To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Catherine Casto Mitchell entitled "Horace Greeley's Star: Margaret Fuller's New York Tribune Journalism, 1844-1846." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Communications.

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We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Provost and
Dean of the Graduate School

HORACE GREELEY'S STAR:

MARGARET FULLER'S NEW YORK TRIBUNE JOURNALISM, 1844-1846

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

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Catherine Casto Mitchell

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ABSTRACT

This study draws upon writings by Horace Greeley, issues of the New York Daily Tribune from 1844 to 1846, autobiographies of journalists who worked at the Tribune, and Margaret Fuller's letters and essays to describe the context in which Fuller's New York Tribune journalism appeared. The study corrects inaccuracies which appear in the literature about Fuller's experience as a journalist.

While not the first woman to work for an American newspaper, Margaret Fuller was one of the first woman to achieve public stature as a journalist. At the New York Tribune she was one of a four-person editorial staff in charge not only of writing literary reviews, but also of editing the literary section of the newspaper. The Tribune from 1844 to 1846 was among the top three newspapers competing for readers in a field of 21 newspapers in New York City. The Tribune did not reach its influential national status until the 1850s. Margaret Fuller was a valued employee at the newspaper. Criticism of her work by Horace Greeley must be viewed in the context of the criticisms he made of other writers' work. Margaret Fuller received a salary equal to that of her male co-workers and her use of a star as a byline was not an attempt to hide her gender from readers; however, Fuller did not work in the Tribune office because to do so in the 1840s would have been

socially unacceptable. In history Fuller has been denigrated. Some scholars have placed the blame for this on The Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli edited by Emerson et al; however, attacks on Fuller predate this book. It is more likely that the denigration stems from her tough reviews and from the fact that writing journalism has a lower status than does writing poetry or fiction.

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INTRODUCTION

Sarah Margaret Fuller was single, 33 years old and one of the first women to work on a daily newspaper when she went to work for Horace Greeley at the New York Daily Tribune on Dec. 7, 1844. A highly respected New England intellectual, she was well-read in French, Italian and German literature and knew Latin and some Greek, according to Ralph Waldo Emerson ("Reminiscences" 197). Edgar Allan Poe described the Tribune's new book editor as a person of "high genius" who had "only one or two dozen" equals "on the whole face of the earth" ("Literati" 77).

She is remembered as:

> the most important woman in the 19th century -- its best literary critic, the first editor of the Dial, a nurse in the abortive Italian revolution (a precursor of both Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton), a woman who recognized the complicated emotional needs of women and men during the early stages of the repressive Victorian era, a foreign correspondent of the daily New York Tribune, and the author of numerous works, the most important of which is Woman in the Nineteenth Century, the intellectual foundation of the feminist movement (Urbanski 3).

Fuller was a witty woman. Brockway,[1] for instance, reported that Greeley's wife Molly

> abhorred kid gloves, apparently because of her strong

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[1] This is probably an apocryphal story. Brockway said he found this story in "a newspaper published in the western part of the state" (158). He does not name the author or newspaper. However, the story makes an important point. This tale illustrates the witty Margaret Fuller in conversation.

> aversion to the killing of animals. This dislike led to a brief but spirited exchange with Margaret Fuller. The two met on the street one day and Molly touched the angular spinster's gloved hand, then drew back with a shudder exclaiming, "Skin of a beast, Skin of a beast." "What do you wear?" asked Margaret. "Silk," was the reply, whereupon Margaret, just touching Molly's .pa outstretched hand, shuddered in turn and exclaimed, "Entrails of a worm" (157).

At the Tribune Fuller wrote at least 250 articles (Myerson Margaret Fuller: A Descriptive Bibliography). Her topics were primarily literary although she also wrote about philanthropic issues. Fuller's work was highly successful.

In fact, her byline of a star inspired a contemporary joke. She was generally referred to as the "star" of the Tribune. Greeley made the pun in a letter to Schuyler Colfax (Feb. 28, 1846):

> The * of the Tribune is Miss S. Margaret Fuller author of "Woman in the Nineteenth Century," "Summer on the Lakes" etc. . . . She is the most thoroughly learned woman on this continent and of capacious intellect.

Graham's Magazine made the same pun in a September, 1846 social notice of Fuller's departure for Europe:

> Miss Margaret Fuller, the "star" of the New York Tribune, and the author of Woman in the Nineteenth Century, A Summer on the Lakes, etc., sailed a few days ago for Europe, intending to spend a few months in Italy (Quoted in Myerson Margaret Fuller: An Annotated Secondary Bibliography 15).

There were at least four good reasons for Greeley to offer her a job. First, when Greeley announced the hiring of Fuller, he called her a writer "already eminent in the higher walks of literature," and predicted "decided and

gratifying change" for his newspaper ("Prospectus for the Year 1845" 1). Second, Greeley's wife recommended Fuller (Recollections 176). Mrs. Greeley had attended several of the "Conversations," a popular series of lecture/encounter groups on women's rights that Fuller had been leading in Boston since 1839. Third, Fuller had editorial experience. From 1840 to 1842 she edited The Dial, the literary magazine founded by Ralph Waldo Emerson to air transcendentalist literature. Fourth, Greeley liked Fuller's 1844 travel book Summer on the lakes, which he called "one of the clearest and most graphic delineations ever given of the Great Lakes, of the Prairies, of the receding barbarism," of the frontier (Quoted in Emerson et al II: 152).

After two years of labor in New York Fuller sailed to Europe where she continued to write for the Tribune as a foreign correspondent.

In Fuller's "Farewell" (2) essay she said her years in New York had provided her "a richer and more varied experience" than would 20 years lived anywhere else. She said she had learned two things in New York: that education was important for the future of the country and that women's role in society would keep expanding.

In Europe she met Thomas Carlyle, George Sand, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and the Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini. She also met Italian count Giovanni Ossoli (10 years her junior) bore him a son and, perhaps,

married him.[2] She got caught up in a revolution in Italy, covered it for the Tribune and ran a hospital for the rebels. In 1850 with Ossoli and the baby she sailed back to the United States, but her ship went aground and broke up off Fire Island at the entrance to New York harbor within sight of scavengers on the shore. Fuller, Ossoli and their son drowned. The manuscript of a book she had written about the Italian revolution was never found.

This is a study of the New York Daily Tribune during Margaret Fuller's two years in residence. It is important to note that this study is not a biography of Fuller's two years in New York. York. It is instead a contextualization, an attempt to analyze the context in which Fuller worked in the hope that an understanding of this context will bring Fuller herself into sharper focus.

This study draws its inspiration from a genre of photography called the environmental portrait. Rather than framing a picture close-up on the person's face, the photographer moves back from his subject. He includes in the picture not just the subject, but the subject's desk

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[2] "A century of scholarship, speculation, and gossip has never been wholly able to untangle the events" surrounding Fuller's relationship with Giovanni Angelo Ossoli. No one has been able to locate a marriage certificate, and Fuller only wrote home that she had married when it was clear that she was going to have a baby (Hudspeth "Introduction" I: 47).

including the clutter on it, coat stand with coat, pictures on the wall, books, mementoes, potted plants -- everything in the subject's office. In an environmental portrait a photographer trades the ability to reveal a person's face in detail for the opportunity to portray details of the subject's surroundings. This study is an attempt to present an environmental portrait of what Margaret Fuller called her "business life" (Letters III: 269), her work life at the New York Tribune.

The dominant elements in this environmental portrait are Horace Greeley and his newspaper. This study devotes as much or more space to these two topics as it does to Margaret Fuller herself. The premise is that we can gain a better understanding of Fuller's journalism through knowledge of her editor and the publication in which her work appeared.

Fuller, herself, was not very revealing about her life as a journalist. Her letters from 1844 to 1846 dealt mainly with friendship and familial matters. Her essays, published in the Tribune, contain only the barest of references to the work of doing journalism. The result is that Fuller did not leave a sufficient basis for the reconstruction of her work life.

The major primary sources for this reconstruction (in addition to Fuller's letters and articles from 1844 to 1846) are Greeley's letters and writings, the editions of the New

York Tribune while Fuller worked there, autobiographies written by men who worked for Greeley and one autobiography written by a woman, Jane Grey Swisshelm, who worked in journalism in the 1840s. In addition, estimates of the quality of Fuller's work, published over a period of 140 years, are used to discuss her public image as a journalist.

What is lacking in scholarship on Fuller's two years in New York is a sense of context. Many authors (Allen, Anthony, Bell, Blanchard, Brown, Chipperfield, Deiss, Higginson, Pentu, Slater, Stern, Wade) have written biographies which include chapters on the New York period. Many more (Berger, Golemba, Miller, Russell, Urbanski, Szymanski, Ebbitt) have read Fuller's literary pieces from the Tribune and assessed their importance in American literature. In fact, Fuller bibliographer Myerson commented, "The most worked over area of Fuller scholarship is that of her published criticism" ("Introduction" xv).

"Margaret Fuller has been the subject of numerous biographies, but they tend to treat her as a literary figure and philosopher, not as a journalist," observed Beasley and Gibbons (185).

> Much has been written about Margaret Fuller: there are numerous biographies and anthologies. . . . Attention has been paid to her criticism and dispatches on cultural and political events in England, France, and Italy, and on her intellectual relationships with Emerson, Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and A. Bronson Alcott. What is not so well-known is that she was, in between her columns of criticism, a general assignment

> reporter, producing occasional articles on such issues as prostitution, the blind, women in prisons, and asylums. The articles, extensions of her literary style, were actually editorials: Fuller's observations of conditions and recommendations for change (Belford 8).

When scholars have looked at Fuller's New York work, they have paid far too much attention to her personal life. Almost every biography devotes most of its New York space to a description of her romance with James Nathan. There are two possible reasons for this.

First, as Ames and Teeter note,

> It is no doubt significant that more is known about the love life of many a prominent publisher than is known about the financial lives of their newspapers. But perhaps sex is more fun for historians than money (38).

Scholarship on Margaret Fuller is no exception to this rule.

The second possible explanation for all the attention to Nathan is that the love letters Fuller wrote him are the most complete set of Fuller manuscripts from that period.

> The fifty-odd letters she wrote to him in 1845 and 1846 stand out not only for their number (they represent almost half of the surviving letters Fuller wrote while she was in New York), but more important, for their intensity (Hudspeth "Preface" IV: 7).

While a great deal of attention has been paid to Fuller and Nathan, almost no work has been done on her economic status, her working conditions at the New York Daily Tribune.

What little attention scholars have paid to the group of people who produced the Tribune has focused on the personal relationship between Fuller and Greeley. There is

no doubt that they were close. Most scholarship looking at Greeley and Fuller has asked the question: Just how close were they? Greeley biographer Hale (Horace), for instance, said Greeley was unhappily married, had a close friendship with Fuller, but was not intimate with her. However, Hale reached this conclusion while titling his chapter on Fuller "Lover."

While scholars have happily pursued the scent of scandal, what they have ignored is the important business collaboration between the two which helped create one of America's great newspapers.

Hudspeth ("Transcendentalists" 184-85) credits Szymanski's 1980 dissertation for a doctorate in English at Cornell with "the most thorough account of Fuller's stay in New York and the changes she underwent there." While the Szymanski work is excellent, it looks primarily at Fuller as a figure in American literature. Szymanski sees Fuller's move to New York to work for Greeley as an important step in her intellectual growth. To grow she had to become more than a follower in Emerson's quiet intellectual circle.

> To remain where and as she was, Margaret Fuller would have had to acquiesce to personal and cultural forces that sought to restrict her. . . . [She had] outgrown [the New England] part of her life. So for the preservation of her sanity and the extension of her self, she had to leave New England (48).

In New York, Szymanski said, "Fuller achieved a new independence and maturity of thought and action" which would

eventually lead to her radicalism in Italy. "She made a firm commitment to public life as a critic and a journalist, setting aside for good her unrealistic pretensions to and longings for artistic genius" (165).

Szymanski concluded that during her two years in New York Fuller modified her romantic transcendentalist idealism. "She no longer believed that solutions to the problems she sees would come as quickly or as easily as she had once imagined. She became more of a pragmatic social idealist instead of an uncompromising philosophical idealist" (324). She also began to turn away from from "aesthetic and egocentric concerns" to broader social concerns, said Szymanski.

In her first six months at the Tribune, said Szymanski, Fuller concentrated on "writers of recognized genius or those who aspire to genius (Emerson, Lowell, Barrett, and Sand) and whose work is very familiar to her" (178). Later she expanded her work to consider minor writers whom Szymanski said Fuller called "men of talent" (193). Szymanski saw this expansion in writing topics as an important move by Fuller from an elitist position that literature is "the preserve of a special group who shared her own appreciative and critical faculties" (196) to a more democratic position. Fuller hoped to teach "the general reading public . . . to discriminate and judge" (Szymanski

196). By 1846, Szymanski saw Fuller's interests expanding beyond literature to social issues. In this period, "the number of her literary reviews decreased significantly" (212), as she concentrated on social issues.

Szymanski dealt with the questions: 1 - What did Margaret Fuller write while she was in New York? 2 - How did Fuller's experience in New York change or effect her as a writer? The goal here is to build on Szymanski's work by answering a different set of questions.

This study comes from an historical tradition heavily influenced by sociology that seeks to answer questions about group relationships. (See the Appendix for a more detailed discussion of the assumptions underlying this work.)

This study is newspaper history rather than literary history. Therefore, it is as much a history of two of the early years of one of America's great newspapers as it is of two years in Margaret Fuller's life. The purpose of this study is to compare Fuller to the other people who wrote for the Tribune at the same time and to determine how much and in what way Fuller contributed to the production and success of the New York Daily Tribune during her two years as an employee there.

Scholarly descriptions of Fuller's duties at the Tribune tend to be scanty one-line asides with little documentation provided. About Fuller's work for Greeley, Hale mentioned only that "she conducted a book column whose

critical standards and style stood well above any other in America" (115), then dropped the subject. Cross described Fuller's 1844-46 job title as "contributor to Greeley's New York Tribune" (27). The word contributor implies an occasional writer.

Amy Clampitt (in a 1986 poem "Margaret Fuller, 1847") asked the modern question about Fuller, "What did she do?" (38). Clampitt's poem described Fuller's Italian years and then contrasted the reality with a flip summary of Fuller's life.

> Injustice. Ridicule. What did she do,
> it would be asked (as though that mattered).
> Gave birth. Lived through a revolution.
> Nursed its wounded. Saw it run aground.
> Published a book or two.
> And drowned.

What Margaret Fuller did was journalism. It is the purpose of this study to describe her journalism, the newspaper where she did her writing, the significance of her contribution to newspapers, the circumstances under which she worked, the people with whom she worked, and her stature among her contemporaries.

Chapter One reviews the extensive scholarly work that has been done analyzing Fuller's writing in the Tribune.

Chapter Two analyzes the Tribune's total editorial content from 1844 to 1846 in an attempt to describe Fuller's duties at the newspaper.

Chapter Three describes the New York Daily Tribune,

from 1844 to 1846, its editorial positions, economic health, competition, circulation, and staff. The chapter questions the assumption in much of the Fuller literature that the Tribune was an influential national newspaper when Fuller worked there. The Tribune was barely three years old when Fuller joined it and just beginning to find the approach that 10 years later would make it America's most important newspaper.

Chapter Four shows the working relationship between Greeley and Fuller. It outlines the kind and unkind comments Greeley made about Fuller and assesses Fuller's value to the newspaper as an employee.

Chapter Five assesses Fuller's place in the history of women working on newspapers. The chapter looks at her salary, byline and workspace to see if she received different treatment from the men who worked at the Tribune.

Chapter Six looks at the historical Fuller. It outlines the two distinct versions of her public image that originated among her contemporaries and continues today. This chapter notes the contribution that Fuller's occupation as a journalist made to the creation of this historical description of Fuller.

Chapter Seven summarizes the central points in this study.

CHAPTER I

MARGARET FULLER'S ESSAYS IN THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE

Margaret Fuller's literary columns for the Tribune were a new phenomenon, said Ingersoll. The discussion of books and ideas was "exclusively [in] literary journals" (168) until Greeley's Tribune. Literature was important to Greeley, said Ingersoll. He pointed out that Greeley had little schooling,

> and yet there was no one scholar among his countrymen, no matter how profoundly versed in learning, who accomplished so much for literature, or who gave it so great, comprehensive, wise appreciation, as a means of human progress and of general enlightenment. . . . None approached him in giving what may be called general intellectual culture to the general public (186).

Bradshaw analyzed Greeley's advice to correspondents in The New Yorker that pre-dated the Tribune. He found that Greeley's published comments about the quality of freelance submissions to his publication indicate a real interest on Greeley's part in the literary merits of the submissions he received; however, "his judgments were sometimes erratic, and overly moralistic" (673).

Fuller was reviewing books in an exciting time in the nascent field of American Literature. The first real geniuses in American literature were beginning to publish. Matthiessen called the mid-nineteenth century the American Renaissance. The Scarlet Letter, The House of Seven Gables, Moby Dick, Walden and Leaves of Grass all appeared between

1850 and 1855. In this era, said Matthiessen, America came "to its first maturity and affirm[ed] its rightful heritage in the whole expanse of art and culture" (vii). Fuller was a contemporary and therefore a reviewer of new works by Melville, Poe, Longfellow, and Hawthorne. She also reviewed European writers including Robert Browning, Balzac, Dumas, Goethe, Shelley, Disraeli, Carlyle, and Dickens. Ingersoll credited her with introducing Americans to George Sand.

Of course most of the books she read were more pedestrian works which are no longer well-known, for instance Etherology or the Philosophy of Mesmerism and Phrenology by J. Stanley Grimes.

The preponderance of Fuller's starred essays was on literary topics. However, Fuller's work was more than mere book reviews. As Parton noted, her pieces were "essays upon authors, rather than reviews of books" (254).

Her critical philosophy was two-fold. First, she said, "A great critic is not merely the surveyor, but the interpreter of what other minds possess" ("Lowell's Conversations" 1). That is, a critic should not just describe a work. The good critic also analyses the work.

Secondly, Fuller believed in the possibility of a great, and uniquely American, literature. She predicted that such a literature of this continent would "grow up, if men will write of what is rooted in their lives, instead of

copies from foreign models or ideals which rest only on the clouds above them" ("Mr. Hosmer's Poems" 1).

In her first review "Emerson's Essays" (1) she set an independent tone for her work. Ralph Waldo Emerson was Fuller's good friend, but that fact did not keep her from making negative comments. She said his essays lacked focus. Her courage and independence as a reviewer were respected by her contemporaries.

On the other hand when she reviewed the newly released Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave (1), she found the book an "excellent piece of writing" and "evidence of the powers of the Black Race which Prejudice persists in disputing."

Fuller's work as a critic was regarded as being of high quality when it was published. Parton, writing a biography of Horace Greeley in 1855, called Fuller's work on George Sand both

> discriminating and courageous. . . . To give George Sand her due ten years ago required more courage in a reviewer than it would now to withhold it. . . . Margaret Fuller, in the knowledge of literature, was the most learned woman of her country, perhaps of her time (254-255).

George Ripley, Fuller's replacement as critic for the Tribune, said,

> With her fine, instinctive sense of every manifestation of beauty in literature and art, and her acute analytical skill, she had every intellectual qualification for a consummate judge of artistic merit (6).

Poe said her review Longfellow's poetry "did her infinite credit." In a time when Longfellow received "mere glorifications" from most critics, from Fuller he received "honor only where honor was due." She pointed out the "real and idiosyncratic merits of the poet," said Poe ("Literati" 75).

Twentieth Century scholars have agreed with Poe's analysis of the high quality of Fuller's work. There is general consensus that she was the best literary critic of her age, her work ranking with or above that of Poe's.

"In the 1840s, she and Edgar Allen Poe -- although he made an art of vindictiveness -- were America's most serious and analytical critics; and their work generated a new standard of excellence and a new respect for literature," said Conrad (83).

> Among contemporary critics Margaret Fuller alone possessed the breadth of knowledge necessary to deal with literature ranging from the classics to the latest publications of authors in Britain, on the Continent, or on the American scene. No one could match her theoretical grounding in European standards of literary criticism, and few -- Poe was a notable exception -- showed the kind of interest that she manifested in current American literature (Arthur Brown 81).

Wade noted that in 20 months at the Tribune Fuller established herself "as one of the leading American critics, with Poe the only rival claimant to notice today" (144). Observing that the normal critical stance in the 1840s was "puffing and pussyfooting," Wade commended Fuller's "forthrightness," and concluded "her verdicts are on the

whole amazingly just, and anticipate in many instances the opinions not generally held until many years after she wrote" (144).

Margaret Fuller "was one of the best critics of her century; some have said she was the best critic in America before 1850. Certainly she was far more catholic in scope and taste than most other critics of her day," observed Allen (79).

> By any measure, Margaret Fuller's achievements as a critic are superlative. At its best, her criticism successfully fused theory and practice, the cosmopolitan outlook and the nationalistic, Romanticism and classicism. The best of it also blended a concern for art and poetry with a concern for the life of people in society (Allen 97).

"Her practical judgment of writers and books was shrewd and usually accurate. As a reviewer for the Tribune she maintained consistently high standards of evaluation under the day-to-day pressure of deadlines," said Allen (87). For instance, Fuller called Emerson's poems "too philosophical." On the other hand, noted Allen, Fuller introduced her American readers to European literature like the poetry of Robert Browning (Allen 87). Fuller was not always right as a critic. "Balzac's novels contained too strong a dose of reality for her" (Allen 88).

Golemba ("The Balanced") said Fuller "established high principles of literary criticism which admirably transcended the bulk of contemporary reviewers who, by and large,

offered personal visceral reactions to literary works which all too often resulted in mere puffs of praise or damning diatribes" (134).

Even Perry Miller, who was often snide about Fuller, stood in admiration of the quality of her literary criticism. Fuller's

> journalism in 1845 and 1846 constitutes a performance in literary criticism far beyond the conventional prowess of the then respected but now forgotten professionals, such as Henry Tuckerman and Edwin P. Whipple, or the ponderous judgments of the North American Review and the waspish puerilities of the Knickerbocker Magazine. Only a few of the better pieces of Edgar Allan Poe can stand beside the body of her Tribune articles (xi-xii Margaret Fuller American Romantic).

Because Fuller was an honest critic, not given to puffery, her work raised the standards by which the new American literature was judged and helped to improve its quality.

Fuller emphasized a uniquely American literature because "she understood the link between uniquely American art and national development and character," said Allen (92).

Berger said Fuller had a "seminal role in the formation of standards for American literary criticism. . . . She tried to bring the spirit of objectivity and the breadth of a cosmopolitan outlook to an arena where criticism had become all too personal and subjective" (34/08A p. 5157 DAI).

The editor of her letters, Hudspeth, described her criticism: "She was always ready to risk offending popular taste by taking up the cause of a neglected or maligned writer (Shelley, Sand) or deflating an unearned reputation (Longfellow)" ("Introduction" I: 55). "In her estimate of Longfellow, Lowell, Hawthorne, and Poe she was singularly correct and very much in advance of her time," maintained Fay (88).

> In the flush of national enthusiasm, there was ridiculous praise for everything written by Americans, and that was worse than the wholesale ridicule heaped by many European critics on any "provincial" literature (Welter Dimity 172-173).

However, Fuller took a different position. "To say what was true, and expose pretense and sham, was her aim, and it made her a formidable adversary" (Welter Dimity 173).

As a critic, Fuller "could be rude and brutal as well as charming. She liked to shy stones at the popular idol; to dig in the mud for the unseen jewel" (Ross 401).

Conrad said there were two critical approaches to literature in the 1840s. The conservative Knickerbocker ridiculed transcendentalism and the German romanticism in which it was partially founded, Conrad explained. While the Young America movement, led by Evart Duyckinck, "searched for an original, totally American genius, and was soon committed to producing one immediately -- from its own ranks" (83). Fuller, said Conrad, was independent of both of these schools. "Promoting European literature spurned by

the Knickerbocker and discounting Young America's hopes for an instant American literature and genius, she was sympathetic to intellectual self-reliance" (84).

Welter observed that "the thin-skinned among American poets and writers" attacked Fuller's work arguing that

> American literature was a tender sapling; any spurt of growth should be encouraged; time enough to prune and thin out the plants when they were better established. In these early days encourage anything that poked its head above ground (Dimity 173).

Wade maintained that the ideas in the literary essays reprinted from the Tribune in Papers on Literature and Art "are largely those which supplied the basis for the revaluation of American literature which began fifty years after her death" (154).

Fuller's ideas on American literature derived from a study of European literature. Because she was well-educated and multi-lingual, she was in a unique position to read and appreciate European literature. She is credited with introducing Continental writers to the American audience. However, she used her knowledge of European literature not to urge Americans to imitate these writers, but to show Americans that individual countries developed their own unique literatures.

"Fuller announced that the major problem confronting both American artists and critics was that there was no American literature" (Conrad 84). However, an American

literature might grow out of the study of European literature. "A knowledge of European literature would give order, structure, and depth to the restless, energetic, and often superficial spirit of Americans -- would help give them character," said Conrad (85). Fuller found the contemporary literature being written in England "conventional and predictable" while the literature of France and Germany were more spiritual.

Her artistic standards, said Wade, "were European rather than American, and it is not surprising that she attained her critical zenith in considering German and French literature" (150). By pointing out that there were more literatures than just English, Greek and Roman, Fuller helped establish the idea of "that most nations had their own literatures, [and] there arose the question of whether there was an American literature, distinct from the English, and if not, why not?" (Wade 151).

Durning pointed out that Fuller "was influential in introducing much European literature to Americans" (134) through her articles in the Tribune. In addition, he noted that her essay on American Literature published in Papers on Literature and Art

> was the first important assessment of American writing. It enjoyed a wide audience in America and in France, where it was translated into French and published in La Revue Independante. The essay was so well received the editors of the Revue asked Margaret Fuller to become their American correspondent upon her return to the United States (134).

Durning concluded that Fuller's work provided an important bridge between the literatures of Europe and America.

> Margaret Fuller has a greater right to the title "citizen of the world" than any other person in American literature in the nineteenth century. Her familiarity with the literature of classical civilization and modern European culture enabled;led her to be an ideal intermediary between the Old World;d and the New by means of her literary criticism, her translations, her "Conversations," and her letters to Americans written while she was in Europe (131).

The success of Margaret Fuller's literary work derived from the fact that she had a carefully thought out philosophy of literary criticism. Scholars have examined her starred work and found that it fits into a coherent whole.

"Her fundamental aesthetic principle," said Wade, "was that a great work of Art demands a great thought, or a thought of beauty adequately expressed" (150).

Golemba said Fuller wanted to create a theory of literary criticism that incorporated a balance of antitheses. "The quality which most distinguishes her personality and criticism is not only breadth and diversity, but a balance and reconciliation of a broad spectrum of diverse ideas" ("The Balanced" 32/05A p.2641 DAI).

Conrad found three themes in Fuller's reviews: the need for a uniquely American literature, the importance of

European literature, the inflated value placed on many American writers.

Golemba noted that Fuller recognized what would later come to be known as the psychological novel. He said she described works by Hawthorne and Brockden Brown as looking at the "life of the mind" (32/05A p.2641 DAI).

Ebbitt said the value of Fuller's work was not in her specific ideas about authors but in her overall purpose.

> Believing that good literature is the guide to good living, Margaret Fuller sought to civilize the American reading public by revealing to them the merits and demerits of their own national literature and by introducing to them foreign writings which would broaden and strengthen their literary criteria (ciii).

Fuller's critical philosophy, said Ebbitt, fell in the middle of a continuum between Emerson and Poe. Emerson's criticism, said Ebbitt, was "moralistic, philosophical" while Poe's criticism was "aesthetic, technical" (lvii).

Ebbitt identified five critical themes in Fuller's work. 1- Literature should be the sincere product of an individual mind and not imitative. 2 - America needed a literature for the people, the masses. 3 - Literature's purpose is to refine people rather than instruct them. 4 - Literature is "an expression of life" (lv). 5 - The ideas in literature are more important than styles of writing.

Several scholars have observed that Fuller was not equally tough on all writers. She was toughest on the

greatest of writers while she was relatively lax with unknowns.

Ebbitt said Fuller's critical system was to divide literature into two groups: excellent work and ephemeral pieces. As a critic she held the works in the excellent category to a much tougher standard than she applied to the ephemeral works.

Arthur Brown said Fuller divided all works into three classes and applied different critical standards to each class. Works of genius she analyzed critically, comparing them to other writers of genius like Dante, Shakespeare or Goethe. However, she merely reported on the ideas of writers in the other two categories, scholars or interpreters of genius to the multitudes and "energetic men who have something of value to tell their contemporaries" (77).

Wade said Fuller divided her books for review into three categories: "the work of genius, the work of scholars, and the work of vigorous minds who had something of importance to say to their own generation" (149).

Fuller has been criticized for overly praising minor writers; however, her purpose "was to encourage American youth in the hope that among their number some fertile genius might exist," observed Fay (88).

But Fuller was more than a literary critic. She also wrote articles on philanthropy and reform. Fuller's

reforming articles were just in line with the Tribune's editorial policies, and the Tribune was in line with the times.

America had changed during Andrew Jackson's presidency (1829 to 1937) from a "pre-industrial society that was slow to accept innovation to a modern capitalistic state in which people believed that society could transform" (Douglas Miller "Birth" x). Before 1815 America had been a relatively stable agrarian society for two centuries, but after 1815 "new technology, new forms of economic organization, growing wealth and geographical expansion presented a challenge to traditional values and ways" (Douglas Miller "Then Was" 22).

The famous textile mill experiment in Lowell, Mass. could be a symbol for the age. Young farm women were hired to work a 12 hour day, 70 hour week in the textile mills. "The system offered reassurance to parents by providing strait-laced discipline supervised by respectable housemothers, regular curfews, and compulsory church attendance," observed Tindall (447).

The Lowell mills were supposed to be a model program. They provided young farm women with work under respectable conditions while producing textiles much more efficiently than could individual weavers at hand looms. The mills were a regular stop on celebrity tours. Charles Dickens, Davy

Crockett and President Jackson all took guided tours. For instance, Crockett said the textile workers were "well-dressed, lively and genteel in their appearance, indeed the girls looked as if they were coming from a quilting frolic" (As Quoted by Douglas Miller "Then Was" 37).

Yet contemporary observers noticed problems. Herman Melville used a fictional papermill as the setting for a moving short story about working conditions in this new industrialized society. He described the folding room: "At rows of blank-looking counters sat rows of blank-looking girls, with blank, white folders in their blank hands, all blankly folding blank paper" (201).

In the rag room each worker used "a long glittering scythe" to rip rags into little pieces "converting the tatters almost into lint. The air swam with the fine poisonous particles which from all sides darted, subtilely [sic], as motes of sunbeams, into the lungs" (204).

In the mill, Melville wrote,

> Not a syllable was breathed. Nothing was heard but the low, steady overruling hum of the iron animals. The human voice banished from the spot. Machinery -- that vaunted slave of humanity -- here stood menially served by human beings, who served mutely and cringingly as the slave serves the Sultan. The girls did not so much seem accessory wheels to the general machinery as mere cogs to the wheels (Melville 202).

The industrial revolution drew people to the cities seeking jobs and as a result for the first time in American history by the 1840s America's cities contained terrible

slums (Douglas Miller "Birth" 103). The Five Points slum in New York was infamous. In 1842 Charles Dickens took two policemen with him for safety's sake (88). In one dwelling he saw

> great mounds of dusty rags upon the ground. . . . Then the mounds of rags are seen to be astir, and rise slowly up, and the floor is covered with heaps of negro women waking from their sleep. . . . Where dogs would howl to lie, women, and men, and boys slink off to sleep, forcing the dislodged rats to move away in quest of better lodgings (Dickens 89-90).

A general reform movement arose in the United States to deal with these problems. The reformers' philosophy was that "removed from society, the needy and deviant could be made whole again" (Tindall 497). An example of the reform spirit of the times, said Tindall, was Dorothea Dix who in 1843 presented to the Massachusetts legislature the results of a two year investigation of poor conditions in jails, asylums and almshouses in the state.

Stoddard characterized the biases that ruled the age as

> anti-Masons, anti-rum, anti-lotteries, anti-renters, anti-foreigners, anti-free-Irelanders, anti- resistants to force, anti-users-of-cooked-food because fire belongs to hell and therefore destroys purity (Bronson Alcott, father of Louisa May Alcott, led that reform) (79-80).

Personal reform was also on the agenda for the age. Sylvester Graham started in 1830 as a temperance speaker and became an advocate of "proper habits of dress, hygiene, sex and mind," says Tindall (494). By the 1840s there were Graham health clubs, camps and sanitariums all advocating

the Graham dietary philosophy. Graham encouraged people to eat grains, vegetables and fruits, but to avoid alcohol, coffee, tea and tobacco, says Tindall. Greeley was dedicated to Graham's ideas. In fact, Greeley first met his wife Molly at Dr. Graham's boarding house in New York, said Zabriskie.

This Industrial Revolution was

> a highly painful process full of dislocations, maladjustments, indignities, oppressions, and injustices, along with the normal complement of evil and stupidity. To a man like Greeley, with a highly developed but largely unfocused moral sense, many of these things were intolerable, to be fought with whatever weapon lay at hand (Tebbel Media 174).

Greeley's paper took political positions, trying to solve issues for urban workers dealing with "the problems of the fast-advancing Machine Age in America" (Kobre 255). Mott says the paper's nickname was "The Great Moral Organ" (272). Greeley addressed what Douglas Miller says was a general public belief in the 1840s in progress. "Most individuals, whether participating reformers or not, shared the faith in human betterment and believed that perfection itself could be achieved in the foreseeable future" (Birth xi).

The 1840s, said Stoddard, were the era of isms. Abolitionism, Fourierism, nationalism, reformism, transcendentalism and feminism were all on the national agenda. And Greeley's "devotion to isms" was one of the causes of the success of his newspaper, said Linn (76).

From its inception, Greeley planned for the newspaper to have a reformist outlook. In the prospectus for the Tribune which he published in the April, 1841 in his Log Cabin, Greeley said he intended the Tribune to "advance the interests of the people, and to promote their Moral, Political and Social Well-being" (As Quoted by William Hale 66). The newspaper's nickname was "The Great Moral Organ." Greeley favored fourieristic socialism, labor unions, prohibition of liquor, and emancipation of slaves. He had a "deep desire to improve the lot of the poor, the unemployed, the suffering and the degraded," said Mott (272).

George Ripley, the newspaper's long time book editor, in a speech at the laying of a cornerstone for the new Tribune building, observed that the newspaper "represented the intellectual spirit of the age, which welcomed every new discovery of truths and was free from limitations of party" (Quoted by National Cyclopedia 3:450).

The Tribune was dedicated "to the elevation of the masses. The Tribune stood first of all for progress and welcomed to its pages all forward looking men and doctrines," noted Van Deusen (51). Tindall said the Tribune was interested in "socialism, land reform, feminism, abolitionism, temperance, the protective tariff, internal improvements, improved methods of agriculture, vegetarianism, spiritualism, and trade unions" (486).

The Tribune endorsed any project that seemed to aid the common man. As a part of this philosophy the newspaper was pro-union. Horace Greeley was the first president of the New York Printers Union founded Jan. 1, 1850. Greeley in the 1840s favored the establishment of union wages for typographers. His newspaper in 1849 was the only one in the city paying a previously negotiated union scale. All the others newspapers had undercut that scale (A History of 100 Years of Unions).

An 1883 sketch of the New York Tribune's history says the newspaper had three main causes: abolitionism, protectionism, and agriculture. The Tribune, said the Sketch, was "the sharpest weapon in the North wielded in favor of Abolition" (8). After the defeat of Clay in 1844, the Tribune became vocally anti-slavery, says Ingersoll. Greeley was himself strongly anti-slavery but he steered a more moderate path in print, Ingersoll observed. Greeley argued for protectionism to enable the United States to break away from a dependence on foreign markets. He said protectionism was necessary to sustain a national agriculture, manufacture and commerce. Hand in hand with this position, "the Tribune identified itself with the nobility of agriculture as an occupation" (New York Tribune: A Sketch 10).

Although many of the paper's isms to a modern reader seem quite creditable, some have lost their luster in 150

years. Stern has pointed out that both Fuller and Greeley believed in phrenology. Greeley "was a confirmed advocate of phrenology," and Fuller wrote several articles and reviews on the subject, says Stern ("Margaret" 231).

One of Greeley's interests was a form of socialism proposed by Charles Fourier. Fourier believed that man was naturally good but was corrupted by the new industrial society. Fourier proposed to reorganize society into small social units called phalanxes (Van Deusen). Tindall explains that Fourier wanted to break society down into phalanxes of 1620 people apiece. These phalanxes would hold property communally. Greeley helped found the first phalanx, "Sylvania," in Pennsylvania. According to Tindall, the social experiment lasted one year and lost Greeley $5,000. Greeley's public advocacy of Fourierism was the subject of a famous debate with the rival Courier and Enquirer. Each newspaper published 12 articles "attracting great attention, and afterward published in pamphlet form" (Zabriskie 97).

Greeley actively tried to put the principles of socialism into action. In 1846 he incorporated his newspaper into a "joint stock concern" (Zabriskie 98). Greeley and McElrath maintained majority ownership, but they sold shares to assistant editors and other assistants, the cashier and the foremen of the press and composition rooms"

(Zabriskie 98). Zabriskie said Greeley sold stock to his employees in order to give them more involvement in the newspaper, but in the long run this didn't work because one third of the stock ended up in outside hands.

Van Deusen has traced the roots of Greeley's reformist philosophy. From Arthur Brisbane, Van Deusen said Greeley learned of Charles Fourier's brand of socialism. From Carlyle's Past and Present published in 1843 Greeley drew further conclusions about the bad side of the industrial revolution, says Van Deusen. Carlyle "portrayed in stark and graphic fashion the human suffering caused by the Industrial Revolution and assailed the rising capitalist class with embarrassing question and comment," observed Van Deusen (62). From Emerson and the other transcendentalists Greeley derived his belief in self-help, the existence of a moral law, and the possibility of improving mankind, said Van Deusen. From the English economist William Atkinson, said Van Deusen, Greeley derived his belief in the need for an American nationalism. Greeley believed that national self-sufficiency is important and the "pursuit of national interest was not only right and proper, it was inevitable," observed Van Deusen (62). Also influencing this Greeley position, said Van Deusen, was philosopher Henry Carey who argued that the United States should be a national economic unit. The first priority for the country should be national rather than foreign or local needs.

Thus Sheila

Margaret Fuller's views on reform were in concert with her age and Greeley's newspaper. She believed if society could improve living conditions and educational opportunities in prisons and insane asylums, then the inhabitants would be more likely to become valuable members of society. Hudspeth however has pointed out a difference between Fuller and Greeley on reform. While Greeley's interests were national and political in scope, Fuller's were cultural. "While Greeley regularly damned the administration, especially after the outbreak of the [Mexican] war, Fuller concentrated on New York City" ("Preface" 5).

It is Fuller's essays on philanthropic questions which were most widely read while she worked at the Tribune, her biographer said in 1884 (Higginson 216). Ingersoll in 1873 commented that Fuller's social essays was "remarkable for freshness, suggestiveness and wisdom" (179).

When she first arrived in New York Greeley assigned Fuller to make what she called a "survey" of "the institutions here of a remedial and benevolent kind" (Fuller Letters IV: 45). She visited these institutions in the company of the minister, William Henry Channing (Fuller Letters IV: 46). Channing "Fuller's close friend, was preaching Fourierite socialism in New York City at this time" (Fuller Letters IV: 45n). W.H. Channing was a city

missionary in New York when Fuller arrived. He gave her tours of schools, hospitals, asylums, prisons and "that sink of poverty and crime, the Five Points area" (Chevigny Woman 290).

Fuller tinged her reports on these institutions with irony by describing holidays at institutions housing criminals or the insane. She went to church services at Sing Sing prison on Christmas and Thanksgiving. She visited the Bloomingdale Asylum for the insane on St. Valentine's Day. Many of the prisoners she saw still had "the innocence of childhood," and she felt they could be helped with "good influence." She recommended breaking out from the general prison population those people who seemed open to reform. These people, she said, should receive good sanitary conditions and an education ("Our City Charities" 1).

Her philosophy emerged in her portrait of the ideal business man: "The Rich Man -- An Ideal Sketch" (1). This ideal rich man would make generous donations to reform causes. "He takes care, too, to be personally acquainted with those he employs, regarding them, not as mere tools, of his purpose, but as human beings also."

In a famous piece on "The Irish Character" (1) Fuller maintained that through "steadfast patience and love" it was possible to teach one's Irish servants not to lie. But she advised people to forget about expecting to receive any gratitude. Instead people should aid the Irish "for God's

sake and as a debt to humanity." Her contemporary Parton in his 1855 biography of Greeley observed, "Her defense of the Irish character was very touching and just" (254). Fuller's column on the Irish, for all its condescension, was actually liberal by the standards of the day.

> Vicious anti-Irish sentiment was rampant in cities where large numbers of Irish immigrants had settled. . . . Despite these prejudices household workers were predominantly Irish. In 1846, of the ten thousand to twelve thousand domestic servants in New York city, over seven thousand were Irish (Clinton 32).

Fuller advocated abolitionism ("First of August, 1845" 1).

Fuller published "among the very earliest notices of Marx and Engels in America" (Chevigny Woman 294). She did this in her August 5, 1845 translation of a German-language article on these two men's ideas.

In her guise as book reviewer for the newspaper, she called the "Report of the New York Institution for Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb" (1) recommended reading for anyone who wanted to improve conditions in institutions.

She was concerned for prostitutes. "I have always felt great interest in those women, who are trampled in the mud to gratify the brute appetites of men, and wished I might be brought, naturally, into contact with them" (Fuller Letters IV:46).

Reported Greeley, "She had once attended, with other women, a gathering of outcasts of their sex; and, being

asked how they appeared to her, replied, 'As women like myself, save that they are victims of wrong and misfortune'" (Recollections 180). "I have known few women, and scarcely another maiden, who had the heart and the courage to speak with such frank compassion, in mixed circles, of the most degraded and outcast portion of the sex. The contemplation of their treatment, especially by the guilty authors of their ruin, moved her to a calm and mournful indignation, which she did not attempt to suppress or control" (Quoted by Emerson et al II:159).

She was a realist, however, about the effect her articles would have. She said, "I do not expect to do much, practically, for the suffering; but having such an organ of expressions, any suggestions that are well-grounded may be of use" (Fuller Letters IV:46). At least her articles could let readers know about conditions in institutions.

Ross has summarized Fuller's essays on social issues:

> Long before the days of the stunt writers [Annie Laurie, Nellie Bly], she visited [the prisons of] Blackwell's Island and Sing Sing. But instead of writing personal stories exploiting herself, she turned out philosophical essays on the treatment of the prisoners. Her articles were choked with detail. They were editorial in tone and probably would seem out of place in the news columns today. But her point of view was advanced and her style was always scholarly. She shocked the Tribune readers by writing sympathetically of prostitutes. She believed in complete social and political equality for women, at a time when such an attitude was revolutionary. She raised class issues (403).

Chevigny, however, offered a caveat. "Liberal as her reportage was for the time, it was still eminently genteel muckraking: the Jew is subjected to age-old stereotyping, the poor to kindly pity," observes Chevigny (Woman 290). Fuller's New York articles of social commentary were often "naive or condescending. . . . They should be read as apprentice exercises through which she groped her way toward her more informed, critical, and independent role of foreign correspondent" (Chevigny Woman 292).

Writing on these topics had a profound effect on Fuller personally. George looked at all of Fuller's writing to trace her change from an interest in aesthetic matters to a concern with human weakness and the power of evil. George said Fuller's Tribune columns, even the ones which concern primarily aesthetic matters, reveal "a preoccupation with the urban problems of poverty, crime, prejudice and greed" (37/01A 308 DAI).

"Her work on the Tribune turned her concern to the main stream of contemporary thought and life, and away from the back currents which had previously occupied her attention," commented Wade (143). "When she began her work for the Tribune, she was close to intellectual maturity and reaching the end of the mystical sentimentalism that had vitiated her early work," (Wade 144). Fuller's articles on conditions in institutions

> created discussion and discussion sold newspapers. But the articles on the prisons and hospitals of New York were not mere calculated sensationalism; Margaret hoped to spur into action the powerful audience at which Greeley aimed the Tribune: the women of substance who interested themselves in public affairs without caring much about politics (Wade 157).

Chevigny noted that Fuller's job "as a reporter gave her access to worlds hitherto closed to a woman of her class. [This exposure created] a deepening concern for other oppressed groups -- immigrants, blacks, the poor, the blind, the insane -- followed" (Woman 291). Chevigny said Fuller's social commentary stemmed from "her Jeffersonian and Transcendentalist heritage: her confidence in the high moral destiny of America and her faith in the self-determining power of the individual" (Woman 292-293).

In New York, said Allen, Fuller came to realize that "individual response, individual effort and good will could not solve grave social problems" (131). Many of the ills of society must be cured by group social action.

> Literature was still her first love and idealism her first value, and she still would certainly have described herself as a Transcendentalist. But increasingly, real people and real problems were becoming her concern. She was beginning to see that more was required to solve the real problems of real people than merely quickening the soul and working from within outward (Amy Slater 99).

Brown said that while in New York Fuller "grew intellectually and emotionally, shedding much of the mystical 'Germanity' that had so distressed her friends in New England. She acquired knowledge and skills and

developed her analytical and critical powers" (74). "As her contacts among the social outcasts and poverty stricken of the community widened, a new note of realism began to enter her reporting. Her comments lost none of their accuracy or pertinence but gained force and compression" (Brown 82).

Scholars have noted the honesty in Fuller's social reporting. Roberta Russell said Fuller's social criticism concentrated on an identification of reality and the refutation of false images or myths. Allen said the strength of Fuller's social criticism is her willingness to recognize "America's failures, in a self- congratulatory era" (131).

Kearns pointed out four main themes in Fuller's social criticism. 1 - Faith in the unique destiny of America. 2 - The need for the educational improvement of women so they could take their place in American life. 3 - The importance of education to raising the moral standards of America. 4 - Misgivings about the avarice involved in the Westward expansion.

Kearns has identified two paradoxes in Fuller's stance as a social critic. First, she believed in socialist reform but was suspicious of populism and Jacksonianism. She identified with the Whigs. Second, he argues that she emphasized the importance of social action, but while in New York never took an active part in any social action. This second point is arguable. While it may be true that Fuller

was not an active member of political or social reform movements in New York, her newspaper articles themselves could be considered action on the part of reform. It is certainly true, however, that when she went to Italy, Fuller ceased to be the journalist observing from the sidelines and entered the action more directly.

In summary, then, Fuller's reform articles and her literary criticism have been carefully analyzed by scholars. What has not been studied, however, is Fuller's contribution to the production of the newspaper itself.

She has been judged by many to be the outstanding literary critic presiding at the birth of a uniquely American literature. The quality of her work derived from her carefully thought-out critical philosophy and from her use of European, particularly Continental, literature to demonstrate the possibility of generating a national literature in America.

As a social critic Fuller responded, in concert with the editor of the Tribune, to the upheaval caused by the Industrial Revolution. Her philosophy on social issues was not as internally consistent as was the approach she developed for discussing literature. As a social critic she was always honest but sometimes naive and condescending. Direct exposure to social ills began to pull Fuller away from her Transcendentalist idealism.

CHAPTER II

MARGARET FULLER'S DUTIES AT THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE

Historians have discounted Margaret Fuller's contribution to the New York Tribune. Weisberger called her an "occasional contributor" to the Tribune. Van Deusen said she "wrote brilliantly, if somewhat scantily, for the Tribune" (156).

Others, working on the assumption that Fuller was just one of a huge staff, have minimized the important position she had with the newspaper. Allen described Fuller's position as the Tribune's "chief reviewer-critic" (126). This implies that she was a member of a large staff.

Just what Fuller's duties at the newspaper were is difficult to glean from the contemporary descriptions.

In an 1846 article on "The Literati of New York City" Edgar Allen Poe described Fuller's position: "At present, she is assistant editor of the New York 'Tribune,' or rather a salaried contributor to that journal, for which she has furnished a great variety of matter, chiefly notices of new books" (75).

Hart in 1852 described Fuller's position at the Tribune: "In the autumn of 1844, she accepted an invitation to take part in the conduct of 'The Tribune,' with especial reference to the department of Reviews and Criticisms on current Literature and Art" (237).

Emerson said Fuller was "engaged by Horace Greeley as a literary editor of his 'Tribune' newspaper." He said her work was "as critic of all new books, critic of the drama, of music, & good arts in New York" (Joseph Slater 407).

The Memoirs said Fuller accepted an assignment as "a constant contributor to the New York Tribune" (Emerson et al II: 132).

In 1852 Greeley said he hired Fuller "for her assistance in the literary department of the Tribune" (Emerson et al II: 153). Greeley in a notice of her death said Fuller's job was

> to take part in the conduct of The Tribune, with especial reference to the department of Reviews and Criticism on current Literature, Art, Music, &c. a position which she filled for two years -- how eminently our readers well know ("Death" 4).[1]

In March, 1845 Fuller wrote a friend in England that her job was "In care of the literary department of the N.Y. Tribune" (Letters IV: 58).

From these accounts it is clear that Fuller had a salaried position writing book reviews. Parton, in 1855, reported,

> During the 20 months of her connection with the Tribune, she wrote, on an average three articles a week. Many of them were long and elaborate, extending, in several instances, to three and four columns; and,

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[1] This article in the Tribune is unsigned. However in a Sept. 3, 1850 letter to Sarah J. Hale, Greeley said, "My own article concerning her [Fuller] may be found in the Tribune of the 23rd or 24th July."

as they were Essays upon authors, rather than Reviews of Books, she indulged sparingly in extract (254).

What Parton did not say, and no one else has pointed out, is that the Tribune from 1844 to 1846 was only a four page paper running seven columns per page, and not all of those columns contained editorial material. Fuller's copy always began in the far left hand column of the front page. Fuller's starred pieces quite normally filled almost all of the editorial space on Page One, three and often four columns of type. The newspaper also contained ads.[2]

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[2] The ads were brief notices from businesses. One regular advertiser was Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry:

"A Compound Balsamic Preparation from Wild Cherry Bark and Tar: The best remedy known to the world for the cure of coughs, colds, asthma, croup, bronchitis, influenza, shortness of breath, pain and weakness in the breast or side, liver complaints and the first stages of consumption" (16 December 1844 1).

This ad had prime placement. It always ran on Page One, just after the editorial copy and therefore just after Fuller's column. Also with prominent placement on Page One just beneath Wistar's Balsam for several months in late 1844 and early 1845 was the following:

"LEECHES! LEECHES! LEECHES!"

"THE best of SWEDISH LEECHES, large and medium size, imported by G.A. & H. Witte, 38 John Street, for sale from this date, AT ONE SHILLING EACH. . ." (16 December, 1844).

The ads did not just push patent medicine, of course. In fact, the Dec. 21, 1844 edition, on Page Four, carried two ads of interest in publishing history. One advertised reprints of the first edition of the London Lancet "the most

The New York Daily Tribune was approximately 50 percent advertising. Page One contained 3 to 4 1/2 columns of advertising. Page Two carried very little advertising, half a column in the bottom right hand corner. Five of the seven columns on Pages Three and Four were generally advertising. This means on the days her star appeared Fuller was, by herself, quite regularly filling up at least one quarter of the editorial copy in that edition of the Tribune.

An examination of the Tribune during Fuller's 20 months in residence shows a clear attempt on the editor's part to departmentalize his publication. And literature was one department. The newspaper was "published six times a week, on a sheet of seven ample columns to the folio page" (Greeley "New York Tribune" 1).

Page Two was Greeley's domain, devoted to Whig politics, both national and New York City. Page Two almost always led off in the upper left hand corner with what 1980s newspaper readers would call an editorial by the publisher. For example, the Dec. 14, 1846 edition led Page Two with 450 words urging Whigs in New York to attend ward caucuses that evening to vote for delegates to the General Assembly. In

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Popular Medical Journal in the World." (The Lancet is still an extremely influential medical journal.) A second ad announced: "THE BROADWAY JOURNAL THE FIRST NUMBER OF A NEW WEEKLY PAPER" for sale starting in January, 1845. (The Broadway Journal was the publisher of Poe's literary criticism.)

addition to political news Page Two contained reports of activities of the various state legislatures and of the U.S. Congress. The Dec. 14, 1844 edition offered on Page Two a report on the Court of Sessions proceedings, financial news ("Texas Treasury Notes do not improve any under the prospects of annexation. They sold today at 13 1/2."), marriages, deaths, passenger sailings, a burglary, and an arrest for libel. Often the news of Page Two included reprints of information from other newspapers. The Dec. 14, 1844 edition included a story (reprinted from a Boston newspaper) on the expulsion from Charleston, S.C. of an agent from the state of Massachusetts whose job was assisting "imprisoned colored seamen" (a story from the Raleigh (N.C.) Star on a Whig meeting in that city) and three paragraphs from the St. Louis Gazette on the governor of Missouri's inaugural address.

It appears that Greeley assumed people read Page Two before they read Page One. Routinely Page Two carried a small box in the upper left hand corner labeled "Today's Outside." This box listed the articles published on Page One and Four of the newspaper and probably had the same goal as boxes in 20th Century newspapers which list stories inside the paper. Today editors want people to read more than Page One. Greeley evidently wanted people to read more than Pages Two and Three.

The importance of Page Two placement in 1844 can be

seen in the March 4, 1845 edition. Page One carried a five column essay by Margaret Fuller "English Writers Little Known Here. Milnes . . . . Landor . . . . Julius Hare." Meanwhile Page Two reported the inauguration of President James K. Polk.[3]

Page Three was dominated by court reports, police calls, coroner's calls, marriages and deaths, and financial news.

Page Four was almost always solid advertising except for a short piece in the upper left hand column. This piece was quite often a poem. On Feb. 4, 1845 the poem was a reprint from the American Review of "The Raven" by Edgar A. Poe.

Page One was the intellectual showcase of the paper. It featured Fuller's essays plus foreign news, travel writing, and essays on social issues. Occasionally political or city news would make it onto Page One but only rarely. Fuller's starred pieces ran in two or three of the

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[3] With the outbreak of the Mexican war in May 1846 this placement rule seemed to change. International news had routinely run on Page One. With the war, however, Page One included four column maps, headlines in large type and news provided by the new "Electric Telegraph" (May 12, 1846). This war news on Page One in May and June bumped literature out of some issues and on to Page Two in others. An interesting topic for further research would be the Mexican American War's influence on the establishment of Page One as the primary placement for news in a newspaper.

six issues a week. Along with her work, or taking her place were other pieces. During the spring and summer of 1845 the Tribune had a peripatetic correspondent bylined C.D.S. On March 1, 1845 C.D.S. appeared on the front page reporting "Things in the South."[4] On April 25 the paper published the first of a series of C.D.S. pieces from Havana. One May 3 the correspondent was back in New Orleans. One June 16 he was reporting on a Fourier Association in Northwestern Kentucky. One July 12 he was in Boston and on July 29 in Saratoga.

Besides travel pieces, another regular feature of the front page was European news. The heading "Fifteen Days Later from Europe" or "Seven Days Later from Europe" indicated the docking of a ship carrying European newspapers. When this happened the Tribune would devote much of its front page to a synopsis of the contents of these papers. Another standard feature of Page One was long reprints of interesting pieces from other publications. On several occasions the newspaper reprinted short stories by Lydia Maria Child. Often there were complete texts of speeches.

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[4] The same day the Tribune ran inside on Page Two "Annexation Carried," a report on the passage by the Senate on a vote of 27 to 25 of a measure endorsing the annexation of Texas by the United States. This move a year later led to war.

And often there were articles addressing Greeley's social causes.[5]

Fuller's articles then were part of an overall editorial mix. On Page One Greeley seemed to want to provide reading matter for people who were not committed to Whig politics. He had a definite formula for the editorial mix of his newspaper. Greeley stated the formula in an ad announcing plans to renew publication of The New Yorker ("Magnificent Family Paper" 20 November 1845 4). The ad said the new family paper would have five sections:

> 1. Original Literature -- Reviews, Poems, etc.
> 2. Select Literature -- Tales, Sketches, extracts from new books, etc.
> 3. Miscellany -- Letters from Europe and different parts of our Country, Statistics, Anecdotes, &c.
> 4. Hints on Domestic Economy -- Agriculture, Inventions, Recipes, &c.

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[5] Page One stories indicate the streets of New York were hazardous in 1844. For instance, a bull terrier made the Dec. 3, 1844 Page One. After a man kicked it, the dog

"instantly seized the gentleman's leg, and maintained his grip with a tenacity that for a time defied all attempts to loose it . . . . Finally the gentleman thrust his hand into his pocket, pulled out a snuff box and emptied the contents into the eyes and nose of the dog. The effect was miraculous" ("Shocking" 3 December 1844 1).

"Lesson of a Peach Skin" (9 December 1844 1) encouraged people not to drop peach skins or orange peels on the city streets. It recounted the tale of a young man who slipped on a peel, was injured, and went to a doctor. "The young husband and father had died under a surgical operation -- a victim to a piece of orange-peel, thoughtlessly thrown upon the sidewalk."

5. General Intelligence -- Foreign and Domestic, including Political events, Proceedings of Congress &c, &c.

The ad maintained the new publication would be a "family newspaper . . . from which Political essays and all matter of a partisan character will be carefully excluded."

This ad for a new publication actually described the composition of the New York Daily Tribune. Page One was a combination of the five sections Greeley outlined for his new publication while the inside of the paper contained partisan political news plus local New York City news and financial news.

It is clear from published comments within the newspaper that Fuller made a substantial contribution to the Tribune. The announcement of republication of The New Yorker said the Tribune company could consider such a move for two reasons: "having now ample and able Literary assistance, and having recently extended and perfected our Mechanical arrangements." Greeley only considered the new publication because he had Fuller's assistance. In fact Fuller soon after the publication of this ad in November began making plans to go to Europe. The ad stopped running and the reissue of The New Yorker never appeared.

In another house ad ("Prospectus of the Semi-weekly Tribune" Apr. 15, 1845 2) the Tribune said its editorial staff, besides Greeley, consisted of four people, one assistant editor gathering commercial news, two reporters

covering New York City. "In the Department of Literature and Criticism, we have secured assistance of the highest order." Fuller, then, was one of Greeley's four editorial assistants, and the one with responsibility for the "Department of Literature and Criticism."

The Tribune was even clearer about Fuller's contribution to the newspaper in a third house ad ("New York Tribune: Daily, Semi-Weekly and Weekly Prospectus for 1846" June 19, 1846 1).

> The Editor known as such to the public is aided in the several departments of Literature and Criticism, Commercial transactions, City Intelligence, and General News by Assistants whose ability has been tested and whose time and best efforts are devoted to this work.

Fuller was in charge of the department of literature and criticism and she contributed as much as the men in charge of the other departments.

Just how important Fuller was to the newspaper was revealed in her letters in the summer of 1845. She said Greeley was planning to take a trip to the West, but needed more work from her if he was to be able to make the trip. "I am trying to devote myself to the paper so as to make it easy for him" (Love Letters 110).

Her letters in the summer of 1845 and 1846 indicate pressure from Greeley to produce. Without a significant contribution from her, he argued, he could not leave the office to travel. On June 12, 1845 she wrote James Nathan,

"Matters go on here in their usual disjointed fashion Mr. Greeley is, I believe, really going to the West soon -- I am trying to devote myself to the paper so as to make it easy for him" (Fuller Letters IV: 118).

"I have also tried to revive my energies about the paper, and have succeeded in doing a good deal. Mr. Greeley told me that he could not bear to urge me, but unless I took more interest he should not feel that he could go away," Fuller wrote James Nathan June 24, 1845 (Letters IV: 120). This again indicates that Fuller had other responsibilities than writing the column.

July 22, 1845 Fuller wrote Nathan that she was now attending to the paper "as much as Mr. G. wishes. . . . He is now quite content again. I write often and at length" (Letters IV: 138).

In 1846, another series of letters predicted the need for a major contribution of copy that summer. Fuller promised Greeley she would stay at the paper until September, 1846, because Greeley "wishes much to be at liberty during the summer" (Fuller Letters IV: 179).

Fuller in March of 1846 was looking forward to "hard work, as Mr Greeley is to be absent most of the summer and I have promised to stay by the Tribune till the last" (Letters IV: 192). In addition to the Tribune work, she was also putting together Papers on Literature and Art and preparing to go to Europe for what she expected to be a year's stay.

Fuller's starred articles indicate that her writing duties were varied.[6] She wrote literary criticism, but in addition she did music reviews, essays on questions of philanthropy, and translations from the foreign press. Although in-depth essays were her general fare, when she did translations she dealt with more mundane stuff. For instance an article titled "Monument to Goethe" (1) reported

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[6] The conclusions in this chapter were reached through the use of qualitative rather than quantitative research techniques. Smith et al said that one can study a newspaper's content by using the quantitative methodology of content analysis or by using the qualitative methodology of literary analysis. Noting Berelson's famous dictum that a researcher needs to decide when and when not to count, Smith et al argued that a content analysis is the correct approach when one wants to determine the manifest content or what is said. When a researcher is asking more subtle questions like why is the content like that, a literary-critical approach is preferable, they said.

"Both methods are based on a long preliminary soak, a submission by the analyst to the mass of their material: where they differ is that content analysis uses this process of soaking oneself to define categories and build a code (based on an intuitive sense of where the main clusters occur), whereas literary, stylistic and linguistic analysis uses the preliminary reading to select representative examples which can be more intensively analyzed. . . . [In looking at a series of newspapers, the literary analyst just like the content analyst uses recurrence of patterns as evidence] though these recurring patterns may not be expressed in quantifiable terms . . . . But the literary/linguistic analyst has another strong to his bow: namely, strategies for noting and taking account of emphasis. Position, placing treatment, tone, stylistic intensification, striking imagery, etc., are all ways of registering emphasis. The really significant item may not be the one which continually recurs, but the one which stands out as an exception from the general pattern -- but which is also given, in its exceptional context, the greatest weight" (Smith A.C.H. et al 15).

on a letter published in a German newspaper which described the dedication of a monument to the German writer. Another piece "Some Items of Foreign Gossip" (1) reported a famine in Hungary, an exhibit in London of the tools of a pickpocket's trade, and the tale of a Parisian lady who masqueraded as a man so that she could participate in "high play."

The publication of 250 articles over 20 months in a six day a week daily is an average of between one and two articles a week. This is not a substantial enough contribution to rate the statements of importance made in these three prospectuses. Fuller must have done other work beyond the starred essays. It appears the other work she did was editing, selecting and excerpting articles, writing book briefs and doing translations.

Almost all of the descriptions of Fuller's job title said she was in charge of two different categories: criticism and literature. Her contribution in the way of criticism is clear in the bylined reviews. But the word literature almost always also appears in these definitions of her work. The second half of her job was most likely selecting, excerpting and introducing literature to the Tribune's readers.

An examination of the 20 months of editions of the New York Tribune supports this conclusion. Fuller authored the 250 starred pieces in the New York Daily Tribune. However,

the upper left hand front page of the Tribune during Fuller's tenure there contained at least as many more pieces of a literary nature. It seems highly likely that Fuller authored or edited/selected much of this unstarred material.

A regularly appearing column "New Publications" contained brief, one paragraph descriptions of newly released books. "New Publications" was a standing head in the Tribune. It, combined with Fuller's regularly appearing star byline, were the typographical features designating the book section of the newspaper. Routinely the "New Publications" column ran in conjunction with one of Fuller's starred pieces. For instance, her Aug. 1, 1846 "Farewell" (2) to New York was followed by "New Publications."

"New Publications" is interesting in journalism history because if Fuller did indeed produce this column, then her contribution to the newspaper in terms of volume of copy is twice what has previously been recognized. However, "New Publications" is of only minor interest in the history of literary criticism. The column consisted of from six to 15 brief paragraphs, each announcing the publication of a new book. They were factual in nature and contained no analysis. What is more interesting to literary history are the many brief book reviews in the Tribune which carried no byline.

The Tribune regularly published what Twentieth Century

journalists would call book briefs, 150 to 400 word reviews of books. These would usually be stacked on top of each other, three or four in a column. Occasionally these book briefs would carry a star. For instance, the February. 4, 1845 edition has two starred brief reviews. More likely, however, the brief reviews appeared without a star. Fuller probably wrote some, but not all, of these unstarred short pieces.

An example is a series of unstarred book briefs that are probably Fuller's occurred on Dec. 24, 1844, Page One. There is a series of brief essays each reviewing a different children's book. Internal evidence indicates Fuller's work. A one paragraph review "Mary Howitt's Picture and Verse Book," which is a translation of German stories for children, indicates the reviewer's familiarity with German. The reviewer noted the translator Mary Howitt "is a person who could not blunder in such a matter" as a German translation.

Some of these unstarred brief articles, on the other hand, are clearly Greeley's work. For example, on Jan. 18, 1845 a 500 word review of a newspaper, the Times published in Keosaqua, Iowa, followed a starred piece. The critic of the Iowa newspaper said it lacked local flavor. The Times contained

> nothing but a faint reflection of what has been done some thousand miles away, a sort of cold rehashed news. . . . The newspaper in the backwoods no doubt must

> have its stock of Eastern news on hand, but the bulk of its goods should be made up of stuff manufactured at home.

These are the words of an experienced newspaper editor who has given some thought to what the content of a newspaper should be.

The Tribune also contained longer unsigned essays on books, "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation" (March 25, 1845 1) is an example. This review was a careful analysis of the ideas on natural history presented in the work. The essay sat in Fuller's slot, the upper left hand corner of the front page and ran to Fuller's length, 2 1/2 columns. Fuller undoubtedly wrote some of these long unbylined essays on books.

Most intriguing of the longer unstarred essays on books, however, are four bylined "F." These four pieces do not appear in Myerson's descriptive bibliography of Fuller works, primarily because they do not have the star for a byline; however, the "F." combined with the fact that they are lengthy book reviews indicates the possibility that they are Fuller's work. The four articles are:

May 27, 1845 "Hahnemann on Chronic Diseases," Page One.

June 9, 1845 "Rokitansky's Pathology" book review of "A Treatise on Pathological Anatomy," Page One.

February. 26, 1846 "Dwellings for the Industrious Poor," Page One.

September. 20, 1845 "Short Elementary Treatise on Homeopathy," Page One.

Another important category of work in the newspaper that was most likely Fuller's was excerpts from longer literary works. In these excerpts an editor, probably Fuller, wrote a brief introduction and transitions between sections. The editor's work is in larger type than is the excerpted material. An example is "The Diary of Lady Willoughby" (April 26, 1845 1). The two column long piece begins with three paragraphs of introduction followed by a long excerpt from the book. Fuller did produce work of this type. On May 10, 1845 "Mrs. Child's Letters" (1) begins with a brief starred introduction followed by two and a half columns of quotes from the book.

There is one more category of unsigned work in the Tribune which is undoubtedly Fuller's and that is translations of articles from non-English language newspapers. It has already been established that she did translations for the newspaper. Some of the starred pieces are translations from the Deutsche Schnellpost and others from the Courier des Etats Unis. But many other translations from these publications appear on the upper left front page, for instance, on Nov. 4, 1845 "The Invention of a Type Composing Machine" and "The German Catholics in Baden," both translations from the Schnellpost.

It is likely Fuller did these two and the many other non-bylined translations in the newspaper.

Fuller, then, functioned at the Tribune as more than a contributor. She was in fact an editor in charge of the literary department of the Tribune.

Fuller certainly brought to the Tribune the skills necessary to be an editor. She had worked at the Dial for two years, and she was an assertive editor there actively rejecting the work of her transcendentalist associates. Myerson, in his history of The Dial, recounts many instances of Fuller's editorial activity. She rejected a piece by William Wetmore Story saying it "had bad faults in style and imagery" (quoted by Myerson New England 80). She asked Ralph Waldo Emerson to revise an essay before she would publish it. She rejected a Thoreau essay on bravery. "Although she found the paper 'rich in thoughts,' those thoughts were so disorganized that she could not 'read it through without pain,'" says Myerson (New England 60).

There is corroborating evidence in Fuller's letters showing her functioning as an editor. However, the evidence for this is weak. She asked James Nathan in Europe to submit Tribune copy to her for editing.

> "Mr G. still intends going to the West, so whatever you write for the Tribune you had better inclose to me, or it will fall under the care of his clerks, and be treated accordingly, indeed, you had better always inclose [sic] it to me, if you wish to make sure of my seeing it before it comes out." (Letters IV: 138).

The implication here is that Fuller is the only person besides Greeley capable of editing copy, but then Fuller had a hidden motive here in that she was in love with Nathan and wanted to keep in contact with him. She may have exaggerated her importance with the editorial functioning of the paper in order to encourage Nathan to deal through her.

Nathan did send his article to Fuller, and she described to him the copy editing she did to the piece. (Fuller Letters IV: 146). This then is evidence of Fuller soliciting and editing manuscripts; however, Fuller was romantically involved with Nathan. Her actions as editor here may have been an unusual effort for a friend rather than a routine part of her work. Hudspeth argues that this series of letters shows Nation "using her . . . to get his essays published in the Tribune" ("Preface" 8).

Margaret Fuller, then, was much more than a mere contributor of literary reviews to the New York Tribune. She was the editor of its literary section. Much, but not all, of the work that appears in the literary department of the newspaper without her star byline is most likely hers. This work includes a regular column "New Publications," brief 500 word book reviews, lengthy essays not previously identified as Fuller's, introductions and transitions in literary excerpts, and translations not previously identified as Fuller's. When added to the starred items

which have been previously recognized as Fuller's it is clear that she was, as Greeley called her, an important contributor to the production of the newspaper.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE, 1844 - 1846

The New York Tribune was the major American newspaper through much of the second half of the nineteenth century, and Fuller scholars have assumed that she worked for Horace Greeley when his paper had taken up its position of national prominence.

Fuller's first biographer, Higginson, maintained that when Fuller went to New York she joined "the man who, among all Americans, then stood closest to the popular heart" (205). Ebbitt, in the introduction to her landmark critical edition of Fuller's essays on literature, argued that Fuller "was a practicing journalist on one of the largest selling newspapers in the country" (v). She maintained that Fuller "addressed a larger audience than any other American critic of the day" (c). Anthony said Fuller had in "her hands the full critical sway of the most influential newspaper in America" (119).

The noted British war correspondent E.L. Godkin immigrated to the United States in the late 1850s. The Tribune he found then was established at the height of its influence and reputation. Greeley, he said, was "adored by the farmers in New England and in the Western Reserve, who believed he wrote every word of the Tribune, not excepting the advertisements. The influence of such a journal was

deservedly high. Greeley from the very outset had supplied the spirit which made the paper an authority in the land, for he sacrificed everything, advertisers, subscribers, and all else, to what he considered principle" (167).

Brockway described the Tribune he worked for in the 1850s as having "an influence such as no other paper has ever wielded in this country. Its earnest words went down to the popular heart, producing an impression that forced people to think and act" (Brockway 142). Writing sketches of the influential men of his time, Bungay in 1852 described the reputation of Greeley's Tribune: "His widely circulated journal contains good specimens of acute wit, critical reasoning, solid argument, brilliant invective, profound philosophy, beautiful poetry, and moving eloquence, mixed with the opposites of these" (30).

In 1864 Nichols observed,

> Mr. Greeley is the most popular and influential man in America; no man did so much to elect Harrison, or Taylor, or Lincoln. He secured the nomination of the great rail-and-union splitter at the Chicago convention, because he was determined that William H. Seward should not be President (I: 329).

It was the weekly edition of the Tribune that brought it this national fame and influence (Mott). "No other paper has been more individual in its course than the Tribune. No other paper is so well known. Its influence, however, has been attained by its weekly rather than by the daily edition" (Hudson 526). The weekly edition brought national

news to out-of-town subscribers in the rural upstate New York and the West who were "beyond reach of good eastern dailies and lacked competent newspapers nearer home," said William Hale (70). Because the Tribune was the only national paper serving this rural readership "for a generation it was probably the most influential paper in the country," and Greeley was "the most important journalist of the era," (Tindall 486). "Greeley does the thinking for the whole West at $2 per year for his paper," Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote to Thomas Carlyle in 1856 (Quoted by Stoddard 93).

What made the Tribune famous was not just the facts it reported but its essays on philosophy. Higginson noted that Greeley's newspaper was "the working center of much of the practical radicalism in the country" (205). Greeley's paper was not just an organ to push a specific set of political ideas. Rather the editor operated his paper as a forum for all thought on the important issues of his day. Greeley published "diverse viewpoints . . . stated in the very words of their adherents" (Bovee 259). It is this interest in presenting a forum for debate of the issues of the day that helped make the Tribune must reading in the 1850s.

Shapiro noted the irony of the New York Tribune: "A paper for the 'virtuous and refined' [selling] at a price

that appealed to the American laborer was a contradictory undertaking"(98).

Weisberger said The Tribune's news coverage was not as complete as the rival Herald, "but the Tribune was a forum for intellectual discussion and moral challenges such as no other mass-audience journal ever has been" (104). The Tribune did a good job of gathering facts but "It surpassed its contemporaries in intelligence of current thought" (Ingersoll 132). Zabriskie attributed the Tribune's phenomenal influence to four factors: 1- An editorial independence from all political parties. 2- A basic decency of content that made the paper acceptable reading for families. 3- An agreement with the views of the reading public. 4- A "fervent championship of great ideas. . . . Its editorial blade was not only sharp and cutting, but struck out continual sparks" (108). Noted Hudson, "The Tribune has always been remarkable for its peculiar penchant for isms of all sorts" (525).

Many writers have romanticized the Tribune. For instance:

> Wherever humanity struggled against oppression; wherever a contest was being waged for freedom, for labour, for progress; wherever the people rose against an unjust law and wicked system -- the New York Tribune was sure to have its representative, who represented alike that journal and the welfare of the people (Ingersoll 129).

This was the Tribune at the height of its fame; however, a look at circulation, size of staff and the size

of the newspaper itself indicates that the Tribune from 1844 to 1846 was a much smaller and less influential enterprise.

Greeley began the Tribune in April, 1841 at the urging of Whig politicians to present a Whig viewpoint for working class readers (Van Deusen). The Tribune was a Penny Paper meant to circulate through street sales rather than subscriptions. The first press run was 5,000 copies while the Tribune had only 600 subscribers, said Parton.

The paper met with quick success. By its fourth week Greeley had upped the press run to 6,000 and by the 7the week to 11,000, reported Parton. By the winter of 1842 the paper had settled into a circulation of 10,000 daily and the weekly edition begun Sept. 18, 1841 had a circulation of 13,000, said Hale.

The weekly paper routinely reprinted a piece by Fuller (Szymanski 131).

The Tribune in the mid 1840s was not the largest circulation newspaper in New York City, said Hudson. It was in fact one of many newspapers and even more printers in the city. Total newspaper circulation in New York City in 1842, said Hudson, was 131,200: nine cash papers had a total circulation of 62,500; five Sunday papers had a total circulation of 17,500; seven Wall Street papers had a total circulation of 30,200, and six Saturday papers had a total circulation of 21,000. In 1842, with 9,500 daily

circulation, the 1 1/2 cent Tribune ranked third behind the one cent Sun's 20,000 circulation and the two cent Herald's 15,000.

Rubin said there were 250 printing offices in New York City in 1845 ranging "from mammoth plants with half a million invested to dens whose type and press would not bring an auction bid of $50" (125).

Determining the accuracy of newspaper circulation figures is difficult because publishers can inflate their numbers. For the mid 1840s, however, one can make a reasonably accurate statement about the circulation of the Tribune. In 1847, reported Hudson, the editors of the Herald and the Tribune got into a dispute about the accuracy of their circulation claims. They hired a neutral observer to audit the circulation of both newspapers. He verified his audit using such measures as each newspaper's consumption of paper over a four week period. The conclusion of the auditor: The Tribune in 1847 had a total circulation of 28,195: 11,455 daily, 15,700 weekly, and 960 semi-weekly. The Herald's circulation totaled 28,946: 16,711 daily, 11,455 weekly, and 780 for a Presidential edition. A circulation of 28,195 is a far cry from the national weekly circulation of 200,000, which the Tribune later obtained. However, Hudson noted that the high circulation for the weekly that this audit revealed may have

given Greeley a push toward emphasizing the national weekly edition of his newspaper.

Fuller wrote her brother in 1845 that she was addressing 50,000 readers (Writings 574). The paper actually had about half that circulation. Of course, two readers per printed copy of the newspaper would explain this discrepancy. The concept of pass along readership may have existed in 1845; however, the more likely explanation for the discrepancy between Fuller's estimate of the newspaper's circulation and the auditor's figures is that Greeley was inflating his circulation claims as he was accused of doing.

Interestingly enough, Emerson offered a fairly accurate estimate of the Tribune's circulation. In an 1846 letter to Carlyle about Fuller, he said he believed the newspaper's circulation to be about 30,000 (Slater Correspondence 407).

In March, 1845 Fuller wrote a friend in England that the Tribune was "a journal as widely circulated as any in this country" (Letters IV: 58). This is technically true, but a person reading this sentence from the vantage point of history, knowing what the Tribune was to become, might tend to give the newspaper even more importance than it actually had in 1845. In 1845 the Tribune was one of three leading newspapers battling for dominance in America's largest city and therefore as widely circulated as any in the country. However, ten years later it was the most important publication in the country with strong national influence

for more than 30 years after that. The Tribune that Margaret Fuller worked for, though important in New York City, was a mere seedling compared to the enormous tree it became.

By 1852 the Tribune was claiming an "aggregate circulation" of 83,000 and offering special subscription rates for readers in Europe and California (Printed Bank Checks, Tribune Association). Hudson said the weekly edition reached a circulation of 200,000. Within New York City, he notes, the Tribune "could never reach a large circulation" (526).

The Tribune in the 1850s, then, had three times the circulation of the newspaper Fuller worked for when she was living in New York. From 1844 to 1846 the paper was only four pages with copy set seven columns wide, but by the mid 1850s the newspaper was regularly running eight pages.[1]

The newspaper during Fuller's time seems to have been trying to define an audience. Parton, writing in 1855, said the years 1845, 1846 and 1847 "were the fighting years of the New York Tribune. If it was not at war with the world, all the world seemed to be at war with it" (243). Said Ingersoll, "The three or four years following the defeat of

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[1] The Thursday, Jan. 5, 1854 edition was eight pages long. The Monday, Jan. 30, 1854 edition was also eight pages long. The Friday, April 8, 1854 edition was also eight pages.

Henry Clay [in 1844] may well be styled the era of the Tribune's irrepressible conflicts" (189). Much of the war boiled down to a powerful rivalry with the other New York newspapers, a war that could get vicious. William Hale reported that editors in the 1840s ran private carrier pigeon message services "to beat their rivals -- which in turn led their rivals to hire marksmen to shoot the pigeons down" (76).

The newspaper business in the 1840s was not necessarily safe. Shortly after the Tribune began publication in 1841, employees of the rival Sun began beating up the Tribune's carriers "whereupon the young men of the [newspaper] office were detailed to protect the boys of the Tribune" (Zabriskie 81).[2]

Ingersoll said the public sympathized with the Tribune in this battle, and the Tribune took a circulation leap. In its second year of publication, the newspaper ran an article about "lawlessness and rowdyism on election day . . . [which] resulted in a general riot of the Irish population," says Zabriskie (88). The Irish threatened to assault the newspaper and employees armed with muskets, hot water from the steam pipes and brickbats from the roof prepared a defense. This assault never materialized, however.

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[2] Both these reports are based on a contemporary article in the Evening Signal excerpted by Hudson (524).

The Tribune had two particular rivals the New York Herald and Courier and Inquirer.

Weisberger said the Tribune's circulation was never as high as that of James Gordon Bennett's Herald' because the Tribune news coverage was less complete than the Herald's.

Greeley took a high moral tone. He said he wanted to publish a "decent paper avoiding the matters which have been allowed to disgrace the columns of our leading Penny Papers" (As Quoted in Tindall, 486). His competitor Bennett on the other hand, said William Hale, emphasized crime and gossip. A typical Bennett story was an interview with a bordello madam just after a murder at her establishment. Bennett "had no morals, but his paper was interesting," observed William Hale (63). "Corner groceries and prize fights were of more value in its sight, than moral reforms and Christian civilization," observed Zabriskie (110). Tindall said the Tribune's success came partially from a public revulsion against the Herald.

"The Herald was an offense in the nostrils of respectable people for its scurrility and indecency," said Zabriskie (76).

Of course, Greeley encouraged a public revulsion of the Herald.

> When news matter was thin and his product looked meager, Greeley took to staging crusading attacks against rival editors, hoping that they would hit back and thereby attract attention to him (Hale 71).

The more painful battle for Greeley was with the Courier and Inquirer. On the staff of that paper during these years was Greeley's former assistant H.J. Raymond, who later founded the New York Times. The battle with this paper was philosophical. The Tribune was a progressive newspaper advocating change and moral reform. Greeley favored abolition and the dietary reforms of Sylvester Graham. Webb at the Courier and Inquirer was a conservative who wanted to maintain the status quo. Said Webb,

> The editor of the Tribune is an Abolitionist; we precisely the reverse. He is a philosopher; we are a Christian. He is a pupil of Graham, and would have all the world live upon bran bread and sawdust; we are in favor of living as our fathers did, and of enjoying in moderation the good things which Providence has bestowed upon us (Quoted by Ingersoll 190).

The competition between Greeley and Webb was so public that Philip Hone complained in his diary of an altercation between the two men that disrupted the harmony of a meeting of county Whigs in 1847. "Everything would have gone on harmoniously had it not been that the rival editors Webb and Greeley were present, and as usual disturbed the meeting with personal squabbles in which the friends of each party took part" (823). In 1848 Hone complained in his diary: "Webb of the Courier and Enquirer and Greeley of the Tribune take more pains to prove each other wrong than to be right themselves" (835).

A major news event of 1846 was the war with Mexico. Noted Kluger, "Not until the escalating conflict in Vietnam

some 120 years later would the American people again be as divided over the justification for going to war as they were at the outbreak of hostilities with Mexico in 1846" (63). Greeley opposed the war. His rival Bennett favored it.

James Melvin Lee said newspapers in the 1840s practiced "personal journalism" in which "a large amount of editorial space was frequently given to abuse of rival editors. Some of these tilts between editors, though often unmannerly, were very interesting" (212).

Margaret Fuller worked at the paper during the time when it began its transition to prosperity. Initially the paper had editorial offices on the second floor and in the attic

> of narrow, mud-holed, cobblestoned Ann Street with its little secondhand bookshops, their dustcovered windows gridironed with wires on which sheets of popular songs were clothespinned, as well as yellow-covered paper editions of startling tales of tragedy, crime and Indian wars (Stoddard 62).

Another newspaper, The New World, occupied the first floor (The New York Tribune: A Sketch). In 1842 the newspaper moved to a building built by McElrath's father-in-law at the corner of Nassau and Spruce Streets (The New York Tribune: A Sketch).

On Feb. 5, 1845, however, this new building burned to the ground. Philip Hone reported the fire in his diary:

> February. 5, 1845 Whilst the wind was blowing "great guns" and the streets were encumbered with snow, the dreadful bells gave the alarm of fire about sunrise

> this morning. The printing and publishing office of the Tribune daily newspaper, a four-story building at the corner of Chatham and Spruce Streets, was entirely destroyed with some of the adjacent houses (726).

Several employees barely escaped and nothing was saved but a few books, not even the forms on which the pressmen were working. Fortunately the subscription lists stored in a safe survived. Insurance covered only five percent of the loss (Zabriskie 102). Despite this, however, the newspaper appeared only one hour late the next day (Cortissoz). Greeley was able to get a paper on the street because "friends and rivals" helped out (Zabriskie 102).

Fuller wrote a friend:

> You have heard that the Tribune office was burned to the ground. For a day I thought it must make a difference, but it has served only to increase my admiration for Greeley's smiling courage. He has really a strong character (Quoted by Ingersoll 197).

The fire did bring with it a blessing. "The five-story brick building which rose from the ruins in the course of the spring was a marvel of convenience for its day" (The New York Tribune: A Sketch 7). The Tribune continued to publish in this building until 1873 when the paper moved into more modern quarters.

By 1845 the newspaper was so established financially that it could afford to build "a marvel of convenience" for its offices. In 1846 the newspaper was worth $100,000 with a yearly profit of $30,000, said Zabriskie.

The transition in the economic health of the paper from

its beginning to the 1844-46 era can be seen in Greeley's correspondence of that time. On Nov. 13, 1841 when the paper was six months old, he wrote B.F. Ransom, "The Tribune is now doing a fair -- just fair -- business with no hopes of improvement before Spring, if then. I think we will realize a profit next week, but am not sanguine." After another six months on March 30, 1842 (Letter to O.A. Bowe), Greeley was much more cheery about economic success. He described his newspaper as a "pretty saucy sheet" that was "doing middling well" financially. By April 14, 1845, however, the newspaper was "prosperous," he wrote Moses A. Cortland. He credited much of the financial success to his new business manager, Thomas McElrath.

The newspaper was a success partially by ignoring grand moral principles when it came to the sale of advertising. Schudson points out that advertising in the Penny Papers was "an economic exchange, not a moral one" (19). The Tribune accepted questionable ads for patent medicines (Schudson 20). Shapiro, writing about the Tribune's precursor the New Yorker, observed that Greeley kept his reforming to the editorial content of the newspaper. Although Greeley opposed drinking alcohol, "the liquor advertisements . . . romped through the columns of the paper" (99).

The success of the New York Tribune, said Greeley's biographers (Van Deusen, Lunde, Stoddard, Ingersoll), came from the editor's ability to attract and train an

exceptionally talented staff.

Mott, citing Fuller as an example, said Greeley's staff was "on the whole, the most brilliant staff any American newspaper had yet assembled" (270). Kobre said Greeley's editorial staff was "the best in America at the time," and that the Tribune maintained "a literary character . . . unusual in a daily newspaper" (255). "Part of the richness of talent was generated by Greeley's personal magnetism, and part of it came from his great tolerance for a wide diversity of views," said Lunde (24). Ingersoll said Greeley had a talent for hiring "men of notable intellectual power, of vast and varied accomplishments, of reformatory spirit" (131).

> They were brilliant, capable, irresponsible, intolerant, not above setting things on fire just for the fun of seeing them burn. They attracted Greeley because of their earnestness and charmed his literary sense with their gifts,

recalled former Tribune writer John Russell Young (1: 114). Commented George William Curtis, another former Greeley staffer, "I rejoice that I took my first degree in journalism in such a school and under such a master" (Quoted by Stoddard 69). "The paper was an institution more like the Comedie Francaise than anything I have even known in the journalistic world," recalled E.L. Godkin.

> The writers were all, as it were, partners in a common enterprise, and Greeley, though all powerful, was simply looked upon as primus inter pares. . . . During the three or four years before the [Civil War] war,

admission to the columns of the Tribune almost gave the young writer a patent of literary nobility, and Greeley in those years welcomed talent, male and female, from any quarter and in every field (Godkin 167).

Observed Zabriskie,

I used constantly in my college days to hear the praises of Horace Greeley chanted by a companion who had been picked out by him from the very dust and door sill of the Tribune office in his boyhood, and put in the path of self-improvement and advancement in journalism, till now he ranks among our most respected and influential citizens (324).

In the 1840s Greeley earned this reputation by staffing his paper with scholarly intellectuals, transcendentalists who had been associated with Brook Farm including George William Curtis, William Fry, George Ripley, Charles Dana and Fuller. None of them had previous newspaper experience, but the exposure they received from Greeley established them in "positions of distinction" in journalism, said Stoddard (95). Essays in the Tribune by these former Brook Farmers "typify the earliest effort before the telegraph to broaden a daily newspaper beyond the dull routine of local news, carried by coach, pony express and exchange clippings," observed Stoddard (95).

Engaging transcendentalist intellectuals to work for the Tribune was controversial, observed Ingersoll. The National Cyclopedia says the editors of the Transcendentalist Dial were called "zanies, Bedlamites, and considerably madder than the Mormons" (3: 28). Ingersoll noted that Poe[3] continuously sniped at the

Transcendentalists. "We are apt to forget that [in the 1840s] it required not only wisdom but courage for criticism to recognize and honour even Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller and George Ripley" (Ingersoll 185).

Brockway (a Tribune staffer from 1853 to 1855) reported that the Tribune editorial staff in 1854 consisted of a managing editor, 10 associate editors and "about 40 reporters and correspondents on the regular pay-roll, and many others who were compensated for special work" (141). In 1867-68 the newspaper had an editorial staff of 17 including one city editor, two assistant city editors and 14 reporters (Assignment Log). In 1866 the Tribune grossed more than $900,000 and had a payroll of $100,000 "for intellectual labor (reporting included) in and about its office" (Greeley Recollections 142). By 1871 the New York Tribune was one of the largest newspapers in the world, with 400 to 500 employees and weekly production costs of $20,000 (Zabriskie).

The Tribune in history, then, had a large and highly respected staff of writers, but from 1844 to 1846 Greeley

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[3] Fuller was never actually in residence at Brook Farm, according to Golemba. It is ironic that the only building still standing at the site of Brook Farm in what is now West Roxbury, Mass. is the Margaret Fuller House, which got its name, says Golemba, "because she was so fond of it" (79). In 1985 the West Roxbury Historical Society launched a drive to preserve the "decaying and boarded up final reminder of America's most celebrated utopian community" (Pave 1).

had an editorial staff of only four people.

In an April 1845 article ("Prospectus of the Semi-weekly Tribune" 2) announcing Greeley's intention to publish a semi-weekly edition of the Tribune the editor described his staff. An Assistant Editor

> devotes his whole time to the collection of . . . commercial transactions, Sales of Stocks, City Intelligence, &c. . . . Two reporters are constantly watching the proceedings of the various Courts of our City and noting everything deemed interesting to our readers. . . . Correspondents at Washington during the Session and at every point of general and transitory interest will at all times be employed. . . . In the department of General Literature and Criticism, we have secured assistance of the highest order." Greeley said he was planning to hire someone to write solely about agriculture. The staff, then consisted of a literary editor, a commercial editor and two reporters covering the city plus correspondents filing occasional articles from out of town.[4]

William Hale reported that Greeley began the paper in 1841 with a staff of 10 of whom four were editorial workers. Shapiro (98) said Greeley began the Tribune with an editorial staff of two, Henry J. Raymond and George M. Snow. The New York Tribune: A Sketch of its History, an 1883 history of the New York Tribune by an anonymous author, says 20 people put out the first numbers of the Tribune and that only three of these 20 were writers: George Snow, H.J. Raymond and Greeley. "In the early days, almost all the

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[4] William Hale said that by 1845 when Fuller was at the paper, the editorial staff totalled 30. However, all other available evidence points to a much smaller staff. Hale's 1845 number must include all of the back shop people.

work of writing, editing and compiling and very often of collecting the news, was done by Mr. Greeley and his assistant Henry J. Raymond, the late George M. Snow taking charge of the financial column" (New York Tribune: A Sketch 6). The rival New York Sun with twice the Tribune's daily circulation in 1843 had a staff of only eight reporters (including Walt Whitman) (Rubin 105).[5]

A search through the Greeley biographies yields a list of more than 60 journalists who worked for Greeley. However, only two of the journalists listed in the Greeley biographers seems to have worked at the Tribune between 1844 and 1846. These two are Margaret Fuller and George Snow. Horace Greeley had four different managing editors, and Charles A. Dana was the first. Sidney Howard Gay, John Russell Young and Whitelaw Reid followed him in the position (Zabriskie 329-330).

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[5] On Nov. 9, 1842 the Herald published a list: "The Newspaper Writers of New York." "The newspaper writers of New York are a very important and numerous clan of literati, whose labors, genius, and talent are gradually giving a time and coloring to the age. Of late years they have increased in numbers, and the following may be considered a pretty full list of those attached to the whole newspaper press of this city" (2). The list of 52 included Greeley, Walt Whitman, William Cullen Bryant, and "Fred." Hudson (the author of the 1873 history Journalism in the United States). However, none of the 52 except Greeley appeared to be working at the Tribune. The list totaled 52, including Greeley. This list cannot, however, be considered conclusive. Neither H.J. Raymond nor George Snow was on the list despite the fact that there is much evidence to say that they both worked for the Tribune in 1842.

Dana was for 15 years the much celebrated city editor.

> A Socialist who believed in reforming things from the foundation. A man of liberal culture, enthusiastic nature, untiring energy; a brilliant, dashing writer upon a great variety of topics; with a fine genius for journalism; he won the hearty affection and high admiration of Mr. Greeley (Ingersoll 130).

Before joining the paper he was general instructor and managing trustee at Brook Farm (Webster's American Biographies). Later he was assistant secretary of war under Stanton (Ingersoll).

"It was Dana who took the initiative in building up the Tribune staff, hiring and assigning correspondents, including a man in London named Karl Marx, who wrote dispatches to the Tribune at one pound apiece for more than 10 years" (Shapiro 100). Dana joined the paper in 1846 (Van Deusen) or 1847 (Webster's American Biographies) as city editor.

Another well-known writer from the early years of the Tribune was Solon Robinson, the paper's agriculture editor. Robinson was one of the main reasons for the Tribune's nationwide success among rural readers. Robinson's agricultural writing provided more information to farmers than did the U.S. government's agriculture department, said Ingersoll. However, Robinson did not join the paper until 1852 (Robinson).

Bayard Taylor, "the greatest travel writer of his day" (Lunde 24), joined the Tribune staff in New York in 1848.

He had begun working for the Tribune earlier as a foreign correspondent, paid by the article. With $144 in cash he had sailed to Europe July 1, 1844 with "a conditional order for letters to the Tribune and a series of 18 were written in Germany," according to the National Cyclopedia (3: 455). He published his first book of travel writing Views Afoot in 1846. In 1848 he joined the Tribune full-time.

Chevigny (Woman) and Anthony have both maintained that Greeley hired Fuller to replace Albert Brisbane, who had left the paper. Brisbane's column advocating the adoption of Fourierism in the United States was the subject of much controversy. Brisbane complained in his autobiography that he was attacked by both James Watson Webb at the Courier and Enquirer and by Bennett at the Herald. He said the attacks came partly as a way "to throw obloquy on the editor of the Tribune" (211). Brisbane's columns

> ran every day for a time and then three days a week over a period of more than two years starting in March 1842. . . . Meant to persuade they inevitably fatigued readers and became the most skippable portion of the paper (Kluger 52).

Brisbane did appear in at least two issues of the Tribune while Fuller was working in New York. The April 9, 1845 issue contains "Progress of Industrial Association" signed A.B. The article describes a visit to Brook Farm. On May 2, 1845 the newspaper published "The Doctrine of Association -- Its Aims and Its Character" signed A.B.

George Ripley was book editor of the New York Tribune for 31 years beginning in 1849. His long service has tended in history to overshadow Fuller's work.

Zabriskie and many others have called Ripley the

> father of literary criticism. . . . He introduced real reviewing as distinguished from the "book notice," but with a combination of the scholarly and popular which had not yet been attempted" (Zabriskie 330).

It is Ripley's literary pages that usually receive coverage in journalism histories. For instance, Mott said Tribune in 1856 became the first newspaper to establish a "regular department" for literary reviews (270). Mott described the content of this department:

> In its literary phases, the Tribune developed unusual excellence. Lectures were reported fully, extracts made from English books, Dickens and lesser novelists were sometimes serialized, and poems long and short were not unusual (270).

Ripley may deserve the title father of literary criticism because he wrote book reviews of high quality for America's most influential paper during the time it became important and influential. However, the Tribune had a regular literary department from 1844 to 1846 with Fuller in charge. It is highly likely that Fuller's work in the Tribune had a great influence on the way her friend Ripley chose to do book reviews when he became book editor. Ripley had a close association with Margaret Fuller who held one series of her conversations at his home (Dall). Ripley helped Fuller edit at The Dial handled "distribution,

subscription, printing and finance" (Golemba Ripley 59).

Golemba said Ripley was the only Transcendentalist among the original founders of Brook Farm. Others, like Fuller, visited often, but Ripley was the only one of the original founders to actually live at Brook Farm.

At the Tribune "Ripley maintained Fuller's tradition of excellence, but his pride would not permit him to follow docilely in her footsteps. He had to create, therefore, his own example of how one serves as literary guide to the masses" (Golemba 134).

Preceding Fuller at the Tribune was another newspaper great, Henry J. Raymond, who in 1850 founded The New York Times. Raymond had worked with Greeley from the start of the Tribune. Raymond's assignment was literary criticism, fine arts and "general intelligence," noted Parton in 1855 (192). In Recollections Greeley described Raymond's position as an assistant earning $8 a week.

> I have never found another person, barely of age and just from his studies, who evinced so signal and such versatile ability in journalism as he did. . . . [He was] the only assistant with whom I ever felt required to remonstrate for doing more work than any human brain and frame could be expected to long endure (138-139).

Charles Dana in 1867 recalled the first time he met Raymond. "We sat down and at once plunged into a long talk on German philosophy and metaphysics" (Quoted by Zabriskie 334-335). Looking back on Raymond's long career William Hale described Raymond as a "meticulous reporter and a

thorough desk man, insistent upon speed, accurate facts, and on pursuing a story through all its ramifications" (69).

A mere 20 years old in 1841, Raymond had quickly become "Greeley's lieutenant" (William Hale 68). The editorial page carried the notice "Assisted by H.J. Raymond" (Stoddard 63). He appeared to be invaluable to the functioning of the newspaper. During a six week vacation by Raymond, Greeley wrote B.F. Ransom (Sept. 2, 1843) that he was working from 8 a.m. to 11 a.m. daily in Raymond's absence, but the editor was looking forward to "a month of country air" presumably on Raymond's return.

But in 1843 Greeley and Raymond fought over money. Greeley had hired Raymond in 1841 for $8 a week, but in 1843 Raymond demanded a raise to $20 a week. This "was then a good deal of money; unquestionably more than the editor received," noted Ingersoll (123). Greeley refused, and Raymond went to the Courier and Enquirer.

> He was now thrown into a totally different and bitterly prejudiced circle of journalism, and was speedily set up to combat his former employer in a personal newspaper duel on Fourierism (Zabriskie 337).

During the years Fuller worked on the paper Raymond was a competitor, working at the Courier and Enquirer. Stoddard rated him Greeley's "keenest rival" (63) at the Courier and Enquirer and later at the Times.

Ripley, Dana, Raymond, Taylor, Robinson and Brisbane are the giants from the early days of the Tribune, but none

of them worked there when Fuller was on the staff. It appears that no one of national stature besides Fuller and Greeley worked at the Tribune during Fuller's tenure.

The most important person on the staff besides Greeley and Fuller from 1844 to 1846 was McElrath, the business manager. Van Deusen maintained that most of the credit for the success of the Tribune should go to McElrath, who joined Greeley in partnership July 31, 1841. McElrath provided the working capital and financial know-how to make the paper go, but he handled only the financial end.

Greeley acknowledged McElrath's contribution to the success of the paper. The Tribune, he said in a letter to Moses A. Cortland (April 14, 1845), required "ready money for a time and a great deal of it, and I was again straitened, but early in the fall a kind of providence brought T. McElrath to propose a partnership." McElrath kept his interests on the business side and did not contribute to the making of editorial policy.

> During the ten years or over that The Tribune was issued by Greeley & McElrath, my partner never once even indicated that my anti-Slavery, anti-Hanging, Socialist, and other frequent aberrations from the straight and narrow path of Whig partisanship, were injurious to our common interest, though he must often have sorely felt that they were so; and never, except when I (rarely) drew from the common treasury more money than could well be spared, in order to help some needy friend whom he judged beyond help, did he even look grieved at anything I did (Greeley Recollections 140).

McElrath was a person of some stature in the community.

At the time he joined Greeley at the Tribune, he was a bank director. In 1845 and 1846 while Fuller was working at the paper he served as an alderman for the third ward in New York City (National Cyclopedia 3: 457).

Greeley may have dominated the paper's personality, but McElrath himself was a presence. "He was a strikingly handsome man, with a dignified and commanding presence; considerate, kindly and just; genial and sympathetic in social intercourse; interested and interesting," said a Tribune staffer (National Cyclopedia 3: 457)

One wonders how he got on philosophically with Greeley and Fuller, who were both interested in transcendentalism, Emerson's radical departure from traditional Christianity. McElrath appears to have been very intelligent but traditional. He was

> deeply religious by nature, and enjoyed highly the society and serious conversation of Christian scholars. Familiar with books, he was no mean scholar himself, and had an extensive acquaintance with men of the highest intellectual rank (National Cyclopedia 3: 457).

It is possible with some confidence to identify three of the four members of Greeley's editorial staff from 1844 to 1846. Fuller handled the Literary Department. The Assistant Editor writing business news was George Snow.

Very little information is available about George Snow. He was with Greeley from the start of the Tribune. For 22 years he was in "charge of the Financial or Wall-Street department." When Greeley incorporated the Tribune Snow

became a major stock holder (Greeley Recollections 139). Snow was working for Greeley in 1843 since Greeley in a letter to H. Hubbard (6 June 1843) mentions proofreading Hubbard's manuscript with "Mr. Snow." Snow was then a part of the staff when Fuller worked there.

In addition to Fuller and Snow, Greeley said he had two reporters covering the city of New York. One of these was Oliver Johnson who had been the Boston correspondent for the New York Tribune from 1842 to 1844. He worked as Greeley's assistant from 1844 to 1846 (Dictionary of American Biography V: 112) or 1848 (Taylor I: 114). When Bayard Taylor went to New York in 1848 he said "he succeeded Mr. Oliver Johnson in the miscellaneous and literary department" (Taylor I: 114). In 1870 Johnson returned to work for Greeley, editing the weekly Tribune for two years (National Cyclopedia III: 319).

Johnson would have been philosophically in sympathy with Fuller's views on women's rights and reform. In his early 30s when he first worked for Greeley, Johnson went on to a long and active career as a reformer. He was an active abolitionist who believed in equal rights for women. Johnson was an early backer of William Lloyd Garrison (Hibben 205), and in 1838 he had advocated the full participation of women in anti-slavery societies (Dictionary of American Biography V: 112). The National Cyclopedia

called him "a man possessing not only the instincts, but the courage of a reformer. He interested himself in all benevolent movements, and was a powerful and able opponent of slavery, writing and lecturing in behalf of the cause of abolition" (III: 319). Hibben said Johnson was "a wheel horse in every humanitarian movement for almost half a century, a man whose philosophy of life was quite simply to love his neighbor as himself" (205).

It is possible, though not likely, that William Ellery Channing is the second reporter Greeley referred to in the April 15, 1845 "Prospectus of the New York Tribune."

Channing had a brief and unhappy period of employment at the Tribune. Channing was an ordained Unitarian minister and editor from 1839 to 1841 of the Western Messenger, a Unitarian organ. In 1843 he spent six months in New York publishing The Present, a periodical "devoted to the principles of religious socialism" (National Cyclopedia 13: 595).

Channing came to New York to work with Fuller on the newspaper. When Greeley hired Fuller, she convinced him also to hire Channing. Channing got to New York first. Greeley, exhausted from the election campaign, "gave some general instructions to Channing and left him to work alone" (Hudspeth Ellery 31).

W. Ellery Channing went to New York in November of 1844 to work for Greeley at

> uncertain tasks & uncertain emoluments. . . . His arrival at N.Y. was unfortunately timed. Greeley, sick & prostrate was just leaving the city -- he threw to Channing some broadest directions, & left him to make his own work, -- the one thing he could not do. He has met with much vexation, I infer, & desponds a good deal, though resolved to stay, if he can (Emerson Letters III: 268).

Channing initially did an acceptable job. In a Jan. 9, 1845 letter Fuller said , ". . . both Mr Greeley and Mr Johnson have spoken of Ellery as going well in the office" (44). But Channing didn't like his work which consisted of clipping from exchange papers and running errands. "He thoroughly detested his work and found little satisfaction in the city" (Hudspeth Ellery 31). Hudspeth said Channing quit in March 1845. Pentu said Channing was "fired for incompetence" (133). There is evidence that Greeley may have fired Channing. "Since finishing this letter I find Mr G. has de[cide]d he must part from Ellery next April. . . ," wrote Fuller in March, 1845 (Letters IV: 54). Emerson commented that Channing had a "very tender & delicate nature as poets are wont to be" and therefore could not deal with being thrown on his own resources in the newspaper office (Emerson Letters III: 268). At any rate, his service on the newspaper was brief.

Most evidence indicates that Channing was not working on the paper by the time of the April 15, 1845 publication of the prospectus.

Working with Fuller at the paper then were Johnson,

Snow and one more person, yet to be identified. None of the giants from the early days of the Tribune except Fuller and Greeley worked at the Tribune during Fuller's tenure there.

In summary, in 1844-1846, the New York Tribune was a relatively small newspaper far from the national stature it later attained. It was one of three newspapers, the Tribune, the Herald and the Sun, competing for circulation within New York City. The mechanisms for its great future were in place. The Tribune was publishing its national edition although not at this time to a vast audience. The newspaper was prospering financially. And through Fuller's work and Greeley's the paper had found its editorial voice, establishing itself as a journal of ideas.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HORACE GREELEY AND MARGARET FULLER

Margaret Fuller and Horace Greeley did not have a totally peaceful working relationship. They were the same age, 33, in 1844, but he was a plebeian workaholic while Fuller on the other hand was a gentile lady whose commitment to the newspaper was variable. He wrote quickly and efficiently. She wrote slowly and carefully. "Each was dogmatic and opinionative, and neither inclined to admit error or mistake. Each held personal convictions in high reverence, but Miss Fuller was especially disposed to resent any interference with her own methods of thought and action," recalled Congdon ("Reminiscences" 225).[1] "Fortune seemed to delight in placing us two in relations of friendly antagonism, -- or rather, to develop all possible contrasts in our ideas and social habits," said Greeley (Emerson et al II: 153).

Greeley biographers Lunde and Van Deusen have both concluded that during her sojourn in New York, Fuller and Greeley formed a deep friendship which continued through

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[1] The accuracy of Congdon's report is questionable. Congdon knew Fuller while she was teaching in Providence (Reminiscences of a Journalist 118); however, Congdon joined the Tribune in 1857 (Reminiscences of a Journalist 232) long after Fuller had died.

correspondence until her death in 1850. Fuller and Henry Clay, says Lunde, are the "two persons who made a deep impact on his [Greeley's] maturing life" (95). Greeley was impressed by Fuller's "intellectual power, the ability to shape men's and women's minds" (96) and particularly by her persuasive power in private conversation, said Lunde.

Douglas maintained that Greeley judged Fuller by a different set of standards than those used by her New England associates. Greeley asked an employer's questions about her:

> Could she work effectively, could she speak cogently to the issues of the day, did she mean what she said? . . . He facilitated her transition from a world where intensity of impression was counted almost everything to one where effects were constantly, and not always accurately, calculated and examined (Douglas 339).

Hale credited Greeley with teaching Fuller the practicalities of life. "Heretofore she had lived in a private realm of introspection and disembodied ideas" (114).

> What Greeley had that her New England friends did not was confidence in Fuller's penetration as a thinker and critic and her potential as a successful writer. Where Emerson and others disparaged her early writing and ignored the work she did after she left Boston, Greeley constructively criticized her . . . Refined where he was crude, esoteric and aesthetic where he was practical and reformist, elitist where he was democratic, the Margaret Fuller of The Dial and Transcendental Club would have found Greeley distasteful if not repulsive. Instead, as she became more socially conscious and historically oriented, Fuller found much to admire in Greeley and many interests to share with him (Szymanski 139 -141).

Szymanski contrasted Fuller's friendships with Emerson and with Greeley.

> Where she played handmaid and student to [Emerson's] sage and teacher, she approached Greeley on a different footing. . . . The Tribune editor had pursued her with his offer, and she came to him as a writer of some stature and celebrity. . . Each had something to give the other, each had something to learn -- both were willing to do so (143).

In the literature Fuller is described as a difficult employee, moody, unwilling to work hard and a weak writer. Zabriskie criticized Fuller's "bondage to moods and nerves, so that she was incapable of incessant or even regular labor" (326). "She would write only when in the mood -- when free of headaches and temperamental sulks" (Stoddard 98).

> She was always late with her copy, suffered from violent headaches and was less adaptable than Mr. Greeley had hoped she would be when he invited her to join his staff. . . . Mr. Greeley gave her work a handsome play, but found it a problem to get her to turn it in on time (Ross 400-401).

These descriptions derive from several derogatory comments by Horace Greeley about Fuller and her work. He argued that she did not work hard enough. He said Fuller suffered from "headaches and other infirmities (which) often precluded all labor for days. . . . [she had] no capacity for incessant labor," he said (Recollections 177).[2]

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[2] Fuller did have headaches. She wrote James Nathan, "Last night the pain in my neck became so violent, that I could not lie still and passed a night suffering and sleepless. . . . It was a sort of tic douloureux. I brought out a very strong remedy and since applying it have been

> While I never met another woman who conversed more freely or lucidly, the attempt to commit her thoughts to paper seemed to induce a singular embarrassment and hesitation. She could write only when in the vein; and this needed often to be waited for through several days, while the occasion sometimes required immediate utterance (Greeley quoted by Emerson et al II: 154).

Greeley complained that Fuller spent far too much time pondering over the books she was reviewing. "If quantity only were considered, I could write ten columns to her one," he said (Recollections 177). Sometimes while she was seeking just the right words, a rival journal would beat the Tribune into print with a review of an important book. If the competition had already reviewed the book, Greeley argued, "the ablest critique would command no general attention" ("Her Tribune Writing" 305). While acknowledging the "rare intellectual wealth and force" of Fuller's work, Greeley complained that she too often produced her work "a day after the fair" (Quoted by Emerson et al II: 155).

It is important not to take these Greeley complaints at face value. One must place these complaints in context. Greeley is famous for being an impatient workaholic. Brockway reported that Greeley was always in a hurry. For instance, he described a visit by the governor of New York to Greeley's office. Greeley continued to write a column while the governor talked to him. "When he reaches a

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asleep" (Love Letters 75). Emerson said she suffered from "Nervous headache whose spasms . . . produced total prostration" ("Reminiscences" 206).

period, Mr. Greeley stops writing, turns around in his chair, and gives his views in the fewest possible words; and this he does repeatedly during the interview" (148).

> He performed the labor of a whole regiment of men, and a great deal more intellectual labor than any regiment ever did perform. He was always at work. He worked because he could not help it. There was an influence behind him or above him that impelled him onward; that was pushing him all the time; that kept him busy every moment when he was awake; that did not allow him requisite time for sleep and rest; that gave him no opportunity for recreation, and that eventually wore him out (Brockway 152).

Brockway said one of Greeley's major flaws was his impatience. "He thought the world might be reformed in a day -- in his day" (152-153). Brockway argued Greeley was a failure as a Congressman because he "was surrounded by one hundred and more lawyers who were not in the habit of getting up and at work at 8 in the morning" (153).

Former Tribune war correspondent Junius Browne concurred, "In respect to work he was positively fanatical" (740). In fact Browne credited Greeley's death to overwork (740).

Just what did Greeley define as working hard? In 1844 while campaigning for Clay's election as president Greeley filled an average of four newspaper columns a day and answered 20 letters a day "besides traveling all over the country, addressing meetings almost every day, and being in constant contact with local politicians " (Zabriskie 115).

He regularly worked into the morning, often getting

home at 2 or 3 a.m. (Zabriskie). In a letter to Schuyler Colfax, Greeley can be seen working into the night. "It is after 11 o'clock at night and I am very heavy with hard work and lack of sleep. yet I will scrawl a few lines in reply to you" (Aug. 1, 1844). Anyone working that hard should go home and get some sleep, but Greeley said after he had finished his letter he intended to turn to proofreading the paper. Greeley's late hours were caused partially by the newspaper's printing schedule. It went to bed at midnight (New York Tribune: A Sketch).

However, Greeley was not necessarily happy about working long hours. He certainly thought a 15 hour work day was too much. While his assistant editor H.J. Raymond was on a six week vacation, Greeley complained to B.F. Ransom (Sept. 2, 1843) that he was working 15 hours a day. He was having "pains through the back and shoulders caused by the excessive work. . . . This is too hard and I have often been unable to sleep after it." Horace Greeley's definition of the length of a good work day was probably at least 10 hours, at least that is what the Tribune typesetters regarded as a minimum workday. The typesetter's union in New York in 1836 negotiated two standard rates of pay, one for an 11 hour day and one for a 10 hour day (History).

Greeley was an efficient writer, not given to long pondering and much revision.

pondering and much revision.

> I have seen men who composed more rapidly than he [Greeley] did, though he wrote without hesitation -- without stopping to think -- got over a half sheet of foolscap in a way one might call "good time." . . . [His first draft] was written exactly as the author intended it should read when put in type, every comma, semicolon or other mark of punctuation precisely where he wished it. He erased and interlined little, though he would occasionally cross out a word and insert what he considered a preferable one . . . (Brockway 146-147).

Greeley normally filled three columns of type with copy he had handwritten on 15 pages of foolscap[3] a day (Parton). And this seems to have been the standard work product for a journalist of the day. In 1836-37 Nichols worked as an assistant editor for Bennett's Herald. He described his work day:

> I went to the office in Ann-street every morning a little after seven o'clock. The compositors arrived at the same time, and I wrote with one or another at my elbow every few minutes, taking the slips as they were thrown off -- a third faster than I ever think of writing now -- until I had completed my daily morning task of three newspaper minion[4] columns, by which time the proofs began to come down, and they were corrected, and the paper put to press by one o'clock, P.M. (I: 264).

Nichols said his copy was "mostly on local and social matters, with short paragraphs in the American fashion, light and lively" (264).

Margaret Fuller meanwhile was filling three newspaper

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[3] Foolscap is a sheet of 13 by 16 inch writing paper.

[4] Minion is a type size. It refers to seven point type.

columns every other day. This hardly means, however, that she was not working as hard. She was, for the most part, writing carefully constructed essays, the kind of writing that takes twice as long to produce. Fuller did have a tendency to reflect at length. In a review of a book favoring capital punishment, Fuller reported that she had had the book for several weeks, but the subject of capital punishment was so repulsive to her that she had had to read the book in "short stages with long intervals of rest and refreshment between" ("Darkness Visible" March 4, 1845 1). While she was agonizing her way through the book, a rival paper beat her into print with a review. Given the difference in the type of writing, one could argue that Fuller worked as hard at the Tribune as Nichols had worked at the Herald. It is doubtful that she worked as hard as Greeley, but his work habits were extraordinary.

There is evidence in her letters of a willingness on Fuller's part to work very long hours. When she was finishing the rewriting of Woman in the Nineteenth Century, she reported finishing the manuscript in a marathon day in which she took a long early morning walk and then wrote until 9 p.m. The copy "kept spinning out beneath my hand" (Fuller Writings 567). In another letter, she reported working on a piece for the Tribune solidly from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. taking a break for a walk and then going back to work again (Letters III 202).

Higginson maintains that Fuller did indeed work hard. "She evidently worked very hard in her own way, which was not always Mr. Greeley's method. Her researches into poverty and crime took many of her leisure hours" (211).

Greeley evidently did discuss his complaints about Fuller's work with her. In July, 1845 she wrote James Nathan, ". . . the paper when I attend to it as much as Mr G. wishes, takes all the time I feel disposed to read or write. He is now quite content again. I write often and at length; . . ." (Letters IV: 138).

Fuller was not, however, totally devoted to the job. After she had been at the Tribune for four or five months she went through a period of ambivalence about her work. Greeley must have noticed and been irritated.

When she first took the job she wrote a spate of enthusiastic letters about what she called her "business life" (Letters III: 269). On Dec. 29, 1844 after she had been at the paper for a month, Fuller wrote that she liked her new job because it was "so central, and affords a far more various view of life than any I ever before was in." She was enthusiastically planning visits to the city's insane asylums and prisons to gather information for articles (Letters III: 256).

But also by the end of December, she was realizing the danger of working too hard. She complained that her life

had become crowded with activities and she was also having pains in her side and spine after much exertion. "I am obliged," she said, "to be especially careful not to write too much" (Writings 571).

In January, her life became even more complicated with the publication of Woman in the Nineteenth Century. She wrote a friend that she was working at the paper only "moderately" and spending most of her time with galley proofs of her book. "For really the work seems half done when your book is written," she commented wryly (Higginson 212).

The distraction of producing the book seems to have begun to pull Fuller away from the paper. In February, she wrote her brother that she did "as much or as little as I please and the Editors express themselves perfectly satisfied" (Writings 574).

By April, though, she seemed to lose all interest in the newspaper. She complained about having to review a book called American Facts when she really wanted to look "at that best fact, the Moon" (Love Letters 41). In April she published a total of only four articles. Fuller's problem in April was that she had fallen in love.

In the same month when she produced only four articles, she wrote 11 long adoring letters to her love, James Nathan. In one letter she came very close to proposing a sexual

relationship.[5] Even one of the articles she published in the Tribune during this month indicated that Fuller had Nathan on her mind. Nathan was a German Jew visiting in the United States. In her article "The Modern Jews" (1) Fuller described the literary contributions of Jews.

Fuller's profusion of letters to Nathan in April contained almost no reference to her employment. She was meeting with Nathan regularly so perhaps she talked about her work with him in person. The lack of work references in the letters plus the lack of published articles has to indicate some lack of enthusiasm for her job.

Fortunately for the Tribune, Nathan returned to Europe and Fuller redirected her interest to her work. In late June she wrote that Greeley had been nagging her to produce more. She said she had "tried to revive my engines about the paper, and have succeeded in doing a good deal" (Love Letters 112).

By December she was showing enthusiasm for the work. "I devote myself a great deal to the paper, as I am more and more interested by the generous course of Mr G. and am

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[5] "A person who called me unnatural, or rather my way of viewing things so, said that if I had the experience of passionate life, it would alter my view," Fuller wrote Nathan. She went on to speculate that Nathan had probably experienced passion, and then noted that he might be entering a more "Poetic" time in his life just as her life needed to "be more deeply real; must we go opposite ways in the same road?" (Love Letters 61-62).

desirous to make my own position important and useful" (Fuller Letters IV: 178).

Her work fell off again in March, 1846. Fuller wrote her aunt,

> I do not write much for the Tribune just now, as I am trying to get ready my Miscellanies which are to be published by Wiley and Putnam in two volumes. They require a good deal of arrangement correction and some new writing . . . (Letters IV: 197).

It appears that Fuller did indeed work hard if not perhaps up to the standards of the redoubtable Greeley; however, her devotion to the paper varied. When she was producing her two books and when she was involved with James Nathan, her contributions to the paper decreased.

There is evidence, however, that Fuller's commitment to the Tribune was always tenuous. Fuller made a commitment to Greeley in January 1845 "to stay a year and a half, if not longer," but she was already looking "forward in order to get what I want from Europe" (Letters IV: 46).

There is also Greeley's famous comment, "Noble and great as she was, a good husband and two or three bouncing babies would have emancipated her from a deal of cant and nonsense." Greeley made this comment while pointing out that he was not "wholly exempt from the vulgar prejudice against female claimants of functions hitherto devolved only on men" (Recollections 178).

Horace Greeley was of a mixed mind on the subject of

women's rights. He did hire Fuller and was proud of her work. But he reported

> much perfectly good-natured, but nevertheless sharpish sparring between us. Whenever she said or did anything implying the usual demand of Woman on the courtesy and protection of Manhood, I was apt, before complying to look her in the face and exclaim with marked emphasis, -- quoting from her "Woman in the Nineteenth Century," -- "Let them be sea-captains if they will" (Quoted by Emerson et al II:156).

Greeley complained that while demanding for women "the fullest recognition of Social and Political Equality with the rougher sex" Fuller often also

> exacted a deference and courtesy from men to women, as women. . . . So long as a lady shall deem herself in need of some gentleman's arm to conduct her properly out of a dining room or ball-room, . . . I cannot see how the "Woman's Rights" theory is ever to be anything more than a logically defensible abstraction (Quoted by Emerson et al II:155).

On the other hand, Greeley was impressed with Fuller's compassion towards prostitutes. "I have known few women, and scarcely another maiden, who had the heart and the courage to speak with such frank compassion, in mixed circles, of the most degraded and outcast portion of the sex" ("Her Tribune Writings" 306). At the time that she was beginning to visit prisons, Fuller said she wanted to meet one of "those women who are trampled in the mud to gratify the brute appetites of men" (Letter reprinted in Higginson 212).

Stoddard noted that Greeley gave positive coverage to the first National Suffragist convention at Worcester, Mass.

and was attacked by other papers. In an introduction to an 1855 edition of Woman in the Nineteenth Century Greeley clearly favored the campaign to achieve equal rights for women before the law. Of Fuller, he noted, she

> was one of the earliest as well as ablest among American women, to demand for her sex equality before the law with her titular lord and master. Her writings on this subject have the force which springs from the ripening of profound reflection into assured conviction. She wrote as one who had observed, and who deeply felt what she deliberately uttered (x).

Greeley, then, endorsed the idea of women's rights before the law and actively supported women's rights by among other things hiring Fuller. But he also pointed out the logical fallacy of granting women equal rights while at the same time deferring to them. And Greeley was capable of making unprogressive comments about women's place in society.

Greeley said that he at first did not "prize" Fuller's work at the paper.

> Her earlier contributions to the Tribune were not her best, and I did not at first prize her aid so highly as I afterwards learned to do. She wrote always freshly, vigorously, but not always clearly; for her full and intimate acquaintances with continental literature, especially German, seemed to have marred her felicity and readiness of expression in her mother tongue (Quoted by Emerson et al II: 154).

"Her great thoughts were seldom irradiated by her written language -- they were more often clouded and choked by it,"

said Greeley in his obituary ("Death" 4).[6]

Although Greeley attacked Fuller's style in the obituary, in his essay on Fuller for the Memoirs, Greeley was proud of the writing style she had developed at the Tribune. After Fuller had been writing for the Tribune for a while, she developed a style "characterized by a directness, terseness, and practicality, which were wanting in some of her earlier productions," said Greeley (Quoted by Emerson et al II: 157-158). While noting that her Dial essays were "more elaborate and ambitious, her reviews in the Tribune are far better adapted to win the favor and sway the judgment of the great majority of readers" (Quoted by Emerson et al II: 158).

Fuller's friend James Freeman Clarke told her he thought working at the Tribune had improved her writing style (145). Hale claimed Fuller's style altered under Greeley's tutelage to a terse version closer to Greeley's own style.

A great deal of scholarship has been devoted to Fuller's writing style. Fuller had "stylistic mannerisms that flawed but did not invalidate her basic perceptions and ideas," noted Allen. Among these stylistic weaknesses Allen

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[6] This article in the Tribune is unsigned. However in a Sept. 3, 1850 letter to Sarah J. Hale, Greeley said, "My own article concerning her [Fuller] may be found in the Tribune of the 23rd or 24th July."

included an overuse of apostrophes, an overuse of euphemisms, a tendency towards preachiness.

> Her personality did dominate her writing, too much so. . . . She would have been a better critic if common sense had been her portion at an earlier age," observed Fay (88). Urbanski argued that the distinction between Fuller's brilliance in conversation and her supposed ineptitude as a writer arises with Emerson who was her close friend. Emerson wrote Carlyle in 1843, "She -- Margaret Fuller, is an admirable person, whose writing gives feeble account of her (Joseph Slater 355).

Hardwick maintained Fuller's reviews were "short and quickly written" (18). Ross, on the other hand, says Fuller was "verbose and obscure on paper" and cites as evidence the fact that "her articles often ran three or four columns long" (401). Whether Fuller's work was long or short depends on one's point of view. Hardwick is an essayist and writes at length while Ross was a newspaper reporter used to writing brief articles. In terms of what the Tribune published, a Fuller piece would usually be the longest in the paper and one of only three or four articles that ran to more than two columns. When her work did not appear, generally the Tribune ran another long piece, from a correspondent or reprinted from another publication. Greeley gave Fuller a great advantage by allowing her to write long pieces. Rubin noted that Walt Whitman, Fuller's contemporary in the newspaper business, could not attempt to develop ideas in long essays like Fuller's because the Star did not give him enough space for longer pieces.

Douglas said the daily deadlines and the transience of journalism made Fuller's writing much less self-conscious. She no longer had to worry about "consciously attempting a large-scale achievement. Her instinct for self-defeat was incorporated into the conditions of success: she could not really look at what she was doing; she wrote it, and it was printed" (340).

One of the reasons Fuller's writing improved was that at the Tribune she seemed to develop a strong sense of audience. Greeley said her essays at The Dial were "more elaborate and ambitious" but her Tribune work was written to reach "the great majority of readers" ("Her Tribune Writing" 306).

Many of Fuller's letters also indicate that in her writing she was thinking about the audience of newspaper readers she was trying to reach. She was aware of the need to bend content and style for a specific audience. For instance, she said the paper would not contain much foreign news because the Tribune was "emphatically an American journal" writing to Americans about American affairs (Letters III: 256). She told her brother she liked being able to write to an audience of 50,000 readers (Writings 574). She responded to one critic who accused her of writing "slop lit" in the Tribune by explaining that her wording was for the "common reader" ("Darkness Visible" 1). She insisted on a small press run for Woman in the

Nineteenth Century because she thought the writing was on too erudite a plane for the ordinary reader ("Writings" 567).

Another reason for the improvement in Fuller's style was no doubt Greeley's tutelage. While her writing tended to the ponderous and verbose, Charles Dana described Greeley's writing as "plain, clear, striking. His illustrations were quaint and homely, sometimes even vulgar, but they never failed to tell" (449). Zabriskie praises its "directness, its unhalting and unanswering progress from the first sentence to the equally abrupt yet complete close" (118).

By all accounts, Greeley was an active and involved editor. "No one of Greeley's associates . . . ever wrote a line that Greeley did not critically read," said Seitz (99). Bradshaw analyzed a column of advice to correspondents which Greeley published regularly in the Tribune's predecessor, the New Yorker. Greeley "commented bluntly, on individual submissions, stressing what he felt was desirable in writing, especially in poetical writing" (Bradshaw 645).

People who worked for Greeley described him as a sometimes rough but valued critic of their work.

Greeley's childhood friend, Beman Brockway, worked for the Tribune from 1853 to 1855.

> Unlike some editors who fail to read their own papers, Mr. Greeley read the Tribune -- read it thoroughly,

> knew what was in it -- and if there was anything there that should not be, or if anything had been omitted that the sheet should have contained, woe to the offender. I don't mean that he was a habitual fault finder; perhaps it would be nearer the truth to say he rarely complained; but he did find fault when he considered there was occupation for it, and he was not mealy-mouthed either. I have seen him, as Dana says, "scold like a drab, as ferocious as a baited bear" (145-146).

Greeley wrote a series of letters in 1843 and 1844 to H. Hubbard trying to discourage him from the newspaper business. In these letters, which have not previously been published, Greeley described what he thought good newspaper writing was and explained what kind of an editor he was. About the same time as this series of letters to Hubbard, Greeley recruited Fuller. Greeley may not have told Fuller the same things said told Hubbard since he was trying to discourage Hubbard while encouraging Fuller, but the Hubbard correspondence does give a sense of Greeley's view of his role.

Greeley cautioned Hubbard that the newspaper business was unglamorous and frustrating, a business devoted to supporting "unpopular and depressed" causes and to impressing "neglected thought . . . on the general mind. . . . If you only look to write for a living or (little better) for distinction, then I say you forswear comfort and rush on suicide" (Apr. 12, 1844). Greeley argued that it was difficult for a person to succeed financially at writing because "any thought really worth

uttering must be in advance of the time -- contradictory to the experience and what passes for the common sense of the mass -- and so unpopular and unprofitable" (Aug. 26, 1843).

Greeley made a clear distinction between writing newspaper articles and writing literature.

> You do not realize how little the mere talent of writing well has to do with success or usefulness. There are a thousand at least in this city who can write very good prose or verse (fewer perhaps the latter) while there are not fifty who can earn their bread at it" (April 12, 1844).

The difference between the 50 and the thousand he said was "the immensity of minute knowledge required" in the newspaper business. An editor, he said, has to know a myriad of obscure facts or else he will accidentally publish "a gross and mischievous blunder." He concluded, ". . . merely literary talent is but the ABC [the basics] toward a literary life that is a livelihood" (April 12, 1844).

He had one central piece of advice for Hubbard on developing a good writing style. "Write slowly, write sparingly; and be sure that every line is such as will tell" (June 24, 1843).

Greeley said his job as an editor working with writers was to be a tough critic. He told Hubbard, if he really wished to be in the newspaper business, "come down here and try your future. I will aid you with harsh advice if I can do more more" (April 12, 1844).

And Greeley was a harsh critic.[7] In another letter he commented on Hubbard's work:

> It has passages which approach the great Greek masters of tragedy. And yet it is moved with roughness of style and careless expressions which will detract somewhat from the credit it ought to give you. Do be careful. Write impulsively, rapidly, but revise with great labor and love. Every line should be considered

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[7] Greeley published this caustic advice on writing for his newspaper ("To Correspondents" 2):

". . . oblige us by omitting all such flourishes as 'your interesting and valuable paper,' 'your able and patriotic course,' &c. Our subscribers and the public know all about that sort of thing, and we also have a tolerable opinion of our own merits. If you think by this to improve your chances of insertion, you mistake ruinously.

"When you have written what you have to say, run it over and see if there are not some sentences that could be spared without serious injury. If there are, out with them! We are compelled to decline good articles because we cannot make room for them. A half column has ten chances where two columns have one and three columns none.

"Try to disparage as little as possible, and where you must condemn, let your facts be stronger than your words.

"When you assail any cause or person, always give us your real name, which we shall give up to whoever has a right to demand it. He is a sneak and a coward who could ask us to bear the responsibility of his attacks on others.

"Don't write up both sides of a sheet.

"If you send us word that you "have written in great haste, and have no time to correct," we shall put your manuscript quietly in the fire. Why should you throw on us the task of correcting your scrawl, when we are obliged to slight our own work daily for want of time!

"Give us facts, incidents, occurrences, at the earliest moment, and we shall be grateful, though you wrote with a pudding stick; but if you attempt logic or sentiment, do it up right, instead of leaning on us."

> word by word, to see if a better way may not be found (June 24, 1843).

Biographers have disagreed about Greeley's demeanor around the office. William Hale said, Greeley may have had a "peremptory, commanding manner" but this was basically for show. "He steered the Tribune with relaxed, easy reins, and enjoyed giving his men their head" (83). On the other hand Lunde said Greeley was "disorganized and irritable. . . . He complained constantly over the paper's appearance and content when he was traveling and hence not in immediate control of the office" (28). Stoddard described Greeley as

> an unsparing critic of the careless and lazy; for a mean act he had no mercy; for a clumsy one but little; his explosive words were not of the kind heard in polite society; frequently their coarseness shocked everybody as they sounded through the office like a shriek; often he was full of praises, then of impatience (69).

Shapiro reported:

> During the Tribune's early years, Greeley was not the easiest man to work for. . . . [He was a] querulous employer . . . anything but tolerant of the weaknesses of subordinates. On one occasion, angered by an error in proofreading, Greeley directed a subordinate editor to "oblige me and go upstairs and choke that infernal fool for nine minutes" (100).

Greeley made harsh comments to or about many of the famous men who worked for him. Golemba reported George Ripley was a "genial" man, but even he had trouble with Greeley. Golemba quoted an 1849 letter from Ripley to a friend:

> Greeley's prejudices stick to him like a burr. Greeley

> is a hard case personally, and as coarse, sharp and gritty as a flint. . . . I don't believe he would go across the street to save any of us from hellfire (117).

Seitz said Greeley once called poetry by his great travel writer Bayard Taylor "gassy stuff" (99). William Hale noted that Greeley complained of the great H.J. Raymond, "He doesn't feel the grave importance of our vocation" (Quoted by Hale 69).

Douglas argued that Greeley's comments about Fuller come from a failure to understand the conflicts she faced as an intellectual in a time when there were few intellectual women. Greeley, she says, was "more alert to her [Fuller's] inconsistencies of thought than her consistency of need" (339). This observation judges Greeley somewhat harshly. He was a moody man, but as an editor he seems to have treated Fuller in the same way he treated his male employees.

Greeley also praised Fuller extravagantly. When he announced her hiring, Greeley called Fuller a writer "already eminent in the higher walks of literature" and predicted "decided and gratifying change" for his newspaper (1). He was enthusiastic about Woman in the 19th Century, which he published. "Margaret's book is going to sell. I tell you it has the real stuff in it," he wrote his friend Rufus Griswold (Letter quoted by Szymanski 139). Greeley was obviously proud of his employee. In the obituary he

wrote about Fuller a few days after her death, Greeley called her

> one so radiantly lofty in intellect, so devoted to Human Liberty and Well-being, so ready to dare and to endure for the upraising of her sex and her race. . . . America has produced no woman who in mental endowments and acquirements has surpassed Margaret Fuller, . . . ("Death" 4).

Noting the tragedy of her death, Greeley ended his recollections: "So passed away the loftiest, bravest soul that has yet irradiated the form of an American woman" (Recollections 191).

At least twice while Fuller was working in New York, Greeley praised her work. "In the department of General Literature and Criticism, we have secured assistance of the highest order. . . ," he said in 1845 ("Prospectus of the Semi-Weekly Tribune" 2)

Evidently correspondents complained about the large amount of space Fuller's copy filled. The paper published a defense of its policy of publishing long book reviews. The purpose of the reviews, the notice said, is "not to commend or condemn" the books,

> but to convey to our readers certain ideas and truths which the books suggest. We have often read a long and admirable review of a meager and worthless book. Knowledge, taste, judgment, lofty principle, fervent piety, are often evinced in a review in such a manner as to make a deep impression on the reader's mind, irrespective of the merits of the book reviewed ("To Correspondents" Feb. 18, 1846 2).

Greeley, then, was an honest but sometimes harsh critic. He did disparage Fuller's work on occasion, but he

also said very complimentary things about her writing. The negative comments he made about Fuller do not mean that she was indeed a poor employee or a poor writer. Nor should they be read as an indication of prejudice against Fuller because she was a woman. Greeley, at least intellectually, favored the idea of women's rights. Greeley was similarly harsh to the men whose work he edited. The harshness of Greeley's comments should instead be read as an example of the kind of powerful editing that Fuller's writing received.

Fuller seems to have been fairly resilient about dealing with Greeley's editing. Ripley, Dana and Brockway complained about Greeley's treatment, but Fuller did not. The mentions of Greeley in her letters are mostly admiring with only the mildest of criticism.

Fuller had a generally high respect for Greeley. In many different letters she praised him. For instance, "Mr. Greeley is in many ways very interesting for me to know. He teaches me things, which my own influence on those, who have hitherto approached me, has prevented me from learning," she wrote (Letters IV: 40). "Mr. Greeley is a man of genuine excellence, honorable, benevolent, of an uncorrupted disposition, and, in his way, of even great abilities" (Letters IV: 46). ". . . the editor is a man of honor, noble disposition, and fine abilities of a class much prized among our people," Fuller wrote a friend in England (Letters

IV: 58). "Mr. Greeley is a sagacious and a wonderfully good man . . . ," (Letters IV: 128). "Mr. Greeley I like, nay more, love. . . . His abilities, in his own way, are great. He believes in mine to a surprizing extent. We are true friends," (Letters IV: 56).

Fuller's only complaint about Greeley seems to have been that his manners were rough, but she forgave them. "In modes of life and manners he is the man of the people and of the Amern [American] people, but I find my way to get along with all that" (Letters IV: 46). "He is, in his habits, a slattern and plebeian, and in his heart, a nobleman" (Letters IV: 56). "He is a man of the people, and outwardly unrefined, but he has the refinement of true goodness, and a noble disposition. He has, in his own range, great abilities. We have an excellent mutual understanding" (Letters III: 256).

Fuller was not particularly exceptional in regarding Greeley as plebeian. His clothing[8] was a subject for

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[8] Explaining Greeley's slovenly appearance has been a problem for the editor's generally sympathetic biographers. "The fact is, Horace Greeley had no sense of dress, and seemed unconscious of what he wore or of its grotesque and abnormal character," said Zabriskie (349). Seitz explained that Greeley's pants legs were constantly snagged by the top of his high boots causing a disheveled appearance, but Seitz added, "his dress, if disheveled, was scrupulously neat and clean" (2). Hale said that Greeley deliberately maintained an unsophisticated and even slovenly appearance so that readers would feel that he was accessible. "Anyone with something to say could come in and have it out," observed Hale (78).

general comment in his day. Reported Bungay in 1852:

> . . . his careless, slipshod, slovenly way of dressing his person, has rendered him a man of mark and remark. His white hate and white coat have been immortalized, because they are ever worn and ever lasting. If this Whig prophet had more dignity and more dandyism, he would be less popular with the masses, but a great favorite with uppercrustdom. . . . When the reader beholds a man with an old white hat stuck on the back of the cranium, and leaving the forehead bare, a shirt-collar neckerchiefless and unbuttoned, a vest which looks as though it had been put on with a pitch-fork, a pair of trowsers with one leg stuck in a coarse boot and the other striving in vain to reach the ancle [sic]; a coat that seems to have been blown upon his back, and pockets filled with exchange papers -- he may be sure he sees Horace Greeley (Bungay 30-32)

Emerson, in an 1842 letter to Fuller, described Greeley as a "young man with soft white hair," not a scholar "but such a one as newspapers make." Greeley appeared sympathetic to Emerson's transcendentalist ideas, but restless and pushy. "I saw my fate in a moment and that I should never content him," Emerson told Fuller (19).

Philip Hone in his diary in 1848 described Greeley as "a sensible man and means well, but he is apt to be wild, visionary, and abstracted in his notions about politics and the relative duties of social communities" (835).

Margaret Fuller is often denigrated for her moods; however, Greeley was equally moody. "He had his ups and downs, and the distance between the two extremes was immeasurable," recalled Brockway. "When in an unhappy mood, he was simply wretched, an object of real pity. The revulsion in his feelings after the Battle of Bull Run was

such as to send him to his couch sick, where he remained for several weeks. . . ." (154).

"He was so sincere that he seemed at times disingenuous, and so candid that he was charged with indirection" recalled his co-worker Junius Browne (734). He was a combination of "sterling manhood" and "unconquered childishness," said Browne (735). Charles Dana said Greeley about all things

> was absolutely in earnest. His convictions were intense; he had that peculiar courage, most precious in a great man, which enables him to adhere to his own line of action despite the excited appeals of friends and the menaces of variable public opinion . . . (449).

His co-worker Junius Browne conceded that Greeley's clothes were shabby, but he added that they were always scrupulously neat and clean. The illustrious editor was simply careless of his attire, though fastidiously neat" (737).

Despite the fact that there may have been some rough moments with Greeley, Fuller liked her work. "I like the position; it is so central, and affords a far more various view of life than any I ever before was in," reported Fuller shortly after going to work for Greeley (Letters III: 256).

Fuller said she liked working in journalism because it enabled her "to speak effectually some right words to a large circle; and while I can do so, am content" (Fuller Letters IV: 40). However, she was a realist about the

effect her articles would have. She said she did "not expect to do much, practically, for the suffering," but at least her work would let readers know about conditions in institutions (Letter reprinted in Higginson 212).

Fuller certainly felt respected by her colleagues at the Tribune. "My associates think my pen does not make too fine a mark to be felt, and may be a vigorous and purifying implement," Fuller wrote shortly after she went to work for Greeley (Letters III: 256). In her letters Fuller often reported on a recent article which had "attracted a good deal of attention" (Letters III: 133). In her farewell column she said she was pleased with the "degree of sympathetic response" which her work had generated ("Farewell" 1).

There is one puzzling letter in the material which pertains to the relationship between Fuller and Greeley. On Sept. 3, 1850, two months after Fuller's death, Greeley wrote Mrs. Sarah J. Hale, editor of Godey's Lady's Book, refusing to write a memoir about Fuller. Greeley maintained that he did not know Fuller well enough to write about her.

> Margaret was only known to me through the two years previous to her departure for Europe and by some letters afterward, and though she lived in my house a year and a half, I never was really intimate with her. I only met her at breakfast, leaving soon after for my office and not returning til long after the whole family had gone to rest.

Interpreting this letter is difficult given the great weight of evidence indicating that Greeley knew Fuller very

well. She had lived in his home for more than a year and written a large percentage of his newspaper over almost two years. Szymanski argued, despite Greeley's protestations in this letter, that he and Fuller had a warm loyal friendship. She pointed to the frequent correspondence the two maintained after Fuller left the paper and went to Europe. In these letters, she noted, he frequently urged Fuller to return. When his son died of cholera, Greeley in a letter

> cried out his grief to her. In his other letters, he was frank, warm, caring. Again and again, he asked her to return home. After her death, he was the most energetic of her friends in pursuing the project of publishing her Memoirs (144).

Other scholars have also concluded that Fuller and Greeley were warm friends. So?

Stoddard maintained, "No man was ever close enough to Greeley to have his deepest thoughts. They were reserved for three women to whom he wrote frankly" (296). One was a childhood friend, Rebekah Whipple. Another, Margaret Allen, he corresponded with from 1864 until his death. The third close woman friend, says Stoddard, was Margaret Fuller. "The only persons to whom Horace Greeley ever yielded in opinion" were his wife and Margaret Fuller (97). Ingersoll reports that during Greeley's final illness in 1872 he spoke "with great admiration and kindness" (578) for Margaret Fuller. More than 20 years after Fuller died, she was a strong presence in Greeley's mind on his death bed.

Clearly, Greeley and Fuller knew each other well.

If this is so, then why would Greeley deny the friendship? An analysis of other letters Greeley wrote just after Fuller's death reveals an answer.

In his comments for the Emerson et al Memoirs Greeley started with the same wording he used when writing to Hale but he altered his meaning.

> I was myself barely acquainted with her, when she thus came to reside with us, and I did not fully appreciate her nobler qualities for some months afterward. Though we were members of the same household, we scarcely met save at breakfast; and my time and thoughts were absorbed in duties and cares, which left me little leisure or inclination for the amenities of social intercourse (II: 153).

"We two dwelt for months under the same roof, meeting once a day at a common board, and having certain business relations with each other," reported Greeley (Quoted by Emerson et al II: 156). Later, however, he found himself "drawn, almost irresistibly, in the general current" (Quoted by Emerson et al II: 156) of admiration for Fuller.

On July 27, 1850 Greeley wrote Emerson dated July 27, 1850 urging him to write the Memoirs as quickly as possible so "that the book shall be got out before the interest excited by her sad decease has passed away. Her friends will buy it anyhow; but I wish it to reach a larger circle." Greeley told Emerson he has neither the time, the capacity nor "the knowledge essential to a proper Memoir of our departed friend; and all say you ought to write that -- must

[italics] write it" (Emerson Letters IV: 225n). In his obituary of Fuller, Greeley called for a publication of a memoir of Fuller along with a collection of her writing ("Margaret" 6). Greeley thought someone should write a memorial book on Fuller, but he did not want to do it.

Despite his protestations to Hale, Greeley did indeed write several memorial descriptions of Fuller, most notably in his Recollections of a Busy Life and in the Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli.

One suspects that in his letter to Sarah Hale, Greeley diminished his relationship with Fuller because he did not want to write a piece for Mrs. Hale. In the same letter he told Mrs. Hale, "I am hurried out of reason," and refused to make a contact she had requested of him.

In summary, then, Fuller was sometimes difficult to deal with. She missed work because of illnesses, sometimes missed deadlines, and was ambivalent about her employment, but Greeley was an impatient man who complained about all of his employees.[9] He seems to have tolerated Fuller's flaws

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[9] In the Fuller literature there are hints that Greeley fired Fuller when he learned of her involvement with Ossoli. Anthony said, "It was true that Margaret had formerly earned a generous salary on the Tribune; but with the odor of a 'Fourieristic' marriage clinging to her skirts, she was now a very different person. Mr. Greeley loved political and economic rebels but had no tolerance at all for those who allowed their independence of thought to invade the realm of marriage" (202). Deiss said, "In her personal life abroad she exploded so great a scandal that even the fighting reformer Greeley found it advisable to drop her from his

for the same reasons that other editors have tolerated prima donnas. Her work was good. Her column was well read. It drew attention and stature to the newspaper.

Greeley said Fuller's

> faults and weaknesses were all superficial and obvious to the most casual, if undazzled, observer. They rather dwindled than expanded upon a fuller knowledge; or rather, took on new and brighter aspects in the light of her radiant and lofty soul (Quoted by Emerson et al II: 155-156).

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pages" (vi). Deiss pointed to an "abrupt termination of her newspaper correspondence, without public explanation" in 1848. "When Greeley learned of her questionable marital status, he was morally outraged and dropped her columns," maintained Belford.

CHAPTER V

MARGARET FULLER'S PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF WOMEN WORKING IN JOURNALISM

Margaret Fuller's primary importance in American History derives from her contributions to the movement for women's rights. Elizabeth Cady Stanton said Fuller's Conversations were important to the history of the feminist movement because Fuller was one of the first people to engage women in discussion of philosophical issues. "These conversations . . . were in reality a vindication of woman's right to think" (Stanton 801).

Fuller's book Woman in the Nineteenth Century, was the first book in America to advocate equal rights for women and "the first in English since the publication in England in 1792 of Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Women. There had been limited attention to that work across the ocean in the United States" (Schlipp and Murphy 55).

Welter noted that Woman in the Nineteenth Century started with two quotes: "Frailty, Thy Name is Woman" and "The Earth waits for her Queen." Welter (Dimity) said the book is "an attempt to bridge the gap between the two [statements about women] by the exercise of the will, the mind and the heart" (198). Curti said the book "brought together virtually all of the arguments in behalf of the full development of women as individuals" (387).

Woman in the Nineteenth Century derived from an essay, "The Great Lawsuit," which first appeared in The Dial. Fuller expanded it and published it under the title Woman in the Nineteenth Century in 1845. In both pieces Fuller argued that women should have the same rights and opportunities as men. She pointed out that women have the same intellectual capacity as men and should be free to exercise that capacity. ". . . the gain of creation consists always in the growth of individual minds, which live and aspire, as flowers bloom and birds sing. . . ." ("The Great" 1390). She also pointed out that women are capable of doing physically demanding work. ". . . the washerwoman stands at her tub and carries home her work at all seasons, and in all states of health. . ." (1393).

Fuller's major importance in women's history is the articulation of this philosophy. However, she is also important because she acted on her ideas. She went to work for a newspaper. Margaret Fuller worked at the Tribune during the beginning of a social revolution in the United States. Middleclass women were beginning to leave the home to go to work.

With the Industrial Revolution, the introduction of machines to do much of mankind's work, came a social revolution, a redefinition of women's roles in society. "The period 1800-1840 is one in which decisive changes

occurred in the status of American women," observed Lerner ("Lady" 82). Men were gradually drawn "into an increasingly complicated economic system separated spatially as well as socially from the household" (Morantz-Sanchez 19).

Before the Industrial Revolution all a family's goods were produced by that family on their farm. In these days of cottage industry neither the man nor the woman had an occupation outside the home. With the Industrial Revolution men began leaving the household to do their work. The home became woman's sphere while the larger public life was defined as man's sphere.

The idea that the woman's sphere was exclusively the home, said Harris, was a new concept and a byproduct of the industrial revolution. Before the Industrial Revolution, she said, "females participated in almost every area of the economy, although within each sector there was a sexual division of labor. The determining factor was that the home and the place of work were one and the same" (35). The concept that the home was exclusively the woman's sphere developed when the home ceased to be the economic workplace, said Harris.

In the Jacksonian era, said Lerner, two new kinds of American women emerged: the mill girl and the lady. The mill girl lived in barracks away from the family farm. She left her barracks each day to work in a factory. The lady stayed at home. Lerner argued that Jacksonian democracy

freed American men by creating a more egalitarian society. Yet at the same time the Industrial Revolution trapped middleclass women in their homes.

In 1840s, when Fuller went to work at the Tribune, some middleclass women were beginning to resent their new position as decorative pieces in the drawing room. The fate of unmarried ladies of good family was especially tedious, said Crow.

Married women, at least, had a house and family to care for. It was the fate of unmarried women to be "maiden aunts" traveling from relative to relative and friend to friend, visiting for a few weeks and then moving on. In 1846 while Margaret Fuller was working at the Tribune, Florence Nightingale was bored. In her diary Nightingale wrote,

> What have I done this last fortnight? I have read the Daughters at Home to father, and two chapters of Mackintosh, a volume of Sybil to Mama. Learnt seven tunes by heart, written various letters. Ridden with Papa. Paid eight visits. Done Company. And that is all (Quoted by Crow 42).

This was the life that Fuller faced. After she left The Dial her letters indicate that this was the life she lived. She spent her time traveling from one house to the next. One of her hosts, Ralph Waldo Emerson, noted that she was "everywhere a welcome guest" ("Reminiscences" 200). She was a great talker, he said, and able to establish deep

friendships quickly. People would immediately confide their innermost secrets to her.

Middleclass women who wanted a more active life in the antebellum era were expected to find their occupation within the woman's sphere, and writing for publication was considered a proper activity for women within their sphere.

"By 1820 one third of all American novels had been written by women," reported Conrad (25). Coultrap-McQuin concluded from studying bestseller lists that the number of successful novels written by women in the 19th century peaked in the 1850s. She said 20 percent of all bestselling authors at the start of the century were women. By the 1850s and 1860s 36 percent of the bestselling authors were women. In the 1880s and 1890s only 15 percent of the best sellers were by women. Because the theme of these novelists was "the pure sensibility of woman," they "reinforced the popular notion of woman's basic anti-intellectualism" (Conrad 26).

Welter made an extensive survey of literature published for women from 1820 to 1860 and concluded that the primary theme was the reinforcement of what she terms the Cult of True Womanhood. This literature, said Welter, painted a True Woman as having "four cardinal virtues -- piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity" (96).

Many women writers in the 19th Century subscribed to this definition of a proper woman, noted Clinton. "Many

women [in the antebellum period] earned a living promoting women's dependency on men and a female's sole occupation as housewife" (Clinton 47).

In 1855, Nathaniel Hawthorne made his famous attack on women writers. "America is now wholly given over to a d ----d mob of scribbling women, and 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," he wrote in a private letter to his publisher (Quoted by Baym 4).

Hawthorne's attack came about, said Conrad, because

> the works of Mrs. E.D.E.N. Southworth, Caroline Kirkland, Catharine Sedgwick Susan Warner, and Caroline Lee Hentz -- to name only a few of the most widely read novelists -- drove more pessimistic analyses of human behavior, such as Nathaniel Hawthorne's, to the outskirts of literary popularity" (25).

Because the theme of these novelists was "the pure sensibility of woman," they "reinforced the popular notion of woman's basic anti-intellectualism" (Conrad 26).

Baym concluded, "It is clear from Hawthorne's derogatory remark that he was jealous of the commercial success of these women, which he interpreted as a direct threat to his own livelihood, always precarious, as an author" (5).

Hawthorne had "shrewdly surmised that popular female novelists published more, outselling him and his male peers" (48).

Douglas pointed out that Fuller did not align herself with the popular women novelists of her day.

> There were real limits to her sisterliness. The only American woman author Fuller ever paid tribute to was the novelist Catharine Maria Sedgwick, and she bestowed on her very tempered praise. Fuller liked the older writer's freedom from sentimentality, her common sense, her interest in history (324).

Fuller in fact attacked "female scribblers" five years before Hawthorne did. "Female scribblers" were "the paltriest offspring of the human brain," said Fuller (Quoted by Conrad 86).

Allen said women writers in the first half of the 19th century were supposed to stick to a limited number of subjects. They should write about sewing, cooking, nursing, and managing the household -- all activities defined within the women's sphere. Fuller, because she chose to write about literature, was not in the mainstream. She produced more serious work than most women who wrote in the same era. However, the writers of more sentimental work by the act of successfully publishing did define writing as a part of the women's sphere and therefore a socially acceptable activity for a woman like Fuller.

Writing and literature were an acceptable part of the women's sphere. An interest in reform was also becoming socially acceptable for women in the 1840s. Women were becoming active in the temperance and abolition movements. The sphere of women included reform because ". . . women --

ostensibly sheltered within the confines of hearth and pew -- were purer and more spiritual than men" (Clinton 54). However, there was a clear line of acceptability between writing about reform and activism. For instance, the Female Moral Reform Society had been working in New York City since 1834 to stop prostitution. The reformers' militant activities, including marching in the streets, were considered unladylike by proper New York (Rosenberg Smith "Beauty").

Writing to topics within women's sphere of interest was deemed socially acceptable, but for a woman to take a public position in the broader public arena was relatively daring. The activist Jane Grey Swisshelm described the angst she suffered in 1844 while trying to decide whether to begin writing publicly about abolitionism. She expected social disgrace.

> If I wrote at all, I must throw myself headlong into the great political maelstrom, and would of course be swallowed up like a fishing-boat in the great Norway horror which decorated our school geographies; for no woman had ever done such a thing, and I could never again hold up my head under the burden of shame and disgrace which would be heaped upon me. But what matter? I had no children to dishonor; all save one who had ever loved me were dead, and she no longer needed me, and if the Lord wanted someone to throw into that gulf, no one could be better spared than I (Half a Century 92-93).

When Jane Grey Swisshelm began writing abolitionist articles under her full name in the The Pittsburg Commercial

Journal in 1844, no one believed the articles were by a woman.

> The name was held to be a nom de plume. . . . It must be a disguise adopted by some man. . . . No western Pennsylvania woman had ever broken out of woman's sphere. All lied in the very centre of that sacred enclosure, making fires by which husbands, brothers and sons sat reading the news (94).

Margaret Fuller advocated relatively radical ideas, but, at least in her New York period, this advocacy came in the genteel form of essays on literature and philanthropy published in an mainstream newspaper. She was not marching in the streets, and she was not writing for a radical abolitionist organ as Swisshelm did. She stayed on the edge but not over the edge of what was socially acceptable for a women defined by women's sphere. Fuller wrote for the Tribune about literature and philanthropy, both topics which were quite acceptable for women to address within the women's sphere. However, she was regarded as singular.

Sarah Josepha Hale, the widely respected and quite traditional editor of Godey's Lady's Book, in 1853 published a comprehensive encyclopedia of sketches of distinguished women. She admired Fuller's intellectual capacity, particularly her mastery of German, and defended Fuller's right to publish Woman in the Nineteenth Century. "It is evident that a strong wish to benefit her own sex, moved her heart and guided her pen. . . . [but] with her views we are

far from coinciding" (666). Hale predicted that Fuller's works

> are not destined to hold a high place in female literature. There is no moral life in them. The simple "Prose Hymns for Children," of Mrs. Barbauld, or the "Poems" of Jane Taylor, will have a place in the hearts and homes of the Anglo-Saxon race, as long as our language endures; but the genius of Margaret Fuller will live only while the tender remembrance of personal friendship shall hold it dear (666).

Fuller did not write sentimental, moralistic poetry. She wrote intellectual discourses, and this made her different. But she addressed the topics of literature and philanthropy, and this made her work socially acceptable.

Much of the literature credits Fuller with being the first woman journalist in America. For instance the 1979 edition of the Norton Anthology of American Literature said Fuller is "probably the first self-supporting American woman journalist" (I: 1381).

Perry Miller stated the general characterization by Fuller scholars of her move to New York.

> In the autumn of 1844, just after the death of The Dial, Margaret Fuller exercised her Transcendental freedom by an act so daring, not to say treasonable, that it took the breath away from even her most emancipated associates: she moved from Boston to New York. Still more astounding, she became a professional newspaper writer, doing book reviews and occasional pieces for Horace Greeley's Tribune. Though several American women had already begun to write for money, and one or two had become publishers of women's magazines and gift-books, Margaret is the first who can be said to have become a member of the working press (American Transcendentalists 187).

He repeated the assertion that Fuller was "the first woman

member of the 'working press'" in another book (Margaret xi).

This is not accurate. There is ample documentation for Emerson's disapproval of Fuller's move to New York. However, the concept of women writing professionally was quite normal in the 1840s and only mildly daring.

In addition, women preceded Fuller in journalism some by more than 100 years and most to support themselves. The first American woman to work in publishing was Maryland colonial printer Dinah Nuthead in 1696 (Mary Ann Yodelis Smith) (Marzolf). Baker maintained that the first woman editor was Elizabeth Timothy, who took over as editor of the Charleston, S. C. Gazette in 1738 when her husband died. Anna Catherine Zenger published the New York Weekly Journal from 1746 to 1748. There were other colonial women printers. Henry said only a few colonial women printers actually "operated presses but they did almost every other kind of print shop work, being particularly likely to keep the business' accounts and to do the difficult task of composing" ("Exception" 727). Almost all colonial women printers were "widows continuing the newspapers their husbands had begun" (Allen 181).

Margaret Fuller had at least three female contemporaries in the business of journalism. Cornelia Walter edited the Boston Transcript from 1842-47, Jane Grey Swisshelm edited the Pittsburg Saturday Visiter from 1848-

52, and Anne Royall published a weekly in Washington D.C. for 20 years from the 1830s to the 1850s (Marzolf).

Despite the existence of Walter, Swisshelm and Royall, most Fuller scholars grasp widely to try to make her a first in the history of journalism.

"Women had been associated with journalism in one or another capacity before her, but no woman had ever invaded the world of the fourth estate as a member of the working press," observed Arthur Brown (73). Chevigny called Fuller "the first female member of the working press" (Woman 288) ("Long Arm" 451). Belford also said Fuller was "the first woman to work regularly on a newspaper" (7). "By 1844 there had been numerous woman correspondents who wrote occasional essays and letters for space rates, but Fuller was the first to write regularly for any paper" (Belford 12). Deiss called Fuller "the first U.S. woman journalist" ("Men" 43).

The distinction here seems to be that Fuller may have been the first woman to work as a salaried employee for a newspaper rather than being its editor or publisher. Swisshelm, Royall and Walter were all editors or publishers. In fact, the very concept of the working press, that is people who gathered news as paid employees of a publisher, was only 10 years old when Fuller went to New York. The Penny Papers, which began in 1833, had originated the

concept of a reporter as a paid member of the staff (Mott 312). Until that time most newspaper articles were reports written by participants in the events. "Until the late 1820s, New York coverage of Washington politics relied mainly on members of Congress writing occasionally to their home papers. Some regular 'letter writers' passed on dull reports and summarized speeches" (Schudson 24).

Fuller scholars also have argued that Fuller was "the first of either sex to write criticism for a paper" (Belford 8), "America's first professional book reviewer" (Conrad 82), "the first professional literary critic of either sex in the United States" (Deiss "men" 43). This is inaccurate. There were in 1844 other book reviewers, including most notably Edgar Allan Poe. One would have to argue that Poe was not a full-time professional literary critic in order to give this distinction to Fuller. Cornelia Walter wrote book reviews among other kinds of items (Schilpp and Murphy).

Kluger, in a recent history of the New York Herald Tribune, hedged his bets even more while arguing for Fuller's primacy. He called her "the first woman to serve as a regular editorial staff member on a prominent American newspaper" (59). The real problem with Kluger's assertion is the statement "prominent American newspaper." The Tribune at the time Fuller worked there was prominent in New York City. It was not until the 1850s that Greeley's

Tribune reached its full prowess and influence.

Still others have argued that when Fuller sailed to Europe she became "one of the first American [foreign] correspondents of either sex" (Chevigny Woman 294). Maxine said Fuller was "the first foreign correspondent for an American newspaper" (Maxine 34/06A p.3272 DAI).

Depending on how one wants to define foreign correspondence, there can be some support for this claim. American newspapers had always published letters, or correspondence, from people in Europe. It is possible that Fuller is one of the first American foreign correspondents who, rather than merely writing letters to the editor, actually depended on income from the newspaper for a living. However, Bayard Taylor, who became the Tribune's notable travel writer, was filing his first foreign correspondence with the paper from Germany in 1844 (Van Deusen). This was before Fuller even joined the staff.

The closest to accurate statements about Fuller's firstness were made by Schilpp and Murphy who called Fuller "the country's first woman literary critic, and the first woman foreign correspondent" (49). Deiss accurately calls her "the first American woman foreign correspondent" (Deiss "Men" 43) although as noted earlier he was inaccurate in some of his other statements about Fuller's firstness.

To summarize the possible firsts for Fuller in

journalism, then: She is almost certainly the first woman to work primarily as a book reviewer and probably one of the first if not the first female staffer, as opposed to editor or publisher, on an American daily newspaper. She is also one of the first foreign correspondents. But all of these possible and carefully hedged firsts beg the obvious point about Margaret Fuller's primacy in journalism history. While she was definitely not one of the first women in journalism, she is most certainly the first woman to reach national prominence because of the quality of her work as a journalist. She is the first woman to achieve stature in the field of journalism.

Ross called Fuller "the first really distinguished woman to contribute to an American newspaper" (16). Marzolf noted, "In the cities only a few women were engaged in journalism; the most distinguished was Margaret Fuller" (13).

Ingersoll said Fuller's work at the Tribune was important because of the example she set. She proved that a woman could work as a journalist and achieve great honor in the profession. "She did not succeed in persuading her country that Woman ought to be treated as an independent, intelligent, rational being, to be so acknowledged by the laws; but by her own life she demonstrated the truth of her claim, and set an example which has been followed by many

women who have added power and great beneficence to the most influential of professions" (180).

Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1889 may have written the best summary of Fuller's importance as a woman in journalism. She was the first to demonstrate that a woman could be superlative at journalism.

> It has been declared not the least of Horace Greeley's services to the nation, that he was willing to entrust the literary criticisms of Tribune to one whose standard of culture was so far above that of his readers or his own. . . . As the first woman to work at the Tribune "Margaret Fuller opened the way for many women, who upon the editorial staff of the great New York dailies, as literary critics and reporters, have helped impress woman's thought upon the American mind (Stanton 802).

Fuller was then not the first woman journalist but the best. And she was also a pioneer. In 1844 women were still definitely rare in newspapering.

Even though she was a rarity as a woman working in journalism, at the Tribune Fuller was a full and equal member of the staff earning a salary equivalent to her male-co-workers. Fuller earned $500 a year (Letters III 229) plus room and board at Greeley's home.

In Greeley's eyes this must have seemed quite a generous salary because he reported in Recollections of a Busy Life that Fuller was supposed to have received $200 a year as editor of The Dial, but she did not receive it. The magazine generated $750 a year in income but had expenses of $700 a year (Emerson Letters 36).

In general, Greeley was not reputed to pay good salaries, said Zabriskie. Greeley thought his writers should want to work to improve social conditions, not for money. In fact, in two instances in the 1840s he paid nothing to writers who were working for him regularly. Greeley ran front-page articles on Fourierism by Albert Brisbane; however Brisbane paid for the space (Wade 139) (Kluger 52). At the end of December, 1844 after Ellery Channing had been working at the Tribune for more than a month he was not receiving a salary, according to a letter by Fuller (III: 256).

Greeley was paying Fuller more than twice her previous salary, had she actually received it.

Emerson said Fuller's salary was quite good. "This employment was made acceptable to her by good pay, great local and personal conveniences of all kinds . . . ," he wrote Carlyle (Joseph Slater 407). Duyckinck echoed this comment. In his Cyclopedia he said Fuller accepted an "offer of well paid, regular employment upon the Tribune newspaper" (I.1: 526).

After Fuller moved in 1846 from the Greeley's home to a boarding house and began planning to leave for Europe, her salary proved less adequate.

> I very seldom care for having so little money, but I do now when want of it circumscribes and hampers me in my preparations for going to Europe and will make my life too laborious while there, thus robbing me of many benefits of the journey (Letters IV: 196).

At the end of 1845 Greeley and McElrath told Fuller she was to receive a raise.

> As I shall find no longer a home in the house of Mr G. . . . and must therefore live at much more expense, if I remain, they are to make me a new offer, as soon as they have settled up their affairs this New Year. Mr G. said they should do all they possibly could for me (Fuller Letters IV: 178-179).

Fuller was a tough negotiator when it came to the issue of salary. She wrote her brother when she was planning her trip to Europe about McElrath:

> He has devoted no attention to the 2d edition of my book, he delays making me a proposition as to the future, . . . his course is such that I doubt his making me a liberal offer for letters to the Tribune" (Letters IV: 187).

Her plan to deal with this was not to bring the issue of salary for foreign correspondence up "again till the last moment, and if they do not act as I had hoped and expected shall not forget that to the paper and freedom I have enjoyed in it I owe standing on some vantage ground now. The other papers make me good offers, and if I leave the Tribune by and by I think I can do well" (Letters IV: 187). This strategy evidently worked well since Fuller received double the Tribune's usual pay for correspondence.[1]

Greeley said he paid her $10 per column. This is "twice what we pay for any other European correspondence,

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[1] There is a discrepancy about just what Fuller's salary for foreign correspondence was. Deiss says Fuller was to receive $8 for article (Roman 20).

but we are very well aware that the quality justifies this," he wrote to Fuller (Reprinted by Stoddard 116). In 1848 he paid Jane Grey Swisshelm $5 a column for letters from Washington D.C. (Swisshelm Half a Century). This is half the amount he was paying Fuller at the time.

Fuller went to the Tribune not for purely altruistic reasons. She needed employment. Fuller had known better and worse times financially. From the time her father died in 1835 leaving a "meager estate" (Chevigny Woman 73), she was in charge of the family finances. "For two years she worked to support the family -- first in Bronson Alcott's controversial Temple School, then in Providence" (Chevigny Woman 73). She went to Providence to accept "the handsome offer of $1000 a year" (Chevigny Woman 151, Schilpp and Murphy 53).

Dall said Fuller continued the Conversations because

> she had great need of money. . . . I was very young to join such a circle; and when she invited me, Elisabeth (Peabody) had more regard, I think, to Margaret's purse, than to my fitness for the company (9).

Dall said that ticket prices for 10 of Fuller's Conversations were $20 each, "a very high price for that time" (9).

Determining the actual value of Fuller's salary is difficult. Based on changes in the Consumer Price Index, $500 in 1845 was worth about $2875 in 1975 dollars. (Computed from Bicentennial 390). This low salary in 1975

terms was actually a good middle class income when compared to other incomes of the day.

Fuller's salary of $500 a year was better than the average working man's. The average per capita income in 1840 was $113 (Computed from Lee and Passall 181 and Bicentennial 390). Williamson and Lindert (101) classified the poor in 1860 as having family incomes below $201. The rich in 1860, they said, had family incomes between $2000 and $3000. Adjusted to 1845 dollars, the poverty level would be incomes below $194. Family incomes above $1929 would indicate wealth (Computed from Bicentennial 390). The average non-farm worker in 1860 earned $427 a year (Computed from Lebergott 342 and Bicentennial 390).

The average per capita income for a farm worker in the Northeast in 1840 was $175 (Lebergott 209). In 1850 the average American carpenter made $1.50 a day ($467 a year). In 1840 laborers at the Brooklyn Navy Yard made $1.15 a day ($358 a year) (Trends 462, 484).

A salary of $500 a year was extraordinarily better than the average working woman's. In 1845 mill workers made

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[2] All conversions of daily and weekly salaries to yearly income figures are based on the following information. In the 1840s Lowell Mill employees worked 307 days a year. This was a relatively short work week because the streams froze in winter shutting down the mills' source of power. Lebergott says the standard work week in the 1840s was six days a week for 52 weeks minus one day for Christmas. This is a total of 311 work days a year.

$1.75 a week ($91 a year),[2] and in the 1830's women weaving palm hats for a living made 25 to 30 cents a day ($78 to $93 a year) (Trends 464, 451). At the model Lowell Mills women earned $1 to $2 a week ($52 to $104 a year) plus room and board for a 75 hour work week (Douglas Miller Then Was 59). Women elementary teachers were making $2.50 a week ($130 a year) while men made $5 a week ($260 a year) (Douglas Miller Then Was).

Typesetters at the New York Tribune did considerably better than the average laborer. According to A History of the 100 years of Unions on the New York Tribune, in 1836 a typographical association, precursor to a typographer's union, was established in New York. Typesetters were to receive $12 a week ($624 a year) for an 11 hour day and $10 a week for a ten hour day ($520 a year). This union "fell apart" (3) in 1840 and wages went down. In 1844, however, a new New York printers' union was formed, and typesetters at the Tribune were again given an $11 weekly ($572 yearly) guarantee that workers could try to exceed at piece work rates of 28 cents per 1,000 ems on evening papers or 32 cents per 1,000 ems on morning papers.

This was considerably above the going rate for printers in New York. Rubin said that three quarters of all journeymen earned from $300 to $450 a year setting "several thousand ems daily" (125).

Women working in printing in Boston in 1831 made one third the salary of men. Men made $1.50 a day ($78 a year) while women and boys earned only 50 cents a day ($26 a year) (Abbott 249).

Fuller's salary, then, was on a par with the Tribune's craft workers, and it was also on a par with the Tribune's other beginning writers. In the same era Henry J. Raymond started at the Tribune at $416 a year. In 1843 he was making $1040 a year when a rival paper hired him away with an offer of $5 more a week (Mott 270). Charles Dana began as city editor for Greeley in 1847 at $416 a year. He was later raised to $728 (William Hale). George Ripley began as a part-time literary assistant in 1849 at $260 a year and later was raised to $1300 a year as literary editor (William Hale). Bayard Taylor began as assistant editor at $625 a year and "a prospect of its being raised to $800" (Taylor I:115).

Despite his reputation for paying little, Greeley, by these figures, appears to have been generous. His craft workers were making almost twice what was being paid in other shops and so were his writers. In 1842, Godwin at the Evening Post offered Walt Whitman $75 for three months ($300 a year) to write for him (Rubin 88).

Greeley himself between 1841 and 1843 averaged $15 a week or $780 a year (Stoddard 66).

In 1849 the stockholders of the New York Tribune set

maximum limits on the amount of money the top people at the newspaper could earn. The editor and publisher would each have a maximum salary of $2,500 (Articles of Agreement). Below editor-in-chief, salaries ranged from $500 to $2,500 (Mott 313).

Fuller earned exactly the same salary as her contemporary in the newspaper business, Cornelia Walter, editor of the Boston Transcript from 1842 to 1847. Walter also earned a salary of $500 a year. Ross says this was the same salary Walter's brother, the paper's previous editor, had earned. The Transcript's two reporters each made $11 a week ($572 a year) (Ross).

In the same period Lydia Maria Child was promised $1,000 a year for her work at the National Anti-Slavery Standard "but in fact received far less than that," said Holland (160).

Fiction writers received very little per story. Hawthorne in the same period was making $20 a story; Poe received $10 for the publication of "The Tell-Tale Heart." In general contributors were supposed to receive $3 to $5 a page though they often earned less, said Rubin.

On the other hand a few writers did extraordinarily well. In 1853 Fanny Fern's collected writings Fern Leaves from Fanny's Portfolio "became an immediate best seller, adorning thousands of parlor tables in both America and

England" (James 24). By 1854 sales of her three books totalled 132,000 in America and 48,000 in England and she had earned more than $10,000 in royalties. This phenomenal success led the New York Ledger to offer her $100 for a weekly column (James 24).

Other people did do better than newsmen, of course. Fuller's friend Emerson earned his income primarily on the lecture circuit. He spent a great deal of time on the road, earning from $10 to $75 a talk. In Philadelphia he once earned more than $1000 for one lecture series (Boorstin 316).

Just how far would $500 a year (or $9.62 a week) go in 1844? In 1875 the average Massachusetts family spent $726.70 a year (Trends 183). Adjusted for inflation, this amount would have been about $543 in Fuller's time. She was therefore earning about what the average family would have earned. This average family spent 57 percent of its total income on food, 17 percent on rent, seven percent on fuel and light, and only 18 percent on expenses other than room and board (Trends).

Fuller's salary of $500 a year, then, was a reasonable middleclass income, and the supplement of room and board made Fuller's salary quite acceptable. In the 19th century "payment of wages with board and lodging was a common practice" (Trends 467). The arrangement had special advantages for Fuller. By living with the Greeleys she was

able to preserve the status of a respectable lady visiting, and she was also able to save a considerable amount on expenses.

In terms of salary, then, Fuller received equal treatment with her male co-workers. But what of her byline, the star? Why she used the star as a byline has never really been investigated. There is much documentation for the fact that the star in the Tribune represented Fuller's work; however, neither Fuller nor her contemporaries left any extent explanations for the star. Did the newspaper use a star on Fuller's work rather than her name in an attempt to hide her gender?

In discussing radical abolitionist Jane Grey Swisshelm's decision to use her real name as a byline in 1844, Belford observes that the 1840s were "a time when women's names appeared in print, if at all, only when they married and died" (25).

Swisshelm in 1844 chose to sign the first articles she published, which were in the abolitionist The Spirit of Liberty, with her initials instead of her full name. She cited two reasons: "My dislike and dread of publicity and the fear of embarrassing the Liberty Party with the sex question. Abolitionists were men of sharp angles. Organizing them was like binding crooked sticks in a bundle, and one of the questions which divided them was the right of

women to take any prominent part in public affairs" (Half a Century 91).

It is possible that Fuller's star ran for the same reason. She was taking a prominent part in public affairs and she wanted her ideas heeded. However, it is not likely. At the same time the Tribune was running Fuller's work marked with a star, it was regularly reprinting pieces bylined "L. Maria Child" (i.e. "Kindness to Criminals -- The Prison Association" Dec. 10, 1844 1). Tribune editorial policy then included printing a reform article by a woman and giving it a byline.

It is possible to gain some understanding of the reason for the star by looking at other articles published with Fuller's in the Tribune and attempting to determine the newspaper's byline practices.

Most of the editorial copy in the paper has no byline. However, four types of bylines appear in the New York Daily Tribune from 1844 to 1846: 1- Initials, 2- Noms de plume, 3- Complete names, and 4- Fuller's star.

These different types of bylines appear on different types of work. Reprints from other publications almost always had a complete name as a byline. Correspondents used initials (i.e. P.A.R. "Foreign Correspondence of the Tribune: Letter from France" March 21, 1845 1), noms de plume (Altimira "How the Poor Live" March 15, 1845 1), or complete names (A.D. Dakin "Memorial to A. Fitch" March 13,

1845 1). The rest of the copy in the paper generally had no byline and appeared to be in-house work. From 1844 to 1846 there are no bylines of G.S. or S. for George Snow or O.J. or J. for Oliver Johnson even though both men worked for the paper during this period. Snow's work, however, is easily found. A large volume of financial news, unbylined, ran regularly on Page Two and Page Three.

Most bylines in Greeley's New Yorker, the Tribune's predecessor, were noms de plume, noted Bradshaw (644). Bradshaw speculated about the use of noms de plume. "A reason, perhaps, was that writing for newspapers, while exciting, still was not entirely respectable, and, until a reputation could be established, a writer preferred anonymity" (644). This is probably not why people used noms de plume in the Tribune. For instance Arthur Brisbane signed his columns A.B. (i.e. "The Doctrine of Association -- Its Aims and its Character" May 2, 1845 1). Because Brisbane was actively trying to associate his name with the Fourieristic movement, he would have no reason to be coy about using his name to sign his pieces.

It appears that the use of noms de plume and initials stemmed from the personal nature of nineteenth century journalism. Everything a newspaper published was considered the responsibility of its editor. "In America nearly every paper of any importance is identified with its leading

editor," explained Nichols in 1864. "In France, every article must bear the signature of the writer, or some one who takes responsibility for the article. In America, as a rule, the opinions of a paper are attributed to the responsible editor" (330).

From 1844 to 1846 the purpose of the noms de plume, initials and full name bylines appears to be to indicate material which was not produced in house, not a piece of writing produced under the editor's direction. Complete bylines always went to material reprinted from other publications while material receiving its first publication but not written in house received initials or a nom de plume. (There are exceptions to the last rule. An occasional but rare piece in the Tribune from 1844 to 1846 is signed H., G. or H.G., clearly Greeley's in house work. for instance "View of New York from Trinity Church" Dec. 18, 1844 1.)

By 1849 Greeley was working out a formal byline policy for his paper. He instructed Bayard Taylor to

> sign your own initials or some distinctive mark at the bottom [of his articles]. I want everybody connected with the "Tribune" to become known to the public (in some unobtrusive way) as doing what he does, so that in case of my death or incapacity it may not be fancied that the paper is to die or essentially suffer (Greeley letter printed in Taylor I: 141).

Fuller then probably used the star as a byline, not to keep her female name out of print, but because Greeley asked her to signify her work to distinguish it from his own. The

newspaper from 1844 to 1846 appeared not to byline in house material; however, Fuller's essays were different from the unbylined financial and city news written anonymously by other staffers. Greeley probably asked her to use an unobtrusive mark on her pieces to distinguish them from his own essays which ran regularly and unbylined in the newspaper.

Fuller, then, received a salary equivalent to her male contemporaries, and the failure to use her full name as a byline followed contemporary custom. In one major way, however, she behaved differently from the men who worked for the Tribune. Fuller did not work in the office. She did her writing at home.

Evidence that Fuller did not work in the office comes from William Emerson, who visited in New York Dec. 22 and 23, 1844. She had been in town for a month and her friend William Ellery Channing was then working in the Tribune office. Channing turned down a social invitation from his out of town friend saying, "he had not yet been to see his sister (Miss Fuller)" (Emerson Letters 268). In a Jan. 9, 1845 letter Fuller commented that she had not seen Channing, then an editorial worker at the Tribune, for some time (Fuller Letters IV: 44). This suggests that she had not been for some time to the office where Channing worked.

Higginson writing in 1884 said Fuller "did most of

her writing and proof-reading at home, not keeping regular office-hours" (211). "Miss Fuller insisted that she could not do her work in a noisy newspaper office; she needed the quiet of Turtle Bay," said Stoddard (97-98). "Margaret said she hated going there," reported William Hale (114). Amy Slater said Greeley was infuriated by the fact that Fuller insisted on working at home. Her room at home "was in the city, but not of it, and it gave her the peace and quiet she needed to do her work" (103). Slater said Fuller also wanted to work at home because "she was in love, and the atmosphere of the crowded, noisy Tribune office clashed violently with her mood" (104).

To summarize, these authors with the exception of Higginson indicate Fuller did not work in the office because she was too tempermental, too flighty and emotional, to deal with the noise and hubbub of a newspaper office.

There may, however, have been another reason why Fuller did not work at the office. In the 1840s it was highly improper for a woman to work in an office. It was considered a direct invasion of the masculine sphere and was not done. Clinton said it was the Civil War, 20 years later, that made office work socially acceptable for women. With so many men gone to the army, "women pioneered posts with the Union government" (90).

When Margaret Fuller went to New York she had a role model in Cornelia Walter, editor of the Boston Transcript

from 1842 to 1847. Walter edited that newspaper for five years from her home. Walter worked from home, say Schilpp and Murphy, because "to be an editor was to be associated with office work, to become involved in a world that was" for men only (63).

In 1848 Jane Grey Swisshelm caused a scandal when she began working in an office with her publishing partner Robert M. Riddle producing the Saturday Visiter (sic). Commented Belford, "For that time, it was a scandal for a woman to work in an office with a man" (26). Swisshelm defended herself in her autobiography. She called working in the office an

> appalling prospect. . . . I had never heard of any woman save Mary Kingston working in an office. Her father, a prominent lawyer, had employed her as his clerk, when his office was in their dwelling, and the situation was remarkable and very painful" (Half a Century 107).

Noting that she had been "publicly asserting the right of woman to earn a living as book-keepers, clerks, sales-women" Swisshelm decided to risk "the crimson waves of scandal, the white foam of gossip" (Half a Century 108) and go to work in an office.

When Swisshelm in 1850 arrived in Washington D.C. to write for the New York Tribune, she discovered, "no woman had ever had a place in the Congressional reporter's gallery" (Half a Century 130). When she asked Vice

President Millard Fillmore for a seat assignment in the gallery,

> he was much surprised and tried to dissuade me. The place would be very unpleasant for a lady, would attract attention, I would not like it; but he gave me the seat. I occupied it one day, greatly to the surprise of the Senators, the reporters, and the others on the floor and in the galleries (Half a Century 130).

Of course, the Senate was a different place in those days. The day Swisshelm took her seat Senator Foot on the floor of that legislative body drew "a great horse pistol and cocking it" (Half a Century 131) threatened to shoot Senator Benton.

Although working in the office was frowned upon, one might argue that Fuller was willing to be unconventional. After all she is the author of Woman in the Nineteenth Century advocating that women should be able to be sea captains if they wished. A mere four years later she was covering a revolution in Italy, riding to battlefields on horseback. She became involved with an Italian Catholic 10 years her junior and bore him a child, perhaps out of wedlock. All of these events in her life argue that Fuller was not a woman bound by convention. However, all radical thinkers are still the products of their own times. They still adhere to most of the conventions of propriety of their day.

Jane Grey Swisshelm was a political activist, a radical abolitionist, yet she went to the office only with great hesitation. Margaret Fuller was more conventional than

Swisshelm in her personal actions. There is evidence that Fuller was bound by definitions of proper behavior for women in the 1840s.

Fuller explained in a letter to a friend how she would go about getting tickets to review a theater performance if the box office had closed. She said she would "have gone down to our office and one of the gentlemen would have gone with me to the Theatre door and probably got us in" (Letters IV: 129). What is striking here is that Fuller did not feel that she could or should go to the theater by herself to ask for tickets. Instead, propriety demanded that she go out of her way to find a male co-worker to escort her.

Despite what later writers have said, for Margaret Fuller to have worked in an office in 1844 would have been extraordinary. Scholars have argued that she was too emotionally unstable to work in an office. The more likely reason that she did not work in the office is that to do so would have been socially unacceptable.

In summary, then, Margaret Fuller worked at the New York Tribune in a time when the concept of woman's sphere defined socially acceptable activities for women. Writing for publication, especially about literature, was an acceptable activity within the women's sphere and reform movements were becoming a part of women's sphere. In 1844 writing about reform fell within the women's sphere though

working actively to achieve reform probably did not. On the job Fuller received pay equal to her male colleagues, and her use of a star as a byline followed the custom for writers of both sexes in the 1840s. However, Fuller did not work in the office because to do so would been to leave the woman's sphere.

CHAPTER VI

THE DENIGRATION OF MARGARET FULLER

Margaret Fuller was controversial in her own day and remains so today. There are two drastically differing interpretations of who she was and her importance to history. One interpretation describes her as silly, selfish and egotistical. The other calls her an extraordinary intellect, the most outstanding woman of the nineteenth century.

Both views grow directly from comments by famous people among Fuller's contemporaries. Her detractors find their ammunition primarily in the Memoirs while her defenders lean heavily on an 1846 evaluation of Fuller by Edgar Allen Poe. The modern version of the debate about Fuller's worth centers on several exceedingly negative analyses published by Harvard English professor Perry Miller in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In the late 1960s and 1970s feminist scholars have refuted Miller's evaluation, but he remains influentials because his writing was so prolific. Kluger, for instance, based the Fuller section of his 1986 history of the Tribune primarily on Miller despite the wealth of more recent scholarship.

This disagreement about who the real person was is not unique to Margaret Fuller. Connelly, in his aptly titled book The Marble Man, studied the image of Robert E. Lee in

American society. "He became a god figure for Virginians, a saint for the white Protestant South, a hero for the nation" (3). In reality, said Connelly, "Lee was neither serene nor simple. His life was replete with frustration, self-doubt, and a feeling of failure" (xiv). Connelly said Robert E. Lee acquired his stately national image from a group of historians from Virginia who ". . . have not only dominated the Southern viewpoint of the [Civil] war, they have held up to the Southern -- and national -- mind an image of Lee that provided certain needed rationales and symbols" (xiv).

Maxine contended:

> Margaret Fuller was deliberately forgotten because she revealed a basic flaw in American philosophers and philosophy, their alienation from life and living. By her life as well as her writings, she foreshadowed the feminist movement of today, and in doing so she diminished the men around her -- Emerson, Hawthorne, Holmes, Powell -- in their own eyes. She was not forgiven. She was to be destroyed by ridicule censure, "kindness," the editing of her flawed work" (34/06A p. 3273 DAI).

Urbanski traced the negative strand of Fuller scholarship from Ralph Waldo Emerson to Perry Miller. She described Fuller's image in history: "Margaret Fuller was a great, egotistical personality rather than an original thinker or brilliant writer" (13). Urbanski argued that this image stems from the Memoirs.

An example of the impact the Memoirs had on Fuller's public image comes from an English review of the book.

After reading the Memoirs the anonymous reviewer concluded:

> Margaret Fuller was one of those he-women who, thank Heaven! for the most part figure and flourish, and have their fame on the other side of the Atlantic. She was an intellectual Bloomer of the very largest caliber. She was an encyclopedia in cerulean stockings. She understood Socrates better than Plato did, Faust better than Goethe did, Kant's Philosophy better than Kant did . . . astronomy much better than Adams or Leverrier, ethics better than Aristotle, rhetoric, logic, poetry, better than any professor in any Yankee college ("Memoirs" New Quarterly Review 70).

Emerson, William Henry Channing, and James Freeman Clarke prepared the Memoirs shortly after Fuller's death. "The evidence suggests that the two-volume Memoirs was compiled in some haste by men whose emotions were too closely involved with Fuller as a person to render a dispassionate assessment of her work" (Urbanski 13). The Memoirs "became the literary canon that established Margaret Fuller as an arrogant 'old maid,' aggressive and ugly, the archetypal feminist whose need for attention was channeled into the feminist movement" (Urbanski 4).

For a good friend, Emerson certainly did leave a large body of criticism of Fuller. One of the more widely quoted is:

> Margaret occasionally let spill, with all innocense [sic] imaginable, some phrase betraying the presence of a rather mountainous ME, in a way to surprise those who knew her good sense (Emerson in Emerson et al, Memoirs I:236).

But Emerson was also the author of some of the more extravagantly kind observations on Fuller. For instance, in

writing to Carlyle about Fuller's impending visit to Europe, Emerson made another widely quoted comment on Fuller. Noting that she spoke German, French and Italian, Emerson said, "In short, she is our [America's] citizen of the world by quite special diploma" (Joseph Slater 407).

Emerson was obviously ambivalent about Fuller. One reason is that he had not seen Fuller regularly since she went to New York in 1844 to work for Greeley. The Memoirs came out shortly after her death in the early 1850s. In other words, the Memoirs were composed by friends who had not really seen Fuller for six years and who were not especially pleased by her straying from their sheltered, intellectual New England life. Fuller's Boston transcendentalist friends did not approve of her work in journalism, said Ebbitt.

Deiss said Fuller's Boston friends regarded New York as

> an uncultured materialistic Babylon. . . . She . . . soon scandalized everyone by interviewing prostitutes in Sing Sing prison. Margaret's treason was magnified when she reviewed scathingly the works of New Englanders Longfellow and Lowell and dissected Emerson's second series of essays and his poems as if working on a cadaver ("Men" 45).

Emerson was certainly only begrudging in his approval. He wrote Carlyle in 1846, "Fuller's work as critic of all new books, critic of the drama, of music, and good arts in New York has been honorable to her. Still this employment is not satisfactory to me" (Joseph Slater II: 140).

"For her to soil her hands with the ink of a Gotham

newspaper was down right shocking," observes Perry Miller ("I Find" 96).

Emerson described to Carlyle his motivation for writing and editing the Fuller Memoirs. "Without beauty or genius, she had a certain wealth & generosity of nature which have left a kind of claim on our consciences to build her a cairn" (Joseph Slater Correspondence 470). With such condescension on the part of the editors, it is not really surprising that the Memoirs were often unkind.

Chevigny called the Memoirs prepared by Clarke, Emerson and Channing "a literary monument" to Fuller ("Long Arm" 451). When preparing Fuller's Memoirs the editors felt they had a duty to protect Fuller's reputation for history, said Chevigny. "Where Fuller's individuality seemed to threaten deep-seated cultural, social, and political norms of femininity, the editors tempered or obscured it," observed Chevigny ("Long Arm" 451). She argued that in preparing Fuller's Memoirs Channing, Emerson and Clarke ignored Fuller's political views and distorted her moral views. They ignored the radical political ideas she developed in Europe because they were not knowledgeable about Italian politics. They deliberately distorted her moral positions because they disapproved of her marriage.

Chevigny compared the original documents on which Channing, Emerson and Clarke based the Memoirs. "In

comparing the Memoirs with the manuscripts the editors left, one finds that censorship was pursued at many levels." She found that the editors condensed Fuller's wording, corrected her grammar, omitted individual names and "unflattering opinions about them," and canceled "'offensive' passages with indelible crayon or cutting them out with scissors" ("Long Arm" 452).

> For instance, in publishing Emelyn Story's account of Fuller's confession at the time she feared she might not survive the siege of Rome, Channing adds the words here italicized: "Then she told me <u>of her marriage;</u> where the child was . . . and, in the event of her <u>and her husband's</u> death, I was to take the boy to her mother. . . ." ("Long Arm" 455).

Urbanski traced the establishment of the negative Fuller image from the <u>Memoirs</u> to the present. Noting the conflicts that most of Fuller's contemporary male friends had with her, Urbanski maintained the men retaliated with a description of Fuller for history which became threatening feminist archetype. She cited contributions by Emerson, Hawthorne, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Henry James, James Russell Lowell and others as contributors to this archetype. Urbanski said in the 1950s Perry Miller[1]

> gave the academic stamp to the Lowell-Emerson-Hawthorne creation. In an article with a title quoted from the

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[1] Perry Miller seemed to enjoy writing in an outrageous style. His comments on Fuller gave overly generous praise and then overly egregious insults. For instance he called her the embodiment of "an ideal womanly genius" but noted she was also "patently a dream-image of a plain, monstrously learned, tempestuous, and tormented

> Memoirs, "I Find No Intellect Comparable to My Own," Miller intensified the distortion of the feminist archetype. He selected the most derogatory descriptions of Fuller's appearance that he could find to quote and changed former descriptions of her full figure to "angular and ailing," descriptions of her abundant hair to "not quite blond, stringy, and thin," and asserted that she was phenomenally homely (37).

Miller's analysis of Fuller was particularly damaging because he was the most prolific and influential writer on the subject. In the late 1950s and early 1960s he published two books and one article that featured Fuller prominently. Concluded Urbanski:

> James Russell Lowell, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Perry Miller all reacted to Margaret Fuller in an unwitting conspiracy of outrage. Threatened, they used their pens like a chorus to denigrate Fuller as an intellectual and as a writer (39).

Other scholars have explained Fuller's image in the

Germaine" (xx Margaret Fuller American Romantic). Miller begrudgingly acknowledged Fuller's abilities. "She possessed the only mind among her contemporaries that could have conversed on a place of equality (though she brashly self-assumed this) with Rousseau and Goethe" (Margaret Fuller xiii). Miller called Fuller's work "a performance in literary criticism far beyond the conventional prowess of the then respected but now forgotten professionals, such as Henry Tuckerman and Edwin P. Whipple" (xi). In fact, Miller observed, "only a few of the better pieces of Edgar Allan Poe can stand beside the body of her Tribune articles" (xii). Ignoring the overwhelming testimony by such people as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Perry Miller argues that Fuller made only a "slight contribution to the campaign for women's rights. She may easily be dismissed as an eccentric . . . [except for her] role of a native champion of the Romantic heroine in the grandiose (and so, for an American, dangerously close to the ludicrous) operatic manner" (xiii). "The career of this New England girl in New York from 1844 to 1846 is one of the strangest episodes of the misty

same way. Berger argued that much of this denigration came from people overpowered by her extraordinary abilities.

> The primary responsibility for this neglect [of Fuller by modern scholars] lies with her intimate friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson, who, under the guise of loving kindness, defeminized, distorted, and diminished the image of her that has come down to us (Deiss "Men" 43).

Ebbitt called Channing's account of Fuller's New York period egotistical and one-sided.

"Margaret was a modern woman who died in 1850. The legend she left cannot be truth. It was created mainly by unemancipated men; Chivalry and Puritanism combined to distort the picture," commented Anthony in 1920. Scholars have seen Fuller as an anomaly, a woman unsuited to her age, whom men could not accept because she did not conform to societal definitions of femininity.

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period," he observed. It should be noted that Fuller was 34 years old in 1844, not quite a girl. Miller continued, ". . . the remarkable fact is that she did win, crazy transcendentalist as she was heralded, the respect of the Rabelaisian community" (American Transcendentalists 170). Miller summed up his views on Margaret Fuller in a popular article titled "I Find No Intellect Comparable to My Own" published in American Heritage. Relying primarily on quotes from Emerson, Miller described Fuller as a ludicrous old maid whom posterity chuckled over. He begrudgingly observed, "For the fact of the matter is that, amid these emotional whirls, despite paralyzing headaches, Margaret did write." He concluded that her essays while "considerably faded" are still "remarkable achievements" (96). It is interesting to note Miller's style while writing his American Heritage essay. Throughout the essay Miller referred to such men as Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson by their last names only; however, Margaret Fuller he referred to always by her first name only.

Douglas pointed out that in early 19th Century America, Fuller's accomplishments defined her "as an outcast, even as a freak; she had almost no feminine precedents or models to help her believe in what she was and discover what she wanted to become" (322).

Conrad said Fuller's contemporaries viewed her as a curiosity simply because the concept of an intellectual woman was so "outlandish." In antebellum America there was no concept of an intellectual woman; therefore to contemporary viewers "something in her character seemed askew. Difficult to classify, she was often banished to a shadowy and shifting territory" (Conrad 47).

Welter described Fuller's life as "an example of constant, unremitting effort to become what she and her country considered a high goal, a new American woman"" (Dimity 146).

Szymanski described the dilemma of a woman in the 1840s with

> intellectual curiosity and capabilities. She was too excited about books and ideas to be convinced that the lot of a lady would satisfy what had become basic needs of her life. When she dressed and acted in a manner that seemed normal and natural to her, however, people called her forward and outlandish. . . . Realizing that she could be either brainy and eccentric or feminine and conventional but could not be both, Margaret Fuller . . . chose to be bright and ugly. The nature of her personality and the attitudes of society seemed to leave her no other choice (9).

Douglas explained Fuller's egoism as an attempt to assert her own significance in a hostile culture.

> Fuller did all we can ask of an individual living in a historical context mainly repressive of the best in her. . . . The laughter that Fuller's claims for herself inspired in her own day and since is instructive. . . . she seems to suggest the perils for women of insisting on attention to their integral selves. You don't get it by insisting, she discovered, but she also raised the question as to whether you get it if you don't insist" (318).

It is clear that Fuller's intellectual strength combined with a willingness to enter debates did draw many of the criticisms as Urbanski, Deiss and other scholars have observed.

However, there are problems with the Urbanski et al argument about Fuller's image in history. First the argument assumes that history has damned Fuller. This viewpoint ignores the fact that there is a continuous strand of admiring literature as well as the derogatory strand. The conflicting images in the Memoirs helped to reinforce those who liked Fuller just as much as they were used to support the views of her detractors. Although Miller popularized the views of Fuller's detractors, Fuller has always had admirers as well.

In 1903, some 50 years after Fuller's death, Henry James identified the two conflicting views of Fuller. Calling her the "haunting Margaret-ghost," he wondered how the world of 1903 would have responded to her.

> Would she, in other words, with her appetite for ideas and her genius for conversation, have struck us but as a somewhat formidable bore, one of the worst kind, a culture seeker without a sense of proportion, or, on

> the contrary, have affected us as a really attaching, a possibly picturesque New England Corinne? (Chevigny Woman 420-421).

Fuller was a celebrity, admired by many in her day. The best known writer praising Fuller is Edgar Allen Poe who published a favorable evaluation of her work in 1846. Poe referred to the "high genius she unquestionably possesses" (77). He called a review of Longfellow

> frank, candid, independent . . . giving honor only where honor was due, yet evincing the most thorough capacity to appreciate and the most sincere intention to place in the fairest light the real and idiosyncratic merits of the poet (75).

Her work at the Dial was a matter for discussion before she joined the Tribune. Myerson's secondary bibliography of comments on Fuller listed three reviews of Fuller's pieces in the Dial in Greeley's New Yorker in 1841. In addition, Myerson listed five pieces in the Tribune on Fuller's work, including a review of her book Summer on the Lakes. The Tribune liked her work. In various reviews the Tribune called Fuller's work "thoughtful" and "entertaining." Another reviewer praised "Canova" as a "fine essay" (6). About "The Great Lawsuit," the Fuller essay in the Dial that she later developed into the book Woman in the Nineteenth Century, the Tribune commented that the piece "sparkles with striking thoughts and noble sentiments" (6).

Fuller's 1844 book Summer on the Lakes received eight reviews, according to Myerson (7). The Boston Courier

called it "lively and interesting." The Boston Post found the book "pleasant" and "very readable." The Christian World praised the book's "keen perception, profound reflection and constructive imagination." The Christian Examiner, however, attacked Fuller's "cold, stately, almost statuesque" writing style. Myerson described the Graham's Magazine notice: "This 'very agreeable' volume clearly justified that Fuller's reputation as an authoress' extends beyond the Transcendentalist 'literary sect'" (7).

Fuller's Papers on Literature and Art (reprints of her Tribune articles) was a success. Myerson cited at least 18 reviews of Papers. These are mostly very favorable. Thomas Carlyle found the work "the undeniable utterances . . . of a true heroic mind; -- altogether unique, so far as I know, among Writing Women of this generation; rare enough too, God knows, among Writing Men" (Slater "Correspondence" 418). Carlyle made this observation, however, in a letter to Emerson. It was not published until the 20th Century. Walt Whitman read Papers on Literature and Art as a way "to widen his critical horizons" (Rubin 165).

Fuller's celebrity combined with the tragedy of her early death inspired much adoration in the 1850s. An example is an unpublished poem by Alfred Janson Bloor, an architect who lived from 1828 to 1917. He was 22 years old when he wrote in 1850-51 "In Memory of Sarah Margaret Fuller

D'Ossoli" eulogizing Fuller's tragic drowning in a rather tedious poem, transcribed later on 18 pages of typescript. In his introduction, he noted,

> In her the world lost a rare scholar, linguist, writer and critic; a true reformer and enlarged philanthropist; and in every respect a great woman.

The poetry displayed little talent; however, it does serve as an example of the admiration and enthusiasm Fuller inspired.

Wrote Bloor:

> There never gleamed, in thy coral crown,
> A rarer gem than the gifted one,
> By thy ruthless billows claimed and won.
> 'Twas a mighty soul, though shrined
> In a woman's fragile form,
> 'Twas an all-embracing mind,
> That passed in that ocean storm!

In 1852 Hart, compiling an anthology of women writers, wrote a favorable essay on Fuller noting she fulfilled her work duties at the Tribune "with eminent ability" (237).

In his 1855 biography of Horace Greeley, Parton devoted one of his 31 chapters strictly to Margaret Fuller's work at the Tribune. No other staffer received a separate chapter.

Duyckinck in the entry on Margaret Fuller in his Cyclopedia of American Literature (1856) praised her as an "intellectual, sympathetic, kind, generous, noble- hearted woman" (I.1: 527). He began his entry by observing that Fuller's "native disposition, studies, association with her contemporaries, and remarkable fate, will secure her a

permanent place among the biographies of literary women" (1.1: 524).[2]

After the Civil War Fuller was still inspiring adoration. In 1869 Edwin Studwell of New York and R.A. Canby of Iowa published a small volume, Dottings from the Writings of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, that contained quotes from Fuller's works including the Memoirs. They selected the quotes they said particularly influenced their own thinking. They were interested in underlining Fuller's feminist ideas. About Fuller, Canby noted: "I assure you she has made a very deep impression, and improved me; for I 'feel my wings budding'" (4).

"Margaret Fuller was far in advance of her day. Few were her co-laborers; no stars twinkled through the smoke and cinders of her opponents; but the engine of thought which started from her deep-thinking brain is fast driving off the human owls which beset her . . . ," noted Studwell (6). "The career of Mrs. [sic] Fuller was one that added lustre to American literature. . . . She grasped subjects of moment, whether they pertained to religion, duty, humanity, or love, and with a master hand they were handled . . . " (Studwell 8). "In Mrs. [sic] Fuller's life we find that thought, deep, earnest thought, prevailed in every

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[2] Ironically Fuller was not included in the 1875 edition of Duyckinck's Cyclopedia.

passage, the touchstone of her being" (Studwell 10).

In 1880, 30 years after she had worked at the Tribune, the high quality of Fuller's work was still remembered at the newspaper. In an Extra published in the memory of George Ripley, the literary critic who succeeded Fuller, the newspaper commented: "The criticism of The Tribune had been of a high order in the hands of Margaret Fuller; it became broader, more catholic and we may say more comprehensive and careful, in those of Mr. Ripley" (In Memoriam 6).

In 1884 Higginson wrote a well-balanced biography of Fuller which may have helped counter the image of her in the Memoirs.

A year later, the Ossoli Circle, a women's literary society, was founded in November, 1885 in Knoxville, Tennessee. The organization was named for Fuller and drew its inspiration from Fuller's Boston Conversations, according to the Ossoli Circle's first president, Mary B. Temple, who presented a paper on Fuller to the May 1886 meeting. In her paper she noted that Fuller's Conversations started a tradition of women gathering to discuss intellectual ideas. Temple said the Conversations "had in their scope something akin to the aims of our own Circle" (20).

Temple disagreed with the portrayal of Fuller in the Memoirs.

> Her memoirs and most of the sketches of her life, represent her as a mystic, a book-worm, and as ambitious only for a life of self- culture. Instead of being the sentimental dreamer usually pictured, with all her surpassing mental gifts she was pre-eminently practical. "A vigorous executive side" predominated in her character. Her inmost desire was always for a career where she could work as well as think, where she could deal with the many and not the few, where she could employ her superior gifts for the food of her day and generation" (6-7).

The nineteenth century movement for women's rights in the United States recognized Fuller's importance in American thought. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, writing a history of the women's movement in 1889, commented,

> Margaret Fuller possessed more influence upon the thought of America, than any woman previous to her time. Men of diverse interests and habits of thought, alike recognized her power and acknowledged the quickening influence of her mind upon their own (801).

In 1891 Dickinson, writing on the history of women in journalism, commented that Fuller's work at the Tribune

> set the standard of criticism at high-water mark, and made its literary notices famed for a discrimination, sincerity, justness, and fearlessness of judgment and utterance which contributed largely to the influence of the paper (129).

She maintained that Fuller set the high standard for scholarship which "Dr. Ripley did but sustain" (129).

In 1905 Beach described the contemporary "oral tradition" of who Margaret Fuller was.

> As she survives in tradition, she seems to have been a person of inordinate vanity, who gave lectures in drawing rooms and called them "conversations," uttered a commonplace with the authority of an oracle, and sentimentalized over art, poetry, or religion, while she seemed to herself, and apparently to others, to be talking philosophy (166).

However, Beach said that reading Fuller's work and observing the stature of her friends (Emerson, Clarke and Channing) leads to the conclusion "there was more in the woman than popular tradition recognizes" (167).

Eleanor Roosevelt in 1930 called Woman in the Nineteenth Century "an epoch-making book," and observed Fuller's

> power to impress her personality and her greatness of soul on those around her did more than anything else to bring the acknowledgement and the recognition that women had an intellectual and spiritual contribution to make, as great as that of men (14).

Beginning with Anthony (1920) and continuing today, many scholars have sought to establish Fuller's importance in American literary history.

It is clear, then, that along with the derogatory Emerson-Hawthorne-Miller strand of Fuller literature, there is and always has been another viewpoint about Fuller. However, most of the people who have written positively about Fuller have not had the public stature of her detractors. While famous men like Emerson and Hawthorne were saying derogatory things about Fuller, many less prominent people over the last 100 years have had another view. However, their comments have not carried the historical weight of the comments of Fuller's more famous detractors. The problem for Fuller advocates has been to determine why so many well-known people said so many mean

things about her.

The Urbanski theory that the Memoirs is the causal mechanism for Fuller's negative reputation in history only works if the Memoirs are the first public comments that attack her. In fact, many derogatory public comments about Fuller pre-date the Memoirs.

In 1850 two years before publication of the Memoirs George Ripley wrote a not often quoted obituary of Margaret Fuller in which he observed the fact that Fuller's work had drawn many attacks. Ripley's explanation was that Fuller did not act in a proper manner.[3]

> In mixed society, especially when composed of a large proportion of strangers, with whom she did not feel quite certain of her position, her manner was often combative, defiant, presumptuous, reminding you of an intellectual Joan of Arc, and sadly destitute of the sweet graces of true feminality [sic]. . . . Her mental activity, as well as her masculine ambitions, led her to take delight in gladiatorial contests of intellect; whatever the circle, she was fully equipped for the fight; eager as an assailant, she was merciless as a conqueror; and armed with an uncommon vigor and point of conversational expression, she would usually
>
> remain in possession of the field, even with opponents of acknowledged superiority. . . . This, combined with the free expression of opinion on questions involving manifold and complicated interests, accounts for the aversion in which she was held by many who knew her but superficially, and the suspicion, not to say

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[3] This article is unsigned in the Tribune; however, in a Sept. 3, 1850 letter to Sarah Josepha Hale Greeley recommends that she read an article which he said George Ripley wrote on Fuller in the Southern Literary Messenger of September, 1850. The Tribune obituary headed "Margaret Fuller Ossoli" on Sept. 4, 1850 said it is a reprint from the Southern Literary Messenger.

> vindictiveness, with which she was watched by a considerable portion of the public press (Ripley "Margaret" 6).

In 1852 Hart described Fuller's reputation:

> Miss Fuller was more remarkable for strength and vigour of thought, and a certain absolute and almost scornful independence, than for the graces of style and diction . . . by those who knew her most intimately her conversational powers were considered more brilliant even than her talents as a writer. She was, without doubt, in both respects, one of the most remarkable women of the present century (238-239).

Hart made these observations while also noting that the Memoirs were under preparation. Emerson and Channing are generally credited with having fossilized the denigration of Fuller through the Memoirs, but comments by Hart and Ripley indicate that the reputation existed prior to the publication of this work. It may be true, as Urbanski and others argue, that Channing, Emerson and Clarke felt intellectually threatened by Fuller, but in their book they reported ideas about Fuller that were already in general circulation.

Margaret Fuller was attacked in print long before the publication of the Memoirs. One primary reason for the extensive criticism of Fuller stems from the fact that she worked in journalism. When Fuller moved to New York she stopped playing intellectual parlor games and began submitting her thoughts for public review and criticism. She is generally credited with writing honest, hard hitting reviews. When a person publishes tough criticism, that

person usually also receives tough criticism in return.

Wade noted Fuller's criticism was unusually blunt for her age. "American literature was young and very sensitive, and any unfavorable comment on the budding promise of the new writers was apt to be resented more or less violently" (145).

Wade reported that Longfellow did not respond publicly to a Fuller review that called his work imitative. However, in his diary, said Wade, Longfellow complained of Fuller's "furious onslaught upon me" which the poet characterized as "a bilious attack" (146).

When Fuller reviewed James Russell Lowell harshly, she "caught a Tartar who never forgave her for humiliating him," observed Wade (146).

Although in 1846 Poe had praised Fuller in print, by 1848 he had changed his estimate of her. In a letter to George W. Eveleth, Poe called Fuller

> grossly dishonest. She abuses Lowell, for example (the best of our poets, perhaps) on account of a personal quarrel with him. She has omitted all mention of me for the same reason -- although, a short time before the issue of her book, she praised me highly in the Tribune" (355).

This is a man who is mad because his name is not in the paper. In an 1849 letter, Poe became even more vitriolic, calling Fuller a detestable old maid whose poor reviews of Lowell "set him off at a tangent and he has never been quite right since" (427).

Ripley argued in 1850 that the honesty of Fuller's writing drew fire. He observed, she "had excited so much both of admiration and of reproach for the bold expression of her opinions, without reference to the course of public sentiment" ("Margaret" 6). Fuller's sharp attacks on flaws in others work lost her "the good opinion of those who saw her in no other aspect, and made enemies for life of many who bore the smart of the wounds that had been inflicted by her hand" ("Margaret" 6).

After all, Fuller wrote in an era when people were sometimes violently concerned with the content of newspapers. In 1842 rioters threatened to march on the Tribune because they were unhappy with its articles. By comparison, the attacks on Margaret Fuller are relatively genteel.

Fuller, then, was publicly attacked long before publication of the Memoirs. Most of the attacks stemmed from what she wrote in the newspaper.

Also contributing to the denigration of Margaret Fuller, said Urbanski, was Woman in the Nineteenth Century. Urbanski said the book immediately became a topic of controversy. "Many leading American and English newspapers and journals reviewed Fuller's work, and early reviews were, on the whole, favorable" (147). A month after publication, however, "reviewers began to complain not only about her writing style but to attack Fuller herself" (148).

"The impact of Woman in the Nineteenth Century was powerful. Serving as a catalyst, it generated the impulse to feminists to call the first woman's rights convention, which met in Seneca Falls [three years later in 1848]," noted Urbanski.

Deiss (Roman) said Woman in the 19th Century was to her contemporaries "scandalous, hysterical, revolutionary. To many Americans the idea of equal rights for women was simply preposterous. Yet the first edition was sold out within a week" (19).

Myerson (Margaret Fuller: An Annotated Secondary Bibliography) listed 18 reviews and notices of the 1845 publication of Woman in the Nineteenth Century.

Pentu cited contemporary letters to demonstrate that the book became an instant topic of discussion in New York, Boston, and New Orleans. Pentu noted that Robert Browning, Thomas Carlyle, and George Sand all commented on the book.

Some public comments about Fuller's book were unfavorable. For instance Charles F. Briggs, also reviewing Woman in the Nineteenth Century for the Broadway Journal, called Fuller a "thinking, right judging person" but disagreed with her feminist theme. "The only way in which any good can be rendered to society, is by making woman more womanly and man more manly," said Briggs (Myerson (Margaret Fuller: An Annotated Secondary Bibliography)10). A reviewer

in Brownson's Quarterly Review concurred. "The 'high-priestess of American Transcendentalism' needs only to find 'the firm, old-fashioned Catholic faith in the Gospel' for her heart to find 'the rest after which it yearns'" (8).

Of course, the book also drew favorable comment. Poe called it "nervous, forcible, thoughtful, suggestive, brilliant, and to a certain extent scholarly" (76).

Myerson described the Boston Courier's review: "This book 'in press' in New York is written by 'a woman of more rigorous intellect and comprehensive thought, than any other among the writers of the country'" (Secondary 8). Fuller's feminist friend Lydia Maria Child praised the book in the Broadway Journal, the same publication that published Poe's reviews. Myerson paraphrased Child's review as follows: "The author is 'a woman of more powerful intellect, comprehensive thought, and thorough education, than any other American authoress, with whose productions I am acquainted'" (9).

Much of the criticism Fuller drew, then, was harsh, but it came from people who had been wounded by her criticism of their work or from people who disagreed strongly with her views, most particularly on the subject of women's rights. Many of these angry men did stoop to ad hominem attacks. But the point here is that such attacks are to be anticipated when a person who engages in public dialogue.

Another reason for the negative comments about Fuller

is that her work was journalism and not poetry or fiction. She created only one important book, Woman in the Nineteenth Century, and that work is an extended essay, not poetry or fiction. Her major body of work is 250 (Myerson Margaret Fuller: A Descriptive Bibliography) articles in the New York Tribune while she was in New York and many more submitted from Europe.

Fuller pointed out that vast quantity of writing she had produced as an essayist. In the preface to an edition of her Tribune essays, she noted:

> To those of my friends, who have often expressed a wish that I "could find time to write," it will be a satisfaction to know that, though the last twenty months is the first period in my life when it has been permitted me to make my pen my chief means of expressing my thoughts, yet I have written enough, if what is afloat and what lies hid in manuscript, were put together, to make a little library, quite large enough to exhaust the patience of the collector, if not of the reader. Should I do no more, I have at least sent my share of paper missives through the world (Papers vi).

Historical evaluations of Fuller share the same assumption as literary evaluations of another American genius and character, James Agee. Ashdown notes critics commonly argue Agee might well have produced more quality work if he had spent less time writing for Fortune and Time. Such comments automatically discount the possibility that Agee's reportage might also be quality work.

Birkhead argued there is a closeness between the writing of fact and the writing of fiction that goes

unacknowledged.

> The [journalism] profession has banished its most literate writers to the fringes of the occupation. It suspiciously eyes the reportorial work of Norman Mailer, Mary McCarthy, Gore Vidal, Joan Didion and others, who, as one observer recently remarked, are so good at journalism that it is their status as novelists that seems insecure (Birkhead 621).

Birkhead argued that this distinction between journalism and literature has evolved because

> today's press and its supporting education establishment tend to spurn a literary heritage in favor of a more purely technological one. One impulse in the rise of journalism education, for example, was to divorce journalism from English departments and forge a discipline of industrial utility" (616),

but Birkhead said this was a mistake. Both journalism and fiction writing originated in the seventeenth century as print narratives on current happenings aimed at a mass audience. "A common matrix for journalism and the novel implies virtually a lost heritage of literary merit that journalism has not incorporated in its self-identity since the nineteenth century" (621).

Just as journalists have rejected their background in fiction, writers of literature have looked down upon journalism. Evaluations of Margaret Fuller's work suffer from this false dichotomy of journalism and literature. She rests in the same no man's land with Mailer, Didion and Agee.

Perry Miller sniped at Fuller's writing style.

> Margaret Fuller had almost as little aptitude for poetic composition as Alcott; but she was the Genius of all geniuses, and so often lisped in numbers. Into these experiments, as into everything she wrote, she poured her store of nervous and undisciplined energy (American Transcendentalists 258).

Cross, in her introduction to a collection of works by three 19th century women, commented that Fuller did journalism because she was "harassed throughout her life by the necessity of earning money" (20). While this is true, it is equally true of almost everyone who is not born independently wealthy. This is the sort of comment one makes about a great poet who is forced to work in a greeting card factory because his poems cannot support him. The comment reflects the automatic condescension that scholars have leveled at Fuller's work of journalism.

Fuller's contemporaries and Fuller herself shared this assumption that writing essays, writing journalism, was not creative work. Parton evaluating Fuller's work in 1855 maintained that she understood literature but was not herself creative. "Her understanding was greater than her gift. She could appreciate, but not create," he observed (255).

Fuller thought that by doing journalism, criticizing others' literature rather than writing literature, she was doing valuable work, but not work of the same high quality as poetry or fiction. "I wish I might write something good . . . , but really the paper when I attend to it as much as

Mr. Greeley wishes, takes all the time I feel disposed to read or write" (Letters IV: 138). She was writing a great deal, but it was journalism and therefore by definition not good.

Fuller commented on the second class status of journalism as a writer's art. In a letter in 1845 she noted,

> I am pleased with your sympathy about the Tribune, for I do not find much among my old friends. They think I ought to produce something excellent, while I am satisfied to aid in the great work of popular education. I never regarded literature merely as a collection of exquisite products, but rather as a means of mutual interpretation. Feeling that many are reached and in some degree helped, the thoughts of every day seem worth noting, though in a form that does not inspire me (Letters IV: 39).

It is clear that one reason for the denigration of Margaret Fuller is that she wrote journalism rather than fiction or poetry. By working in newspapers she automatically opened herself to accusations of low quality.

In summary, then, there are two strands of literature on Margaret Fuller. Her detractors can be traced back beyond Emerson; however, the detractors are not the only writers on the subject of Fuller. There is a continuous strand of literature that dates back to Poe and praises Fuller. Scholars have blamed Emerson for originating the derogatory strand of Fuller literature, but there are published attacks which pre-date the Memoirs. The unkind comments about Fuller stem from what she wrote. She wrote

reviews that were too honest for some of her subjects, and she wrote a very successful book advocating the controversial idea of women's rights. Much of the denigration, even though it is insultingly ad hominem in form, must be regarded as the normal course of affairs for one involved in pubic debate. Some of the denigration stems from the fact that journalism, compared to fiction, was and is regarded as a second-class occupation.

Much of the derogatory scholarship on Fuller is unforgivable, most particularly Perry Miller's; however, scholars working to repair Miller's damage must be careful that they are not overly protective of Fuller. She was an anomaly in her day, an intellectual woman ready to defend her ideas, and this no doubt disconcerted some of her adversaries. However, she entered the heat of intellectual debate. The people she poked must be allowed to say "Ouch" without automatically being branded sexist.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Much of the scholarship on Margaret Fuller's life as a journalist contains errors.

For example, scholars have generally regarded Fuller as a mere contributor to the Tribune, an ancillary worker. In fact, she served as literary editor of that newspaper. In addition to the 250 starred articles in the Tribune which scholars have attributed to Fuller, in her role as editor she probably wrote a regular column, "New Publications," introductions and transitions in literary excerpts, brief 500-word book reviews, lengthy essays (which do not have a star), and translations (which do not have a star). The literary department of the Tribune was much more than just Fuller's starred copy. Fuller's contribution in terms of volume of copy to the production of the newspaper was therefore much larger than has been previously recognized.

Contrary to the assumption in much of the Fuller literature, the New York Tribune from 1844 to 1846 was not an influential national newspaper. It was one of the three leaders in a competitive environment involving 21 newspapers in New York City. At the end of 1844 the newspaper was only two and a half years old. It had found its editorial voice and financial stability, but it was running half the number of pages it would be running in 10 years, and it had an

editorial staff of only four. Of these four Margaret Fuller was the only one who would win any prominence in history.

At the Tribune Fuller worked for one of America's fabled newspaper editors, a hard worker, admired by his writers as a tough critic. After Fuller's death, Horace Greeley wrote several memorial articles about her. In these articles he praised her but also made observations that have created the image of an employee who did not work hard and was cavalier about deadlines. An analysis of comments Greeley made about other workers' writing and of descriptions of Greeley as an editor indicates that Greeley was a harsh critic who made unkind comments about all of his writers including the stars. When viewed in this context, it appears that Fuller was an able and valued employee with flaws. Greeley's complaints about Fuller should be viewed not as extreme dissatisfaction but as perhaps too honest criticism from a tough editor.

At the Tribune Fuller seems to have received equal treatment with her male co-workers not only in the matter of drawing criticism from the editor, but also in the matter of salary. Her salary of $500 a year was equal to that of her male co-workers. Her byline of a star appears to have been in the paper not to hide her gender but rather to distinguish her essays from Greeley's. The purpose of the star was to indicate unobtrusively that the literary

department of the newspaper was edited by a person other than Horace Greeley. Writing for publication in the 1840s, especially on the topics of literature and reform, was a socially acceptable activity for a woman despite the disapproval of her Boston friends,. In one aspect of her work at the Tribune, however, Fuller was hampered by her gender. She did her work at home rather than in the office because to work in an office would have been to leave women's socially defined sphere of activity in the 1840s.

Despite many statements in the Fuller literature to the contrary, Margaret Fuller is not America's first woman journalist. She is, however, important in the history of women working in journalism because she is the first woman to earn a degree of fame and stature for her journalism. She is the first woman to make a distinctive mark on the field.

The degree of Margaret Fuller's stature can be seen in the public image of her which history has provided. There are two distinct strands of literature that have existed about Margaret Fuller over the last 140 years. The most scholarly attention has been paid to Fuller's detractors whose ideas were popularized in the 1950s by Perry Miller. However, Fuller has throughout the last 140 years also had admirers who have not received scholarly attention. Urbanski has placed the blame for the derogatory image of Fuller on Miller and on the Memoirs of Margaret Fuller

Ossoli edited by Emerson et al in 1852. However, many negative statements about Fuller predate the Memoirs. It appears that this volume instead reflects the public image of Margaret Fuller in the mid-nineteenth century. Fuller's public image derives from her work as a journalist. Some of the denigration of Fuller stems from the view that journalism as an activity has a lower status than does the writing of fiction or poetry. Some of the denigration also stems from the fact that Margaret Fuller's journalism was outspoken. It is a feature of hardhitting journalism that it draws hardhitting responses.

A careful analysis of the context for Margaret Fuller's journalism, then, leads to the conclusion that Fuller was no dilettante playing at the intellectual game of reviewing literature. She was a serious member of the staff of the New York Tribune, making a major contribution to the production of the newspaper in terms of volume of copy and quality of work. Horace Greeley took her work seriously and valued it. The subjects of her articles took her criticism of them seriously enough to attack when they felt wounded.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

WHETHER AND HOW TO STUDY GREAT WOMEN IN JOURNALISM: AN ESSAY ON HISTORIOGRAPHY

This dissertation is a study of a famous woman working for a New York City newspaper. Some might regard it therefore as antiquated. Within journalism history there is a trend away from the study of New York newspapers and into the study of regional publications. Beyond this, many journalism historians are joining historians in other subdisciplines in questioning the merits of studying Great Men. This movement away from the study of Great Men, however, coincides with the emergence of a new area of historical study, the study of women in history.

In the last 20 years there has been a major shift in the approach to historical writing in the United States. Traditional American history, said Kammen, has been political history, but in recent years the French Annales school has deeply influenced American historians. The French school emphasizes social history, the history of the life of the common man. "There has been a stunning inversion. . . . National chauvinism has given way to national self-criticism in historical writing" (Kammen 22-23).

Social historians, said Stearns, want to look at history "through the experiences and perceptions of ordinary

rather than extraordinary actors in the past" (212). They are concerned "with the general membership of a society, and not just individuals among the elite."

Historians, said Bailyn, should not concentrate on the obvious, the manifest events that were of conscious concern within an era. Rather historians should seek out the latent events "which set the boundaries of human existence" (As quoted by Kammen 38).

In the last 10 years historians of the American media have turned their attention to the historiography of their field. The landmark work in journalism historiography is Carey's 1975 essay in Journalism History. In this essay Carey identified a Whig approach to the study of journalism history and then called for a new perspective. Whig historians, said Carey, described "the slow, steady expansion of freedom and knowledge from the political press to the commercial press, the setbacks into sensationalism and yellow journalism, the forward thrust into muckraking and social responsibility" (4). In other words, the history of journalism has been the history of industrial progress. Carey said the problem with this stance is not so much that it is wrong as that historians have exhausted the vein. Carey argued that journalism history has been too narrowly defined, not adequately based in a "sense of historical time," (3) and not connected to other historical research.

Other journalism historians have supported Carey's position. Covert argued that traditional journalism history has emphasized winning, autonomy and change.

McKerns argued that this Whig stance has approached the history of business progress from a liberal political bias. Journalism history, he said, has been "the story of the struggle of 'good,' i.e. liberalism, freedom, democracy and libertarianism, against 'evil,' i.e., conservatism, repression, aristocracy and authoritarianism" (88).

Sloan, looking at the history of journalism from 1900 to 1945, argued that the writing of journalism history has been narrow in interpretation.

> Most historians tend to agree on the nature of professionalism and the media as big business, and little new is offered by the majority of historical works. . . . Media historians have shown little awareness of historical interpretation. Indeed most historians have seemed unaware that they were writing implicitly within a certain interpretation (165).

Sloan classified writers of journalism history into four categories: Progressive historians, liberal partisans who wrote about the conflicts between "America's business and working classes; development historians, liberals primarily concerned with the "professional development of journalism standards"; business historians, neo-conservatives who "believed media owners had provided creative and constructive approaches to major and difficult economic situations and in the process had helped make America's mass media system into the best in the world"; and

cultural historians, who "believed factors in the social, economic and political environment determined the nature of the press" (155).

Stevens and Garcia (1980) said the Whig approach to journalism generated much Great Man history, which "treats individuals (producers) as shapers of American media" (24). The Great Man historians have argued that their subjects of study defined and "shaped newspaper format, style and content and molded the industry as well as consumer tastes" (24). Noting that many subdisciplines of history are investigating cultural influences on human events, Stevens and Garcia point out that cultural forces have as much to do with shaping media as do individuals.

Within journalism historiography the new emphasis, heavily influenced by Carey's article, has been on the relationship of the mass media to the mass culture in which they exist. There has been a trend away from a unit of analysis based on individuals and toward the historical analysis of organizations and how they function in the larger society. McKerns argued the need to study journalism history "within the context of the times" (91) rather than seeing events as moments within a linear progression toward a liberal ideal. Stevens and Garcia pointed out that journalism history has concentrated on product and producer but ignored context and interactions.

The study of Great Men in history, however, continues to have its advocates.

Kammen, writing about the broad discipline of history, noted many credible historians continue to take the Great Man stance. He pointed out that the major prize-winning books in the 1970s in history were biographies. There is a "growing recognition that elites must also continue to be studied because of their determinative role in shaping the lives of so many members of their societies" (24).

Washburn in 1987 observed,

> It's time for mass communication historians to overcome a fear of the Great Man Theory and get on with telling history as it really occurred -- in other words, with the human element in it (4).

Histories of Horace Greeley and the New York Tribune certainly are subject to the criticisms of the Great Man approach. Van Deusen, Hale, Ingersoll, Zabriskie and other historians treat Greeley worshipfully as the Great Man who molded his times with his editorial product. They study Greeley and his newspaper primarily in the context of national politics. They take the Whig approach to history, painting the picture of a Great Man molding a great liberal newspaper, which then molds the values of society.

Because these biographies now seem somewhat naive in their assumptions about the power of a Great Man and the goodness of industry, however, does not necessarily mean that no one should ever again write about Greeley. In fact,

there is a real need for a new biography written not from the Whig perspective but from a more sophisticated understanding about the functioning of media in society. The Greeley biographers clearly assume that newspapers have a powerful effect in society. An analysis of Horace Greeley and his world by a writer who understands more about the complex interrelationship that actually exists between the mass media and society would be useful.

In the end, however, deciding whether writing about famous individuals as a unit of analysis is a valid approach to the study of history is a function of the philosophical assumptions of the individual historian. If one believes it is possible for one person to affect human events no matter how slightly, then it becomes important to study individuals. If, however, one believes that any specific individual is only a droplet in the great sea of humankind helpless in the face of tidal forces such as economic swings and cultural imperatives, then deemphasizing the study of individuals makes sense.

The study of history is not intellectually neutral. Stevens and Garcia pointed out that all researchers write from an intellectual stance. It is important, they argued, for historians to outline the assumptions that guided their studies. An assumption guiding this study is the belief that individuals are powerfully molded by larger societal forces, yet despite the enormous power of these collective

forces it is possible for one person to have an impact although that impact may be small. Therefore the study of individuals who appear influential is important.

And the important individuals who have not been studied by historians until recently are women.

"American historical writing, until very recently, has been the province of white males, and they have by and large written about a white male-oriented society" (Donald V. Gawronski, quoted by Kraus and Joyce 379). Firestone argued that the rare appearance of women in American history has erased "a hundred years of brilliant personalities and important events" (490). She said that the standard American histories have included as their Great Women such "goody-good models" as Louisa May Alcott, Clara Barton and Florence Nightingale. Americans are "ignorant of the lives of women of the stature of Margaret Fuller, Fanny Wright, the Grimke sisters, Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Harriet Stanton Blatch, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Alice Paul" (Firestone 490).[1]

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[1] Fanny Wright "founded Nashoba, a colony for freed slaves near Memphis, Tenn.; and after its failure worked for women's rights, universal education, abolition and birth control" (Concise 931). Sarah and Angelina Grimke, abolitionist and feminist daughters of a Charleston, S.C. slaveholder, were "the first women to speak publicly on the issues of slavery and women's rights" (Concise 352). Harriet Stanton Blatch, daughter of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, was a turn of the century feminist (Clinton 200-201). Charlotte Perkins Gilman, a turn of the century feminist, is

Gerda Lerner is "arguably the most important practitioner of women's history today" (Kraus and Joyce 380). She defined the field as follows:

> Women's History challenges the androcentric assumptions of traditional history and assumes that the role of women in historical events -- or the absence of women from them -- must properly be illuminated and discussed in each and every case (The Majority xiv).

It is important to note that the study of women in journalism history is indeed a new phenomenon. The newness can be seen in the otherwise excellent collection of essays on avenues for research in journalism history compiled by Farrar and Stevens in 1971. This excellent book contains essays on the subdisciplines within media history of economic history, black history, regional history and technological history, to name a few, but there is no essay on women's history.

Hixson pointed out that subdisciplines "write their first histories in terms of great men" (87). Mary Ann Yodelis Smith noted that biographies of women in media can provide the factual detail necessary to write "a larger

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the author of a novel, The Yellow Wallpaper, about a woman driven to insanity by her husband, and of a political study, Women and Economics (1898), which argued that "women's oppression was the legacy of a patriarchal past, an anachronism in modern, industrial America" (Clinton 191). Alice Paul was a suffragette, active in the campaign for passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, and in 1923 began the campaign for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (Clinton 201-202).

sociocultural interpretation" (152). In other words, research on individuals including Great Men is a necessary precursor to broader interpretations of historical currents because Great Man research begins to generate the details upon which much of the societal work is grounded.

Lerner outlined steps in the evolution of a conceptual framework for the study of women in history.

First comes "compensatory history:" the history of great women.

Second comes "contribution history: . . . describing women's contribution to, their status in, and their oppression by male-defined society" (The Majority 146). The value of contribution history, she said, is "the development of more complex and sophisticated questions;" however, its limitation is that historians continue to operate in a traditional conceptual framework. "When all is said and done, what we have mostly done in writing contribution history is to describe what men in the past told women to do and what men in the past thought women should be" (The Majority 149).

The third stage in the evolution of a conceptual framework for women's history has been

> to ask about the actual experience of women in the past. This is obviously different from a description of the condition of women written from the perspective of male sources, and leads one to the use of women's letters, diaries, autobiographies, and oral history sources (The Majority 153).

Lerner predicted that the final stage in the evolution of women's history as a field will be a synthesis of women's and men's histories into a history of all people. Noting that women form the majority of the human population, she observes that it is ludicrous to discuss women's history as a subgroup (The Majority 159).

Within journalism history, Henry has called for studies of women that use what Lerner would call the second stage conceptual framework of compensatory history. Henry proposed using the analytical framework of studying one individual female printer to see if she was different from or the same as other men and women printers on the issues of formal and informal job training, personal mobility, etc. Henry said scholars should study women's work roles in journalism.

Studies of Margaret Fuller fall into Lerner's category of compensatory or Great Man history. Her biographers (Allen, Anthony, Bell, Chipperfield, Deiss, Higginson, and Wade) have treated Fuller as a Great Woman who influenced the evolution of American literary criticism through her articles in the New York Tribune. Because their concern is not with newspaper history references to Fuller's place within the organization of the New York Tribune are rare.

This study is a combination of Lerner's second and third stages. It attempts to define Fuller's position at the newspaper, what she was expected to do and how well she

did it. That approach, Lerner would call compensatory history. But this work also draws on Fuller's letters and other primary sources to describe how Fuller felt about her activities at the newspaper. This topic Lerner would place in the third stage in the evolution of women's history.

This study of two years at the New York Tribune is grounded in the assumptions of symbolic interactionism and cultural history. Emery noted that journalism historians who adopt the symbolic interactionist stance look at a "person's view of the world and of the role of his or her media organization" (43).

Carey in arguing for a cultural approach to the study of journalism history takes the same symbolic interactionist stance:

> When we study the history of journalism, we are principally studying a way in which men in the past have grasped a reality. We are searching out the intersection of journalistic style and vocabulary, created systems of meaning, and standards of reality shared by writer and audience. We are trying to root out a portion of the history of consciousness (5).

Because the symbolic interactionist contends that cultural meanings are created through the interactions of groups, the study of those group interactions becomes important. Stevens and Garcia said historical studies that take a sociological perspective emphasize "the relationship of editors, news personnel, management personnel [as] individuals" (68).

"A sociological study would emphasize the political groups, their relationships, and how the newspaper and other institutions fit into that structure," Stevens and Garcia noted (39). The need for contextualization of this sort is particularly strong when studying women journalists, Covert argued. She said that historians tend to write about women isolated out of context.

Both Kammen and Stevens and Garcia noted that it is important to identify the unit of analysis in a study. One could look at individual relationships, group relationships or institutional relationships in a cultural study of journalism history. For this particular study the unit of analysis is the individuals who worked at the Tribune from 1844 to 1846. The goal of the study is to explain the group context in which Fuller worked. This study seeks to answer the question: What was Fuller's role within the work group in the production of the newspaper?

"To understand the media, to see them more nearly whole in historical terms, means that the economic dimension must no longer be neglected," argued Ames and Teeter (39). One aim of this study is to explain how Margaret Fuller fit economically into the organization which was the New York Tribune. How much did she get paid? Was that salary comparable to men doing the same work? Did the newspaper get a fair return for its money in terms of the work she provided?

This work, then, is cultural history and not Whig history. It examines the factors that went into the functioning of one organization more than 100 years ago. It is not particularly concerned with amplifying Fuller's role in society at large. It can be regarded as Great Man history in that it does focus on a Great Woman; however, this study is asking more comprehensive questions about the functioning of that woman within an organization rather than merely plumping up or debunking that woman's importance in American history. It provides information that is a necessary precursor to integrating women into American history. Before we can make women a complete part of American history, we have to be able to explain what they did and how they felt about what they did.

The beginning of this essay also mentions the issue of the validity of studying New York City newspapers. In line with their attacks on the Great Man theory, Stevens and Garcia also attack the writing of the history of New York newspapers. They note that Hudson's landmark 1873 volume Journalism in the United States described New York newspapers as being representative of the American press in general. They point out that what happens in New York is not necessarily representative of American newspapers as a whole. Trends in New York journalism do not accurately explain trends in the American media as a whole.

However, Benson in his book on Jacksonian democracy disputes the position that New York is not representative of the rest of the United States. In 1840, the population of New York State was 17 percent of the total American white population, according to Benson. The State of New York in 1840, said Benson, was a microcosm of the United States in 1840. It contained the largest city in the country and also sections that were just emerging from the frontier. Benson argued New York is "a good state for testing generalizations about American history" (3).

New York City newspapers served not only the city itself but the upstate. Pred said it was the rule for big city newspapers in the antebellum era to have rural editions. "In 1820, 35 of the nation's 42 dailies had such rural editions, with no less than 20 emanating from New York, Philadelpha, and Baltimore" (62). In addition, some of the information in New York City newspapers was read by most of the country in the antebellum era. Pred found that newspapers in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Southern cities reported foreign news which they clipped from the New York newspapers they received in the mail (32).

For the period of this study then New York City newspapers with their rural readers in the upstate did accurately represent much of the country's journalism.

This study is, then, unabashedly a history of a Great Woman working on a New York newspaper. It is not, however,

a Whig approach to newspaper history. Instead, it asks new questions about this Great Woman and that Great Newspaper.

In summary this study looks at old material from a fresh perspective. Rather than determining what made the subjects of the study great and how they changed newspapering, the study attempts to identify how the subjects worked together as a unit to produce a newspaper in the 1840s.

APPENDIX B

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

There has been a great deal of scholarly interest in Margaret Fuller in the last 20 years, but there are still many possible routes left for studying Fuller's involvement with journalism.

This study concluded that Fuller worked at the Tribune not only as a literary critic but also as a literary editor. Further study of the unbylined literary pieces in the Tribune would contribute a more complete knowledge of Fuller's literary values. Is there a difference between the books that got short shrift and those that received considered essays? What does the selection of material to be excerpted in the Tribune said about Fuller's literary values?

Another topic for study is Fuller's influence on George Ripley who succeeded her as book editor at the New York Tribune and was for 20 years the dean of American literary critics. It seems highly likely that Fuller established the standards for book reviewing at the New York Tribune in its infancy, and that Ripley applied those same standards as book editor of the Tribune in its maturity.

Also although several authors have made a passing comparison of Fuller's criticism and Poe's no one appears to have done a detailed analysis.

Another matter, Fuller's social criticism, has been studied as an important step in the evolution of her ideas. However, no one has pondered the effect of this writing. This study looks at the place of Fuller's writing at the Tribune. A future study could look at the place her reforming articles had in New York journalism at the time, and the agenda setting function, if any, that her articles provided.

Much of Margaret Fuller's stature no doubt came from her foreign reporting in the Tribune from 1846 to 1849. Deiss has written an excellent biography of Fuller's years in Europe, but his is almost the only scholarly attention that has been paid to that period. Margaret Fuller was one of the first foreign correspondents of either sex, and also one of the first war correspondents. Yet her work, for instance, is not included in the landmark history of war correspondence The First Casualty. Much needed is an analysis of Fuller's contribution to war correspondence and the contribution her foreign correspondence made to her reputation in America.

Also needed for study is Fuller's work role or function as editor of The Dial. The ideas published in this journal have had a major impact on America's intellectual thought. As an editor how did Fuller contribute to the development of this body of thought? How heavily did she edit?

Although the study of Great Men is currently out of fashion in the scholarly community, communications historians have perhaps abandoned the topic too hastily. There is still a great deal to be done.

For instance, a good biography of Horace Greeley written to current standards of scholarship and to a contemporary understanding of a newspaper's relationship to its audience would be useful. The most recent Greeley biographies were written in the 50s. Hale (1950) and Van Deusen (1953) have provided useful bibliographies, but they did not write their works to current standards of scholarship. None of the Greeley biographies contain footnotes. The result is that one cannot be sure what the source was for a particular piece of information. The lack of footnotes means it is difficult to tell how much of the information in the Greeley biographies comes from primary sources and how much from secondary sources.

Much of the information in the more recent Greeley biographies appears to be based on four earlier and detailed biographies: Parton (1855), Ingersoll (1873 a year after Greeley's death), Zabriskie (1890), and Linn (1903). Some of the Greeley biographies contain misinformation. For instance, Seitz says Margaret Fuller was a poor cook at Brook Farm. Fuller scholars generally agree that she was never a resident at Brook Farm, although she did visit

occasionally. A Greeley biography based clearly in the primary material would be useful.

Kluger in his recent history of the New York Tribune notes that a new biography of Greeley is needed. He praises Van Deusen's as "the most careful and reliable work," but notes, "No definitive or masterful life of this fascinating figure has yet been written" (753).

A second needed contribution to Greeley scholarship is the publication of a definitive version of his letters. Greeley's letters are housed in library special collections around the country. Greeley was infamous for his poor handwriting. Zabriskie reports the following tale: Greeley fired one of his employees, but the man found that no one could read the letter of dismissal, so he gave the letter his "own interpretation as a letter of recommendation, and got several first rate situations . . ." (123). Reading Greeley's letters is an arduous task that requires a great deal of travel and guesswork. The publication of a carefully considered typescript of his letters would be a boon to scholarship.

In the history of journalism a topic for further study concerns the influence of the Mexican-American War on Page One makeup. This study found that before the Mexican-American War Page Two of the New York Tribune carried the most newsworthy items, but the war moved literature off Page

One to make more space for foreign news which traditionally ran on Page One.

Another source for study is a deteriorating leather bound vellum volume in the Special Collections holdings at the New York Public Library. This is the assignment log for the City Department of the New York Tribune in 1867-68. The volume, a log kept by the city editor, lists all of the reporters and their assignments plus clippings from articles. It is an invaluable primary source for an article on the typical assignments of reporters on a major American newspaper in the 1860s.

VITA

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