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**The Continuing Vigor of the Field**

*The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* deserves to reach an ever-widening readership in its new incarnation as a paperback. Newcomers as well as those who have already found their way to its pages should know that the “history of the book” remains a field in the making. Any history organized along national lines is also situated amid uncertainties, especially because the modern nation-state is not an adequate framework for discussing the traffic in books, people, and ideas during the colonial period of American history. Hence the phrase “Atlantic World” in our title. Nonetheless, the history of the book as it is manifested in *The Colonial Book* has an explicit center, the book trades, and two secondary centers in the history of reading and the making of literary culture. The editors and contributors were all too aware, themselves, of other themes and information that did not make their way into its pages, and in retrospect the list grows longer. Should we have said more about the book trades in Louisiana and Florida or about the eighteenth-century missions to the Native Americans and how they responded? Of course. Should we have provided a fuller account of political controversies during the run-up to the Declaration of Independence as these were mediated through the book trades? Yes. And should our narrative as a whole have been more engaged with “theory” of the kind that loomed so large in literary studies of the 1970s and 1980s? Yes again, although the tide of theory seems to be receding and, with it, the importance of arguments such as Foucault’s about the function of the author, itself a statement that was never aligned with the historical evidence. More recently, there have emerged within literary studies other themes that are much more closely linked with the substance of book history—for example, the “materiality” of the text and the role of prefaces and other aspects of the “para-text.” Nowhere in these pages is it argued that the material form of a text affects its meaning; and only at a few moments (as in Chapters 11 and 12) do we tell the story of the transmission of texts and the collaborations—the forms of “social authorship”—that occur during that process. Yet *The Colonial Book* accomplishes far more than Hugh Amory and I thought was possible when we set this project in motion. The chapters on the book trades remain authoritative, and the statistical tables and sheet counts, a mere fraction of the many that were compiled, retain their value as guides to what was being produced and sold. So too, the analysis of reading as both practice and representation and the aligning of literature with sites of patronage and sociability demonstrate some of the larger possibilities for book history. The vigor of the field is also evident in recent books and articles that extend or deepen the reach of *The Colonial Book*. Some of this work is listed below. The possibilities for comparative book history now include the first volume of *History of the Book in Canada: Beginnings to 1840*, ed. Patricia Lockhart Fleming, Giles Gallichan, and Yvan Lamonde (University of Toronto Press, 2004), and volume 4 of *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain 1557–1698*, ed. John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie, with the assistance of Maureen Bell (Cambridge University Press, 2002).

**Recent Publications**


David D. Hall, Harvard University

### Book Notes


In 1791 a nameless poet published “The Glass; or Speculation,” which warned that economic enterprise would bring moral ruin upon its practitioners, “corrupt the heart by the most diabolical intrigues, and render it callous to every thing but self,” and otherwise “sap the foundation of republicanism, and pave the way for aristocracy and despotism.” It was an indictment that spoke the language of Puritan jeremiads and treatises on classical republicanism. It would have resonated with readers in the new nation.

Or did it? Even in its infancy, the citizens of the United States were already famous for their willingness to enter into speculative ventures, take on vast quantities of debt, accept paper promises in lieu of “real” wealth, and otherwise throw themselves on the mercy of the market. Although some critics believed these endeavors to be inimical to the virtues of community, civic duty, and national unity, more than a few writers thought otherwise, as Jennifer J. Baker’s imaginative and eloquent study makes clear. These individuals, Baker avers, came to the conclusion that commercial pursuits “could foster colonial and national cohesion at times when the stability of those communities was at stake, binding people to their government as well as individuals to one another. Out of economic uncertainty... could come civic faith.” (2)

Baker ranges far and wide in sustaining this thesis. As an English professor at New York University, she is most concerned with “literature’s participation in this imaginative process,” but this book will pay dividends for historians, too. She begins with a study of Cotton Mather, a man better known for his laments about the dangers of prosperity. Yet as Baker shows, Mather viewed paper money (the very thing that pumped credit into the struggling colonial economy) as a means of binding members of the community to one another. Each issue was a collective debt of the colony, and faith in the debt—as expressed by a willingness to accept these paper promises at face value—was an expression of faith in the colonial government. When Mather’s writings are read in this light, new meanings emerge, most notably in Baker’s study of the cleric’s curious tale of treasure hunting, *The Life of Phips.*

The civic virtues of paper money preoccupied other writers in the eighteenth century, too. Baker illuminates how Ebenezer Cooke’s *Sotweed Redivivus,* itself a sequel to his earlier *Sot-Weed Factor,* “imagined that investing in a public debt might consolidate a regional identity.” (44) Baker also offers a reading of Benjamin Franklin’s writings on money and debt, arguing that he advanced a paradoxical vision that linked indebted-
ness with independence. That connection was made concrete during the American Revolution, when the fledgling government issued millions of paper Continental dollars to underwrite the war effort and tapped Franklin to help design the bills. Baker argues that Franklin’s advocacy of debt as the best route to independence was based in his own life as a young entrepreneur, when he drew heavily on lines of credit and, by faithfully and punctually discharging that debt, achieved independence for himself. In Baker’s reading, Franklin’s Autobiography becomes a template for the credit schemes of the revolutionary government.

That may be true, but the parallel ends there: unlike Franklin’s personal debts, the Continentals were not redeemed with interest. Instead, the Funding Act of 1790 put the exchange rate at one hundred Continentals to one of the new dollars, making the notes seem like less of a debt than a tax, a point that Baker might have more fully acknowledged and explored. The same criticism applies to her otherwise brilliant reading of Royall Tyler’s play The Contrast, where one of the characters, Colonel Manly, refuses to part with his worn Continentals for anything less than the face value, claiming that he would wait until his cherished country could redeem them in full.

Nonetheless, in consolidating its many debts, even at a fraction of the original value, the nation established a market for a new, national debt that would bind the nation together. In her discussion of The Contrast, Baker shows how Manly, his misplaced idealism notwithstanding, nonetheless embodies the new economic thinking of Federalists such as Hamilton and Madison, who broke with classical republican tradition by viewing debt as a blessing, not a curse. Thanks to the “ongoing spectacle of regular redemption,” as Baker describes it, the United States could achieve a newfound measure of respectability in the eyes of its creditors (107). Manly is the incarnation of that new ethic; respectability could be earned, as it was in his business dealings, by the punctual repayment of debt.

In two final chapters, Baker examines how the writings of Charles Brockden Brown and Judith Sargent Murray shared Hamilton’s vision of financial interdependence and belief that debt could bind the nation together. Exploring what she calls “credit-based sympathy,” Baker argues that these authors lent literary weight to the novel idea that financial speculation could serve the public good, making citizens more sensitive to one another’s needs. “In the first U.S. novels,” Baker writes, “sympathy for another is commonly the fortuitous byproduct of financial dependence” (114). This marked a sea change in thinking. An earlier strain of classical republican thought associated commerce, particularly speculation in public debt, with moral corruption. It would, as the nameless poet wrote, render the heart “callous to every thing but self.”

Some readers may find Baker’s arguments too, well, speculative, but any student of the intellectual, cultural, and literary life of early America will profit from perusing her work. Baker has written an incisive, provocative, sparkling book that reveals how debt, speculation, and paper money offered a literal—and literary—foundation for an emergent nation.

Stephen Mihm
University of Georgia


In this innovative and meticulously researched book, Mary Kelley significantly advances our knowledge of how women created for themselves a public presence in an age that still denied them access to church, governmental, and business vocations by virtue of their sex.
Far from shattering the conventional portrait of “Republican Motherhood,” this study transforms it. Kelley demonstrates that many girls, middling as well as elite, were able to take part in a post-Revolutionary “compromise on the issue of educational opportunity,” which made “a woman’s right to advanced schooling contingent upon her fulfillment of gendered social and political obligations” (25). Now women were allowed to explore an advanced education, but in theory they acquired knowledge, not for themselves, but for the sake of (male) others.

The key to this educational transformation was the foundation, after the American Revolution, of academies and seminaries that admitted girls only and were taught largely by women. At least 196 such schools opened between 1790 and 1830, and another 158 by 1860. When the American Antiquarian Society’s Collections Manager—the “incomparable” Marie Lamoureux, as Kelley calls her (p. vii)—encouraged Kelley to take a look at AAS’s uncatalogued collection of broadsides, catalogues, plans of study, and other ephemera published by these early-nineteenth-century schools, Kelley found that the curricula of female academies did not vary significantly from those at boys’ academies. It was a crucial discovery. Girls were at last being more widely introduced to an intellectually challenging education such as that which only a favored few girls had enjoyed before the Revolution. In the antebellum South Carolina Female Collegiate Institute at Columbia, for instance, girls were taught algebra, chemistry, astronomy, rhetoric, and moral philosophy, as well as the more familiar courses of geography and composition. Postgraduate study included Latin.

Informal institutions also played a role in shaping women as independent thinkers. All-female reading circles, literary societies, mutual improvement societies, and voluntary associations encouraged women to think and challenge contemporary life. This intellectual training molded each woman’s character, aspirations, and “subjectivity,” a term that Kelley defines as “a self poised to take action in society” (2), a self that, though private, was keenly conscious of a public audience.

The girls so taught were well aware of the obligations they incurred from such an education. Imbued with the notion that they should give back to the community in some fashion, women set off in different directions to serve the common weal. A remarkably large number of women supported themselves by their pens as writers and editors. They authored novels, travel literature, histories, and biographies of important women. And in unprecedented numbers, as the “reading revolution” of the new republic took hold, they edited periodicals aimed at women. Sarah Josepha Hale (editor of the Godey’s Lady’s Book and author of some fifty books, including a bulky biographical overview of the lives of some sixteen hundred women) may have been one of the first American women to support her family by her pen, but she was assuredly not the last.

Other women took to teaching, sallying from the East Coast over the mountains to offer, with missionary zeal and Protestant intent, the boon of education to the “uncivilized” of the newly settled areas of the Midwest. Still others became missionaries in a more traditional sense, traveling far from home to preach the Christian gospel in India, Persia, or Africa. Yet others found opportunities for benevolence closer to home, founding and supporting charitable, temperance, and antislavery societies.

Kelley probes the impact of reading and writing on these women, many of whom kept detailed notes about their book choices. Books and letter writing linked women together. These social networks encouraged the spread of ideas and practices across state lines. As Lindal Buchanan’s study, Regendering Delivery: The Fifth Canon and Antebellum Women Rhetors (2005), also shows, the opportunity for women to “stand and speak” in public with the goal of influencing public opinion and steering social action had finally arrived.

One of the most captivating aspects of Kelley’s book (beautifully produced for the Omohundro Institute of Early American Culture by the University of North Carolina Press) is the voices of the girls embarking on the thrilling journey of the mind. Every publicly successful woman served as a model for others. “It makes me proud,” wrote one girl after hearing that a woman had become a sculptor, “for it shows what our sex is capable of doing and encourages us to go on improving” (149). Kelley’s book may well have the same effect on its listener-readers.

E. Jennifer Monaghan, Charlottesville
Franklin to Lead Summer Seminar “Re-Reading the Early Republic”

“Re-reading the Early Republic: From Crèvecoeur to Cooper” will explore the expansion of the press as an element in American public culture from the end of the Revolution to 1830. Wayne Franklin, professor of American studies and English at the University of Connecticut, will lead the seminar, which will take place in Worcester from Monday, June 18 through Friday, June 22, 2007. Franklin will also deliver the James Russell Wiggins Lecture in the History of the Book in American Culture as part of the seminar, but also as a public lecture. (See the separate story for further details about the lecture.)

The seminar will consider remarkable growth both in the number and nature of items published and in the role of the press in public life up to 1830. Paying particular attention to the practices of textual production as these evolved across the five decades, the seminar sessions will address three key issues: (1) authorial practices—how writers conceived and produced their texts as both intellectual constructs and material artifacts; (2) printing and publishing practices—how texts moved from manuscript to print and then to and through the market; and (3) reading practices—how books were owned and understood by individual readers, as well as how they were handled in and by the periodical press. To focus these concerns, a trio of examples from the period has been selected. The first is provided by the French émigré essayist St. Jean de Crèvecoeur and by consideration of how he wrote and organized Letters from an American Farmer (1782) and its associated texts (both the so-called Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America and the “Agricola” papers, as well as the two vastly expanded French “translations” of Letters), and how parts of these texts were recirculated in the American periodical press. The second example centers on how the various texts penned by members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition from 1803 to 1806 were edited and altered as they began to make their way into print, especially how the key contemporary record of the expedition, the 1814 Paul Allen Nicholas Biddle History, shaped immediate public understanding of the Louisiana Territory. The third example centers on the immensely popular fiction of James Fenimore Cooper, whose authorial practices from 1820 to 1830 were experimental both conceptually and in terms of how his works were produced for his growing public in the United States and abroad. This part of the seminar will make special use of the riches in the AAS’s Cooper collection, including manuscripts of various published works, correspondence with his literary agents and publishers, and other documents. Finally, because all three of these examples from the period have undergone exhaustive reediting in the past thirty years, the seminar will consider how modern editorial treatment of texts alters the way an earlier period is—and should be—read and understood.

Primary reading will be Dennis D. Moore’s More Letters from An American Farmer, Gary E. Moulton’s Definitive Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (both online and the one-volume abridgement), and the Cooper edition’s version of The Red Rover, edited by Thomas and Marianne Philbrick.

Assisting Franklin will be visiting faculty Lance Schachterle (associate provost, Worcester Polytechnic Institute and editor-in-chief, James Fenimore Cooper Edition), Jeffrey Walker (associate professor of English, Oklahoma State University and textual editor, Cooper Edition), and David Whitesell, curator of books, AAS.

Further details about the seminar, including the application materials, may be found on the AAS website: http://www.americanantiquarian.org/sumsem07.htm
The newspaper collection at the American Antiquarian Society has grown by over 5 percent in the past three years. Some 185,310 issues (1,976 titles, 659 of them new to the collection) have been acquired, processed, and shelved for patrons to use. The collection now includes more than two million issues of more than 15,500 titles. (This material requires seven miles of shelving!)

"Where do these newspapers come from?" Most came from libraries, historical societies, and dealers through donation, trade, or purchase. One source that has proved quite important to AAS is the publisher’s files, which often yield newspapers still held by the newspaper company that originally published them. Publishers’ files of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries still located in newspaper offices are noted in both of the major published bibliographies of American newspapers, Clarence Brigham’s History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820 (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1947), and Winifred Gregory’s History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1821–1936 (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1937. I have used these references as a starting point to find out what still exists today. Although I have discovered that more than 85 percent of those files have disappeared in the last sixty years, some still survive.

In April 2005, the publisher of the Rutland (Vermont) Herald, John Mitchell, generously agreed to donate early files to AAS. I had first contacted Mitchell in 2003 and was happy to learn that the early files of the Rutland Herald were still in existence. They were stored in the basement of the building, where there was no climate control, and he was pleased that the Society was interested in these early volumes. After two years of working out details and permissions, the volumes were ready for us to pick up and take to Worcester. Once our schedules meshed and the weather was more accommodating, I drove up to Rutland with Marcus McCorison, AAS president emeritus and scholar of early Vermont imprints. McCorison and Mitchell hit it off immediately with talk of early Vermont history, each one often prompting the other with a forgotten name or event to keep the conversation flowing. Finally, Mitchell led us to the lowest level of the building where supplies are stored and trucks pick up fresh bundles of the newspaper for delivery. Behind a large fence were bound volumes of the Herald; Or, Vermont Mercury, one a clergyman and one a judge. Subscriptions that first year cost nine shillings if the newspaper was delivered or seven shillings and sixpence if it was picked up at the office. In the prospectus the two Williamses wrote, "In Political matters we shall be ready to publish any pieces which may be of use to communicate information, or can be considered as relating to the Public: But on no occasion will we condescend to publish any thing in the Herald of an immoral nature or tendency, become the retailers of scandalous anecdotes, or the dupes of electioneering politicians; nor will we be employed in private piques and quarrels, in murdering reputations and characters, or in disturbing the enjoyments of domestic happiness."

Having enjoyed our day of discovery with current Herald staff, we left with sixty volumes packed in the van to bring back to AAS.

Of course we are thrilled to be given this collection. These issues covered the early years of Rutland County, when it was mainly an agricultural community, through the years of rapid growth in the mid-nineteenth century, when it was a major producer of marble (especially at a time when some Italian quarries were petering out), through the post–Civil War years. The newspapers provide a panoramic view of the history of this community.

This is the third publisher’s file acquired by the American Antiquarian Society in the past three years. The first was the Centralia Sentinel (Illinois) for 1863 to 1867. The second was The Reporter (Washington, Pennsylvania) for 1808 to 1825 and 1843 to 1876. The recently acquired file of the Rutland Herald is the oldest and the largest publisher’s file of the three. We hope that these are the leading edge of a new source of newspapers for scholars to use at AAS.

Vincent Golden
Curator of Newspapers and Periodicals
Like their Northern counterparts, Southern newspapers and literary magazines of the Civil War era gave a prominent position to poetry. Southern poets wrote with a particular sense of urgency, knowing that they were helping to give birth to a Southern national literature. Not surprisingly, poems that offer calls-to-arms or paens to the Confederacy regularly appeared in Southern Field and Fireside, the Southern Illustrated News, and the Southern Literary Messenger during the war. My current book project focuses on poetry of the Civil War, reading popular and literary poets in relation to unpublished poems by Union and Confederate soldiers. As a Stephen Botein Fellow at AAS, I examined a range of Southern newspapers and magazines, considering the role that poetry played in articulating Southern nationalist ideologies during the war.

Apart from the wealth of Confederate nationalist poems, my study of these Southern sources yielded some surprises. For example, in The Soldier’s Paper, a Richmond-based Christian publication of which AAS has two rare issues, those poems the editors chose to include focused exclusively on Christian subjects with little or no military imagery; the editors clearly prioritized the themes of resisting temptation and the joys of the afterlife, believing that Confederate soldiers already understood that God supported the Southern cause. Also illuminating were the poetry selections in the Southern Literary Messenger, which I studied in paper form while at AAS and which is also available electronically through the “Making of America” series at the University of Michigan. Two poems in particular make it clear that Southern editors kept a close eye on the work of Northern writers. In January of 1862, the Messenger included a remarkable Whitman parody entitled “The War.” Echoing Whitman’s innovative form, with its long loose lines and its expansive lists, the poem mocks a verbally clumsy Yankee speaker who is wholly oblivious to the many defeats the Union Army has suffered; the writer lampoons Whitman’s overblown style and overblown Yankee confidence simultaneously. The November-December 1862 issue of the Southern Literary Messenger reprints Whittier’s “Battle Autumn of 1862,” noting that the poem had been circulating in the Southern press, “accredited to no author and no journal.” The Messenger’s editor, George Bagby, conjectures that the poem was written by Oliver Wendell Holmes, adding, “As the poem is not a bad thing in itself, and as it speaks of ‘peace and freedom’—earnest wish of us all—we insert it.” The “freedom” that Confederates were wishing for was, of course, quite different from the freedom for which Whittier and Holmes called.

Clearly the Messenger’s editors saw their publication as playing a crucial role in gaining that freedom for the Confederacy. In January of 1863, the Messenger’s pages included a fictional letter from a loyal Confederate soldier urging other Southerners to subscribe: “Sirs, —Enclosed you will find $3 (three dollars) for the S. L. Messenger—a Christmas gift to a young Lady, by a Soldier. How many young men, of the South, will follow my example, in presenting this valuable work to the noble, angelic sympathizers of the Southern soldier.” The letter implies that the Messenger’s pages provide vital encouragement to Southern soldiers, to the loyal women who wait for their return, and more broadly to the new nation of the Confederacy. The advertisement also implicitly likens buying a subscription to the Messenger to joining the Confederate Army: “How many young men, of the South, will follow my example?” the soldier asks. As these examples suggest, study of Southern newspapers and magazines underlines the central role that poetry played in disseminating Confederate nationalist ideologies.

Faith Barrett, Lawrence University

Barrett, who held a Botein Fellowship at AAS in 2006-7, edited, with Christanne Miller (Pomona College), ‘Words for the Hour’: A New Anthology of American Civil War Poetry, published by the University of Massachusetts Press (2005).
Wiggins Lecture to Consider Publication Histories of Cooper Works

The 2007 Wiggins Lecture by Wayne Franklin of the University of Connecticut is titled “Financing America’s First Literary Boom.” A consideration of the publication histories of works of James Fenimore Cooper will be presented as a lecture open to the public on Thursday, June 21, at 5:30 p.m., in Antiquarian Hall. Franklin will address the theme of the summer seminar that he is leading that week, and those who attend the lecture will have an opportunity to meet the seminar faculty and matriculants.

This year’s schedule represents a change from the last two years, when the lecture was part of the Program in the History of the Book Summer Conference. (The next conference will take place in 2008.) This year the Society is hosting the annual conference of the Society of Historians of the Early Republic (SHEAR), which will take place in Worcester from July 19 through 22.