buildings.

All these benefits could have been put in place for a seminar that might have turned out to be inexplicably dreary. Not so here. As a seminar leader, Franklin was superb. He brought an impressive flow of knowledge (not merely information)

directly to the issue at hand, whether the issue was introduced by him or by others. Unfailingly courteous, he set forth a range of plausible responses that provoked further thought, rather than declaring answers or ducking the question through a fog of polysyllabic obfuscation. I felt I was witnessing the very model of seminar teaching in action, with the added benefit of being invited to participate in it.

Every teacher knows that the very same game plan that elicits stimulating exchange within one group may gutter into awkward platitudes within another. The “chemistry” (one of academe’s more interesting dead metaphors) of our group was especially fortunate. Librarians, literary critics, western enthusiasts, Francophiles, and maritime specialists brought remarkable breadth of interests to the table. Participants listened carefully to one another and responded to each other’s insights. In five days, I cannot recall one instance of obscurantist theorizing, not even one self-serving soliloquy. Wayne Franklin deserves much credit here, of course, but so does care in selecting the participants, as well as, probably, the luck of the draw. I drove to Worcester with cautious hopes; I left with an increased sense of professional collegiality, a number of new e-mail correspondents, and a rising desire to, in Mark Twain’s phrase, refill the inkwell.

John McWilliams, Middlebury College

On the fourth day of the 2007 History of the Book Summer Seminar, the American Antiquarian Society librarian and curator of manuscripts, Tom Knoles, surprised us all. It was no small feat. Throughout the week, seminar director Wayne Franklin, along with guest faculty members Lance Schachterle, Jeffrey Walker, and David Whitesell, had already provided more than a few amazing insights and scholarly wonders. In addition, the matriculants themselves—an inspired selection of people drawn from a range of backgrounds—had contributed their own considerable knowledge to the discussion, helping make for a thrilling seminar.

Thus we were a bit jaded on the fourth day as we sat down in the Council Room of Antiquarian Hall, settling in after lunch and our group photograph. Then Tom, who, like every member of the AAS staff, is something of a magician, pulled two seem-



SEATED ON FLOOR: Sari Edelstein, Liz Hutter, Leonard Banco, Martin Buinicki, Dane Morrison. MIDDLE ROW: Joel Martin, Lance Schachterle, Jeff Walker, Wayne Franklin, Irene Tichenor, Hugh Egan. STANDING: Alisa Iannucci, John McWilliams, Michele Orihel, Robert Gunn, Andrew (Bob) Black, Brett Mizelle, David Gellman, Anthony Antonucci, Sara Patterson, Tara Penry, Joanne Chaison (AAS), John Gallucci, Matthew Sivils, David Whitesell (AAS)

ingly mundane objects from a box—a lock of hair and a bit of wood. As we passed the two relics around the table, Tom explained that the hair belonged to James Fenimore Cooper and that the length of wood was none other than a leg from the author’s deathbed. Someone joked that we might clone the writer from the DNA in his hair, whereupon Franklin threatened to swallow the lock lest a cloned Cooper run amok, writing yet another

fifty-plus books and forcing Franklin to add further volumes to his already exhaustive Yale University Press biography of the author!

As Tom traced the provenance of these slightly morbid items, it occurred to me that my interest lay not in the objects themselves but in Tom’s explanation of their context, their story. I realized that the same was true for the Society’s rare books, manuscripts, and maps we had studied up close during the seminar. It became clear that the history of the book deals with much more than simply the words on the page; it is found in the book’s binding, in its ink, its stitching, and gatherings, and in its coy watermarks and subtle textual variances from one edition to the next. If this seminar taught me one important lesson, it was that the history of the book is the telling of the tales that emerge from the creation and distribution of the book—the stories of how the book itself came to be.

It was for that type of moment that I had attended the seminar. As a scholar and teacher of early and nineteenth-century American literature, I came looking to learn more about my area of interest, both for my own research and for my teaching. I was in good hands. Wayne Franklin is a highly esteemed scholar for good reason. But brilliant as he is, Franklin’s real strength lies in his generosity and wit. As we sat around seminar tables both at Antiquarian Hall and across the street at the Goddard-Daniels House, Franklin freely shared his ideas and insights, his humor, and his hard-earned knowledge. I was lucky to be included in his seminar, and AAS was lucky to have him.

We were also fortunate to have three guest faculty members who each complemented Franklin’s expertise and whose individual presentations contributed significantly to the semi-

nar. Schachterle, associate provost for academic affairs at Worcester Polytechnic Institute and editor-in-chief of “The Writings of James Fenimore Cooper,” walked us through the complexities of creating scholarly editions of Cooper’s books and also gave us a demonstration of the legendary Hinman Collator. Walker, professor of English at Oklahoma State University and coeditor of the scholarly annual *Literature in the Early American Republic*, regaled us with stories of textual editing, made more harrowing by examples of Cooper’s sometimes challenging handwriting. Whitesell, curator of books at AAS, performed a magic act of his own as he, with several props from the collection (and some sleight-of-hand), pulled off the trick of dismantling and then reconstructing a portion of an unbound book by interpreting the pages’ cryptic signature marks.

Whitesell’s expertise was par for the course, and over my five days at AAS, I was constantly impressed by the welcome we received from each member of the staff. The kindness of Joanne Chaison, Caroline Sloat, and many others (I’d especially like to commend Dick Oliver at the front desk for his helpfulness and warmth) convinced me that AAS is not only an impressive institution but also a collection of knowledgeable people who foster a healthy research environment.

I initially applied for the seminar for two reasons: I hoped it would help enrich my teaching of the literature of the early republic, and I thought it might inform my continuing scholarship on Cooper. I was rewarded on both counts. I learned more about contextualizing both the book history of the early republic and Cooper himself as a man who made great strides in creating American literature and also helped create the concept of the American author. Franklin taught me about the complicated genesis of Crèvecoeur’s *Letters from an American*

Farmer, about the convoluted publishing history of the journals of Lewis and Clark, and about how Cooper’s relationships with his publishers helped form an American literary marketplace, and—perhaps most important—his example taught me how to become a better teacher.

So although my scholarship will certainly benefit from the experience, my most immediate use of what I learned in this seminar will occur in the classroom. This fall I teach a course in the American bestseller, and I will draw heavily both from my notes and from the seminar’s reading list. This seminar was one of the most rewarding experiences of my professional career—an inspiration and a challenge to recreate some of the magic I witnessed at AAS in my own classroom and scholarship.

Matthew Wynn Sivils, Westminster College

The 2007 Summer Seminar in the History of the Book debunked several myths. First, we challenged the myth of the solitary genius and discovered that, instead, authorship is quite often a collective undertaking. Then we reassessed the contributions of Sacagawea, the famed Indian woman who participated in the Lewis and Clark expedition. Finally, we learned that the Hinman Collator, despite its appearance, is not a time machine but rather a useful and surprisingly user-friendly device for comparing different textual editions. Led by the tireless and cogent Wayne Franklin, the seminar was a truly an experience in rethinking and “re-reading the early republic.”

As a graduate student just beginning work on my dissertation, I knew the summer seminar would be an ideal opportunity to ground my scholarship in thoughtful and intense conversations with a diverse set of early Americanists. I was also interested in learning more about how to incorporate book history as a methodology into my scholarship, and, of course, the chance to familiarize myself with one of the richest archives in early American print culture was irresistible. The five days far exceeded these expectations because I could never have predicted the quality of intellectual exchanges and the feelings of community that the experience generated. My notebook is peppered with references to books and articles and with reminders about the deadlines for various panels.

Sitting around the long seminar table together and examining the various editions of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark’s journals revealed the ways in which the materiality of the text colors—and even creates—interpretation. Indeed, looking at the respective prefaces and paratextual aspects of the editions of the journals illuminated much about the way books make meaning and take on the meanings around them. In addition, one of the central topics of this year’s seminar was the formation of the book trades in the early republic, and learning about the differences between hand-set type and stereotyped plates became crucial in my understanding of the development of what Professor Franklin so aptly termed the “culture of craftsmanship.” The proximity we had to the primary docu-

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Ellen Dunlap, President

The Book: Newsletter of the Program in the History of the Book in American Culture (ISSN 0740-8439) is published in March, July, and November by the American Antiquarian Society at the above address.

Editor: Caroline Sloat

The editor welcomes all news relevant to the interests of the Program in the History of the Book in American Culture.

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ments and devices in question cultivated an intimacy with the material and brilliantly demonstrated the differences between the late-eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century literary economies. Furthermore, David Whitesell's special session on James Fenimore Cooper's *The Red Rover* offered a hands-on tutorial in the practices and perils of using first editions and holographs.

The seminar will enhance not only my dissertation and future scholarship but also my teaching, as Professor Franklin and the seminar participants consistently considered strategies for bringing Crèvecoeur, Cooper, and the rest of the syllabus into the classroom. The warmth of my fellow participants and of the AAS staff made my week in Worcester truly rewarding, and I am grateful for both the lasting connections and the lingering questions.

Sari Edelstein, Brandeis University

MATRICULANTS

Anthony Antonucci, Ph.D. candidate in history, University of Connecticut; Leonard Banco, MD, professor of pediatrics, University of Connecticut School of Medicine; Andrew Black, Ph.D. candidate in history, Boston University; Martin Buinicki, assistant professor of English, Valparaiso University; Sari Edelstein, Ph.D. candidate, English and American literature, Brandeis University; Hugh Egan, professor of English, Ithaca College; John Gallucci, associate professor of French, Colgate University; David Gellman, associate professor of history, DePauw University; Robert Gunn, assistant professor of English, University of Texas at El Paso; Liz Hutter, Ph.D. candidate, University of Minneapolis-Twin Cities; Alisa Marko Iannucci, Ph.D. candidate in English, Boston College; Joel W. Martin, professor of history, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; John McWilliams, College Professor, humanities, Middlebury College; Brett Mizelle, associate professor of history, California State University, Long Beach; Dane Morrison, professor of early American history, Salem State College; Michelle Orihel, Ph.D. candidate in history, Syracuse University; Sara M. Patterson, visiting assistant professor, theological studies, Loyola Marymount University; Tara Penry, associate professor of English, Boise State University; Matthew Wynn Sivils, assistant professor of English, Westminster College; Irene Tichenor, independent scholar, New York, New York.

Faculty: Wayne Franklin, professor of English and American studies, University of Connecticut; Lance Schachterle, professor of English and assistant provost, Worcester Polytechnic Institute; and Jeffrey Walker, professor of English, Oklahoma State University.

SYLLABUS

The syllabus for the summer seminar is available online.

<http://www.americanantiquarian.org/sumsem07syl.htm>



Captured in the Wiggins lineup are Pat Crain, New York University, 2008; Wayne Franklin, University of Connecticut, 2007; and Robert A. Gross, University of Connecticut, 1987. Michael Winship, University of Texas at Austin, 1999, was also present but is not pictured.

2007 Wiggins Lecture

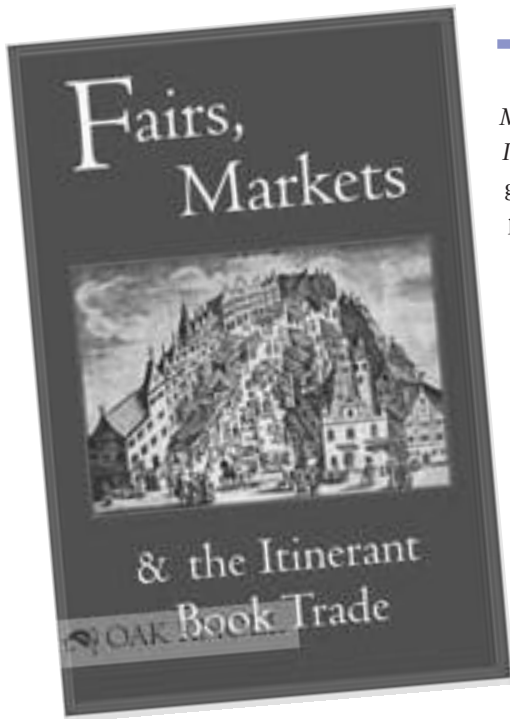
The word “embedded” has, since 2001, gained new currency in American life and can be applied to the Twenty-Fifth Annual James Russell Wiggins Lecture in the Program in the History of the Book in American Culture. Delivered on June 21, 2007, the lecture was embedded in the summer seminar. Wayne Franklin's lecture, “Financing America's First Literary Boom,” refers to James Fenimore Cooper's impact on the American literary marketplace. Franklin writes, “Probably the most telling consequences of his masterful management of his early career accrued to his own benefit, since first and foremost he recouped his fortunes. Yet his example opened the way for other would-be writers in a way that neither Charles Brockden Brown—nor really Washington Irving, either—did. As early as 1824, a pair of New York publishers reported that they could not keep up with the deluge of imitations of Cooper's fiction that was flooding their offices, and presumably those of their colleagues. All of these books, replete with ‘the backwoods, an Indian, a panther and a squatter,’ bespoke the brilliance with which Cooper had divined the coming mood among American readers. Moreover, the publishers went on, all the would-be novelists eager to follow Cooper's lead in penning frontier tales had also learned a good deal about the potential market value of literary works. To a person, after all, they were demanding ‘a large price . . . half the profits.’”¹ In 1820, when Cooper diverted some of the profits from his whaling venture to pay the expenses of his first novel, such books were thought to have little or no commercial value. Now, barely four years later, he had not just succeeded in writing popular American tales—he had also created the career of the American author.

The lecture will be published in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Volume 117, part 2.

¹Conversation between the publishers [Elam Bliss and Elihu White] and the editor [Robert Sands],” *Atlantic Magazine*, 1(1824):1.

Book Note

Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade. Ed. Robin Myers, Michael Harris, and Giles Mandelbrote. Pathways Publishing Series. New Castle, DE.: Oak Knoll Press; London: The British Library, 2007. xv, 223 pp. 47.50. ISBN 978-15845-62009.



The seven essays of *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* grow out of papers presented at the 2005 annual conference on book trade history, sponsored by the Antiquarian Booksellers' Association. This edited collection is the latest entry in Oak Knoll Press's Pathways Series, founded in 1981. Each of the over twenty volumes

in this series focuses on one aspect of British and European book trade history. As its title suggests, *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* seeks to uncover the history of the book trade that existed outside the traditional venue of bookstores, in Britain and France from the 1500s to 1850.

To reconstruct that history, each essayist had to be as crafty at ferreting out sources as the pedlars, hawkers, chapmen, and street sellers were at developing strategies for getting print materials into readers' hands. For example, Ian Maclean uses the legal records surrounding the murder of French bookseller Symphorien Beraud in 1585 to explore the complexities of the international trade in learned books. With a nice touch of irony, the papers of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition enable Clive Griffin to document how foreign itinerant booksellers and printers with Reformist sympathies distributed print material in Spain and Portugal.

These painstaking research methods result in essays that are incredibly visual. The essays do not simply teach us what a

chapman is or how a hawker differs from a pedlar but also help us to visualize these people and the places where they plied their trade. John Flood's description of the Frankfurt Fair in the early modern period captures the excitement that this economic and cultural event engendered among participants, while the quirky personality of an individual chapman such as Dougal Graham comes to life as John Morris scours publications for depictions and illustrations of Scottish chapmen.

This particularity of subject matter is the strength of the collection, and the fruits of that narrow scope are strikingly demonstrated in the regional differences illuminated by a number of the essays. In his study of East Anglia, David Stoker carefully situates the rise of itinerant bookselling between 1570 and 1800 within the economic and cultural history of the region. Jeroen Salman offers an initial report of an ambitious project about the Dutch itinerant trade, noting that in contrast to France, where the itinerant market was concentrated in specific areas, an itinerant network was spread across the urban Netherlands—a finding that also challenges the assumption that the itinerant trade was a rural phenomenon.

At the same time that *Fairs, Markets and the Itinerant Book Trade* enhances our understanding of the itinerant book trade, it also points to the need for additional studies. Michael Harris opens the concluding essay of the collection with an unusual and refreshing statement: "When I recently published a study of the barrow trade in books in London during the twentieth century, I rashly proposed that the materials for pushing the study back into the seventeenth century were simply not to be found. This has turned out to be wrong, although it must be said that activities at the street level only flicker fitfully through material accumulated for other purposes" (187). Harris "corrects" himself by using trial records from the Old Bailey (now available online) and Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor* to document the extraordinary activities of people who sold print materials from movable stalls in London. The shared perseverance of this author and the street booksellers who are his subject is a fitting way to conclude this volume.

Amy M. Thomas, Montana State University

Research Note

Cooper's Use of Italian Words in His Writings About Italy: A Preliminary Report

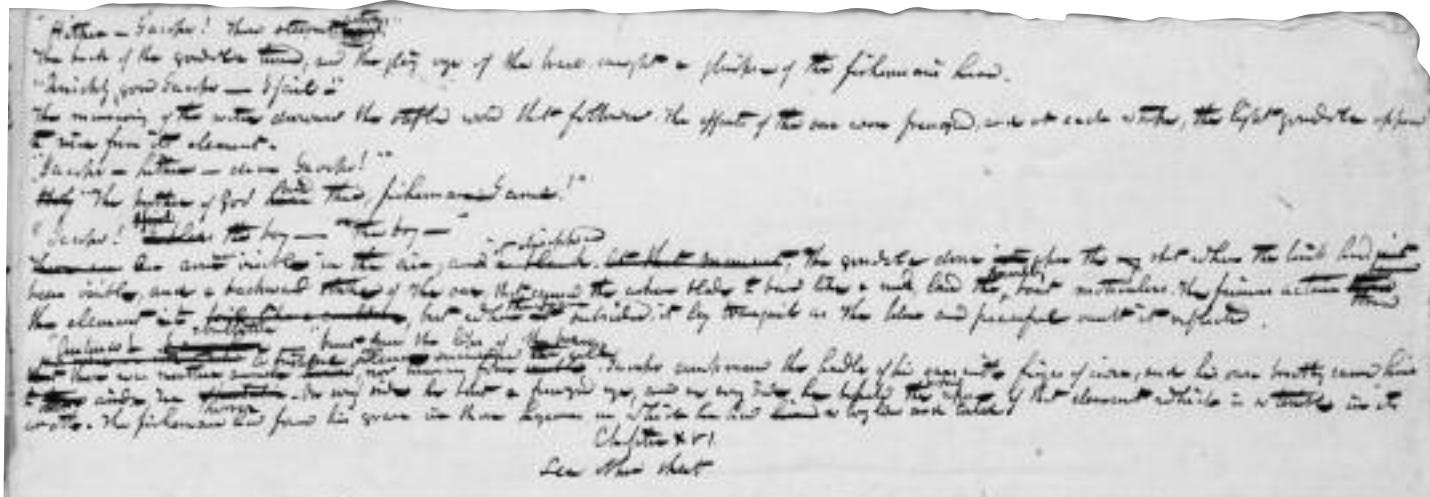
Cooper entered Italy in October 1828 by way of the Simplon, a road made famous among romantic travelers by the poet William Wordsworth. Unlike Wordsworth, however, he crossed the pass with eyes wide open—and with a map on his knee. A similar active interest in, and quick apprehension of, facts and people was to become the signal feature of Cooper's travels in Italy. The family established households in Florence, Naples, Sorrento, and Rome—and the ten days they eventually spent in Venice inspired *The Bravo* (1831). In addition to *The Bravo*, the visit produced *Gleanings: Italy* and the letters and journals later to become part of James Beard's scholarly edition of Cooper's papers (*The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper*, ed. James Franklin Beard, 6 vols., Harvard University Press, 1960–68).

Italy responded warmly to Cooper's sympathy—"the only region of the Earth," in his words, "that I truly loved." It also received well the books of the "American" author: there were translations, some revisions (first and foremost Mercadante's opera inspired by *The Bravo*), and the homage represented by imitations. In 1995 Sullam Calimani could list dozens of nineteenth-century editions of the first novels and as many as twenty-two editions of *Il Bravo*. Such reception finds a counterpart in Cooper's attitude toward, and representation of, the landscape, the people, and the language of Italy—with its variations and usages. Cooper's representation of language can be especially appreciated if the bulk of the Italian production is considered, together with the manuscripts and family records at AAS. The papers complement the published works, creating a continuum marked by a multiplicity of representational and linguistic cross references.

My research has been especially focused on the several Italian words, phrases, and expressions that circulate among *Gleanings*, *The Bravo*, and the journals. Such insertions mediate the author's (narrator's) vision of the country, as he clearly relishes the use of Italian words. For instance, we are told that when in "Napoli," the Coopers reside in the "Palazzo detto del Tasso" ("Palace known as Tasso's"). In Florence their home-stead is "Palazzo Ricasoli, via del Cocomero" or "Palazzo Rihasoli, via del Hohomero," as Cooper diligently and humorously records, when reproducing the way Florentine country people have of pronouncing c's as aspirated h's. (One might say countrymen, or "contadini," resorting to the Italian word used in *The Bravo*; not forgetting that the "contadini" would be part of the crowd strolling in the vicinity of the "Palazzo ducale.") It is also worth noting that the domestic account books of the period are scrupulously kept in Italian, recording in detail the daily expenses of the family for food, clothing, lessons, and general needs of the household.

The way in which the Italian language pops up in the Italian works and papers seems to support daughter Susan's claim that her father was very present to domestic life. If such is the case, the whole issue of domesticity also contributed to the author's apprehension, understanding, and representation of the Italian language. Cooper must have been conversant, I would surmise, not only with his wife's work, and with her knowledge of French, but also with the study and play of the children and with the more homely—and cherished—matters of meals, family games, Italian teachers of language, music, and religion.

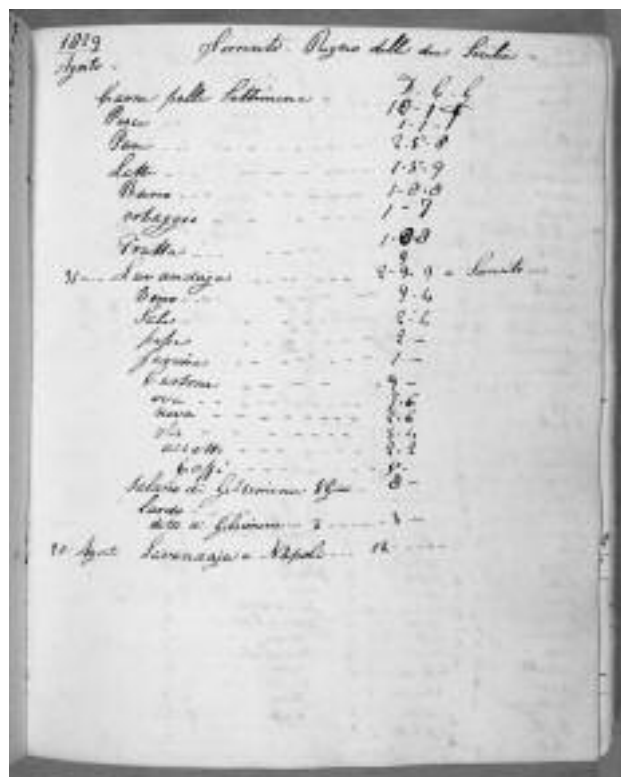
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Conclusion of Chapter 15, "The Bravo" manuscript. James Fenimore Cooper, Papers, 1792-1884. American Antiquarian Society.

An interesting case at hand is the weekly entry that, during the months spent in Naples and Sorrento, tells of the salary of one Gelsomina (“Salario di Gelsomina”). The entry brings to life Susan’s claim that her father named *The Bravo*’s girlish and pure lover after a young Italian girl, who served in the house as “nurse” and playmate for the children. I gather information on Susan’s reference from the work in progress on the scholarly edition of *The Bravo*, made available by Lance Schachterle, editor-in-chief of *The Writings of James Fenimore Cooper*. The preliminary investigation has been carried out on the manuscripts, prepublication materials, and authorized editions (London 1831; 1834). Such work suggests that the Italian insertions have been conspicuously dealt with in the first and subsequent drafts of the novel. Building on this, and adding some more work with the manuscripts, the scholarly edition has recorded all the Italian words, with their contexts of occurrence and idiosyncratic variations. When mapped out and described, such occurrences will help scholars assess the ways in which Cooper understands, and glimpses into, diverse languages and linguistic usages to create depth in his novels and to endow them with linguistic variation and variety.

Anna Scannavini, University of L’Aquila



A page from the Cooper accounts for August 1829, illustrating the use of Italian and a payment to Gelsomina. American Antiquarian Society

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