

# *Ideology and Genre: The Rise of the Novel in America*

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## I

ONE SUMMER DAY in 1984, while a Peterson Fellow at the American Antiquarian Society, I called for all copies of all editions of America's first best-selling novel, Susanna Haswell Rowson's *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth* (1791), more commonly known as *Charlotte Temple*. Although this is not the kind of request that endears one to all librarians, the AAS staff kindly obliged me and brought down the volumes arranged in impeccable chronological order on two book carts. Immediately, some of the other fellows of that summer joined me around the carts, and together we surveyed literally dozens and dozens of *Charlotte Temples*, each one different, each one embodying/reflecting/creating its own history of the book in American culture. For even a quick glance at the assembled volumes affirmed that Charlotte looked different, *was* different, depending upon the dress—the covers and bindings—that she wore. The calfbound duodecimo destined for the circulating

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library, the child's-size 'toy book' bound for the nursery, the gilt-edged 'gift book' designed for ostentatious display in the middle-class sitting room, the ten cent 'story paper' marketed for the factory girl, and the contemporary paperback with the scholarly apparatus that signified a university text: each version of Charlotte's story contained its own story about authorship, readership, and publishing in America.

Moreover, the longer I studied the books before me—large and small, ornate and plain—the more I became convinced that what I saw was not just a history of *a* novel but a history of *the* novel as a genre. Concretized by the volumes on the book carts was a new kind of literary history, one that acknowledges that novels are not just texts (as a semiotician might say), not just variant forms of a text (as a bibliographer would use the term), not just plots, characters, metaphors, and images (as the New Critic could point out), not just changing book morphology (as would interest the bibliophile), and not just evolving publishing practices (which should intrigue the historian). On the contrary, the history of the book—and, in this case, the history of the novel—entails a combination of all of these diverse elements and requires dialogue among disciplines that do not always speak the same language.

For illustrative purposes, I am focusing tonight on *Charlotte Temple* precisely because it is a text that could be dismissed as 'simple,' if analyzed by conventional literary methods, but that becomes far more intriguing when viewed as a novel that, more than any other, signaled a new era in the history of the book in America. How was the novel first published, by what methods, and at what expense (to the author, the publisher, the reader)? How did it make its way across the Atlantic to become America's most enduring best seller? Like the Marquis de Lafayette, who is a hero in America but simply an obscure French soldier buried in an untended grave in Paris and in the footnotes of French history textbooks, *Charlotte Temple* cut a more impressive figure in the land of her adoption than

in the land of her birth. One might even ask if *Charlotte Temple* is the same book after a transatlantic crossing. Did success spoil Charlotte Temple? These are provocative questions (not all of them answerable), from which we can begin to see that literature is not just a matter of words but is a complex form of cultural production that has as much to do with national identities, changing economies, new technologies, and developing patterns of work and leisure as it does with symbols and metaphors. As I shall argue in this paper, an overt and covert cultural agenda, an ideological subtext, is encoded in the writing, publishing, reprinting, binding, titling, retitling, pictorializing, advertising, distributing, marketing, selling, buying, reading, interpreting, and, finally, the institutionalizing (within literary criticism and historiography) of any text, even a seemingly simple allegory of female crime and punishment.

## II

A comparison of the original American edition of the novel with the (absent) first British edition from which it was reprinted reveals much about the origins of Anglo-American mass publishing.<sup>1</sup> The first American edition, like its English predecessor, is a simple, unassuming, unillustrated, inexpensive duodecimo volume entitled *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth*. It was published in 1794 in Philadelphia by Mathew Carey, former Irish revolutionary turned American Democrat and an ardent champion of social causes ranging from equitable taxation to improved wages for exploited government seamstresses who were forced to live and work in horrific conditions.<sup>2</sup> It was

<sup>1</sup> The only known copy of the original British edition of *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth* is in the Barrett Collection at the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia. I am grateful to the staff at the Alderman Library for making the extensive Rowson collection available to me.

<sup>2</sup> See especially, Mathew Carey, *Cursory Reflexions on the System of Taxation, Established in the City of Philadelphia; With a Brief Sketch of Its Unequal and Unjust Operation* (Philadelphia, 1806); *Wages of Female Labour* (Philadelphia, 1829); and his *Address to the Wealthy of the Land, Ladies as Well as Gentlemen, on the Character, Conduct, Situation, and Prospects, of Those Whose Sole Dependence for Subsistence, is on the Labour of Their Hands* (Philadelphia, 1831).

singularly appropriate that Mathew Carey should be the first American publisher of Susanna Rowson's allegory of the treachery of a British soldier and the subsequent abandonment of a naive fifteen-year-old schoolgirl in America during the Revolutionary War, for Carey had immigrated to America in September of 1784, partly to avoid further imprisonment and prosecution by the British for publishing an Irish nationalist newspaper, the *Volunteer's Journal*. No less a personage than the Marquis de Lafayette lent the twenty-four-year-old immigrant four hundred dollars to set up his printing operation in the capital of a new nation, where he would be rewarded (not jailed) for his anti-British nationalism.<sup>3</sup>

Mathew Carey went on to become one of the most prosperous and sagacious publishers of the new Republic. Yet, not even Carey predicted that the novel he printed in a run of one thousand copies (a typical size for a first edition of a late eighteenth-century American novel) would go through over two hundred subsequent editions and become one of his, and America's, all-time best sellers.<sup>4</sup> As he wrote to the author in 1812: 'It may afford you great gratification to know that the sales of *Charlotte Temple* exceed those of any of the most celebrated novels that ever appeared in England. I think the number disposed of must far exceed 50,000 copies; & the sale still continues. . . . I have an edition in press of 3000, which I shall sell at 50 or 60½ cents each.'<sup>5</sup> I hope Susanna Rowson

<sup>3</sup> For discussions of Carey, see Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey: Editor, Author, and Publisher* (New York, 1912); James N. Green, *Mathew Carey, Publisher and Patriot* (Philadelphia, 1985); and Kenneth Wyer Rowe, *Mathew Carey: A Study in American Economic Development* (Baltimore, 1933).

<sup>4</sup> Carey, Account Books, Manuscripts Department, American Antiquarian Society. See also correspondence and miscellaneous memoranda of Mathew Carey, and the Lea and Febiger Records in the Edward Carey Gardiner Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. See also, Mathew Carey, *Autobiography* (New York, 1942). For a description of most of the editions of the novel, see R. W. G. Vail, 'Susanna Haswell Rowson, The Author of *Charlotte Temple*: A Bibliographical Study,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 42 (1932): 47-160.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Bradsher, *Mathew Carey*, p. 50.

was gratified at this news of her novel's success; for, with no international copyright laws to protect her work, she received little direct material reward from the American editions of her novel.

But, then, Susanna Rowson probably did not earn much for the original English edition of the novel either. In 1790, William Lane advertised that he would pay 'a sum, from Five to One Hundred Guineas' for 'Manuscripts of Merit.' Surviving book contracts suggest that most authors received payments at the lower end of this scale, and many reportedly worked for a mere half-guinea a novel. At such wages, it is small wonder that a number of Lane's authors often wrote mechanically, merely filling out the details of the publisher's outline or else plagiarized from someone else's novel, substituting a new title page and changing the names and a few situations in the plot. Indeed, Rowson's *Mary, or the Test of Honour* (1789), one of only two books to which she never appended her name, and a work she never publicly claimed as her own, seems to have been one of Lane's formula novels.<sup>6</sup>

Susanna Rowson, we must remember, wrote before what Michel Foucault has called 'the birth of the author,' the romantic era's glorification of individual genius and creativity in the service of art. Nor did she write under an older (and primarily European) patronage system. The late eighteenth century, in England and even more so in America, was a time of transition in the publishing world, a time when, as Martha Woodmansee has documented, none of the 'requisite legal, economic, and political arrangements and institutions were yet in place to support the large number of writers who came

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of author contracts and payments, see the superb biographical-bibliographical study by Dorothy Blakey, *The Minerva Press, 1790-1820* (London, 1939), pp. 72 and 73. See also A. S. Collins, *The Profession of Letters. A Study of the Relation of Author to Patron, Publisher, and Public* (New York, 1929), pp. 44 and 113; and J. M. S. Tompkins, *The Popular Novel in England, 1770-1800* (London, 1932), p. 9. In her fine new biography, *Susanna Haswell Rowson* (Boston, 1986), Patricia L. Parker documents Rowson's career as a professional writer (see esp. ch. 2).

forward.<sup>7</sup> Like most novelists in late eighteenth-century England and every novelist in America before 1820, Rowson was never able to support herself solely by writing novels. That hard economic fact had a tremendous impact on who could afford to write novels, an impact that has not yet been investigated fully by literary historians.<sup>8</sup>

In Rowson's case, the harsh economics of authorship were further exacerbated by her personal situation. She was the breadwinner for herself, her husband, his sister, his sister's children, his illegitimate son, and two adopted children of her own. She managed financially in part because of her prodigious output as a novelist, poet, playwright, essayist, songwriter, and anthologist. But that heroic endeavor still had to be supplemented by her work as an actress, lecturer, teacher, and founding proprietor of one of early America's foremost women's academies, her Young Ladies' Academy in Massachusetts.<sup>9</sup>

Mathew Carey's edition of Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth* was, considering the liberties taken with many English novels in their translation to America, a remarkably accurate redaction of the original English version that had been published by William Lane at his famous (or infamous) Minerva Press. Here, too, we can read a story behind the

<sup>7</sup> Michel Foucault, 'What Is an Author?' in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York, 1984), pp. 101-20; Martha Woodmansee, 'The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the "Author,"' *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 17 (1984): 443.

<sup>8</sup> For discussions of the relationship between class affiliation and authorship, see William Charvat, *The Profession of Authorship in America, 1800-1870: The Papers of William Charvat*, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (Columbus, Ohio, 1968); Robert Escarpit, *The Book Revolution* (London, 1966); and Mary Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage* (New York, 1984).

<sup>9</sup> The earliest biography of Rowson is Samuel Lorenzo Knapp's 'Memoir,' included as a preface to Rowson's posthumously published *Charlotte's Daughter; or, The Three Orphans* (Boston, 1828). The most recent and, all around, the best biography is Parker's *Susanna Haswell Rowson*. Perhaps the most interesting historiographically is Elias Nason's *A Memoir of Mrs. Susanna Rowson, with Elegant and Illustrative Extracts from Her Writings in Prose and Poetry* (Albany, New York, 1870). For an eyewitness account of Rowson's activities, see also Myra Montgomery to Mary Ann Means, November 22, 1808, Claude W. Unger Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

story, for although Carey (unlike his son) was not a major publisher of fiction, he understood the status value of English books for many American readers. Until well into the nineteenth century, American publishers pirated popular British novels with great frequency, and often works of American authorship were passed off as English novels and even as Lane novels.<sup>10</sup> But not everyone was impressed by what might be called the 'Minervizing' of early American culture. Reporting to his countrymen on his 1819 journey through America, Englishman Henry Bradshaw Fearon noted:

The *reading* of Americans (for I have not seen in [American] society an approach to what can be called *study*) is English; there being few native writers, and but a small number of these who possess the respect of even their own country men. Our novels and poetry, not excepting those which proceed from the Minerva press, meet with an immediate reprint, and constitute *practically* the entire American library. . . . Notwithstanding this voluntary national dependence, there are, perhaps, no people, not even excepting the French, who are so vain as the Americans.<sup>11</sup>

The main aspersion here, of course, is directed at American culture (or the lack thereof), the secondary slur at the Minerva Press. With that second slur, Fearon merely echoed the sentiments of many elitist Englishmen. For, despite his astonishing success—or because of it—William Lane, with his Minerva Press in Leadenhall Street, was frequently castigated from the pulpit and in the press as a purveyor of cheap books (in both senses of that word) and often blamed for the decline in morals

<sup>10</sup> An excellent example of an American publisher attempting to mimic British practices can be seen in George Clark's 1841 (Boston) edition of Tabitha Tenney's popular novel *Female Quixotism*, originally published as two volumes bound as one by Isaiah Thomas and E. T. Andrews in 1801. Clark actually renumbers the chapters (with little regard to the plot structure of the novel) in order to create a three-volume book on the model of popular British novels of the era. Jay Fliegelman, in *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution Against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (New York, 1982), pp. 67–79, recounts the various ways in which *Robinson Crusoe* was reprinted for an American audience.

<sup>11</sup> Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America. A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles Through the Eastern and Western States of America* (London, 1818), pp. 365–68.

(if not the collapse of civilized society) in the Western world. What most alarmed Lane's detractors was how skillfully he catered to and fostered a new audience for literature, primarily novels. In the derisive summation of one traditionalist, Lane was 'a leaden-beaded dealer in books for the *cheesemongers*.'<sup>12</sup>

Viewed from our contemporary vantage point, the extensive and apocalyptic denunciations of fiction in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century have a distinctly comical ring. One regularly encounters rampant metaphors of serpents, slavery, seduction, and satanic possession used to dramatize the ostensibly sinister powers of the insidious but increasingly popular literary form. The novel was seen to 'mesmerize,' 'capture,' and 'tyrannize' a reader's attention and volition. But the contemporary reader can hardly take seriously a denunciation such as the essay 'Novel Reading, a Cause of Female Depravity,' which describes the sexual fall of a young woman, the 'premature graves' to which her parents are brought through her disgrace, and the corollary destruction of 'several relative families,' all of which disasters follow, as the night the day, from reading fiction.<sup>13</sup> Yet, the apprehensions of the eighteenth century—however baroque their metaphors—may well reflect the magnitude of the cultural changes that social authorities feared and that book entrepreneurs such as Lane in England and Carey in America early anticipated.

For Lane, and Carey, too, understood as keenly as their detractors did that once the publishing industry shifts its primary attention and economy from a limited supply of books, intended for a specialized (and often elite) audience, to a plethora of novels about and for middle- and working-class read-

<sup>12</sup> For a survey of the censure of fiction in America, see, for example, Jean-Marie Bonnet, *La Critique Littéraire aux États-Unis, 1783-1837* (Lyon, 1982); and G. Harrison Orians, 'Censure of Fiction in American Romances and Magazines, 1789-1810,' *PMLA* 52 (1937): 195-214. The derisive judgment against Lane appeared in *Stuart's Star*, February 16, 1789, and is quoted in Blakey, *The Minerva Press*, p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> 'Novel Reading, A Cause of Female Depravity,' *New England Quarterly* 1 (1802): 172-74. A headnote indicates that this article was originally published in the (British) *Monthly Mirror* in November of 1797.



ers, we have a major shift in the social and political *functions* of culture. Entertainment, as Raymond Williams has argued, is never a frivolous matter.<sup>14</sup> If a hierarchical model of learning (the patriarchal Puritan family presided over by the father reading aloud to his family each night around the dinner table; the same hegemonies reinforced from the pulpit by the minister translating texts for his audience) is replaced by the inherently individualistic activity of perusing novels, the concomitant ideological implications will be as radical as the redistribution of reading power.

Furthermore, as Mikhail Bakhtin has argued, literary styles and genres in themselves embody ideologies. Bakhtin also notes, by way of example, that the novel was initially deemed subversive in *every* country into which it was introduced, largely because the complex intellectual and emotional activity of reading fiction empowers the hitherto powerless individual, at least imaginatively, by authorizing necessarily private responses to texts that function primarily as repositories for those responses. The distinctive feature of the novel as a genre may not be its formal qualities, its verbal artistry, its realistic or sensational plotlines, nor even its paraphrasable content but, rather, the 'dialogue' that it enters into with the reader who, in a literal sense, is required to 'complete' the textual transaction. This active apprehension of text can be psychically liberating for the individual reader in ways that are threatening to those who perceive themselves the arbiters (or former arbiters) of cultural work. To return to Bakhtin's formulations, 'In a novel the individual acquires the ideological and linguistic initiative necessary to change the nature of his own image.' Moreover, the novel 'has no canon of its own. It is, by its nature, not canonic. It is plasticity itself. It is a genre that is ever questing, ever examining itself and subjecting its estab-

<sup>14</sup> Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (New York, 1961), esp. pp. 41-43, 113; and Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York, 1976), pp. 76-82, 145-48, 281-84.

lished forms to review,' an enterprise that can also encourage the reader to subject other or all established forms of authority to review.<sup>15</sup>

The noncanonical, the plastic, the self-reflexive, and the antiauthoritarian novel (embodying and reflecting its readers) *must* be threatening to the status quo, and it is small wonder that William Lane was vilified by one segment of English society for disseminating, with dazzling efficiency, precisely those kinds of books that seemed to undermine traditional literary and social hegemonies. Lane specialized in 'Novels, Tales, Romances, Adventures, & c.,' which he distributed through a network of urban and provincial circulating libraries. He not only founded these libraries but supplied their proprietors with a stock of books and 'instructions and directions how to plan, systemize, and conduct' an efficient enterprise, a forerunner of the contemporary franchise business venture.<sup>16</sup> Lane also saw novels, his primary stock in trade, as literary peanuts: he knew that it was hard to stop at just one. Leigh Hunt, for example, confessed himself to be a 'glutton of novels,' and sated his appetite, early in the nineteenth century, on many of the more than seventeen thousand titles available from the Minerva Library on Leadenhall Street.<sup>17</sup> Equally important, by offering annual, semiannual, monthly, weekly, or even book-by-book subscription rates, Lane accommodated those who did not have large disposable incomes—women of all classes, lower- and working-class men, students, and even romantic poets.

Lane succeeded as a publisher largely by making novels available to a new segment of the reading population that

<sup>15</sup> Mikhail M. Bakhtin, 'Epic and Novel,' in Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, eds. and trans., *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin, Texas, 1981), pp. 37-39.

<sup>16</sup> Both the advertisement and title page from the first British edition and the title page of the first American edition are reprinted in Cathy N. Davidson, ed., Susanna Haswell Rowson, *Charlotte Temple* (New York, 1986).

<sup>17</sup> *Autobiography of Leigh Hunt* (London, 1885), p. 124; and Blakey, *The Minerva Press*, p. 114.

could not afford to buy those books that they wanted to read, but who, through the Minerva Library system, could happily borrow books at a fraction of their purchase price. He also perceived that occasionally his readers became so attached to a particular work that they wanted to own it, to possess it, to make it part of their lives (all that can be implied by book ownership in a society where books are still prized possessions). That, too, could be arranged, since every Minerva Library doubled as a bookshop. Finally, Lane made his books not only affordable but accessible, often setting up his libraries in such varied establishments as general stores (as was typical also in America), curio shops in seaside resort towns, jewelry shops, fishing-tackle suppliers, hardware stores, tobacconists, and apothecary stores.<sup>18</sup>

In 1794, no American publisher had yet worked out such an efficient system for disseminating books to all classes of American readers and to various regions of the nation, although Mathew Carey, employing itinerant book peddlers and arranging exchanges with other publishers, certainly had one of the country's most extensive book exchange networks. One of those itinerant book peddlers, the indomitable Mason Locke ('Parson') Weems, was able to get his books out to even small towns in distant parts of the nation. But the differences between the Lane and Carey operations in the 1790s are revealing. For example, bound with the 1791 British edition of *Charlotte* is an advertisement for Lane's 'LITERARY MUSEUM, or NOVEL REPOSITORY,' which was described as a 'Museum of Entertainment, and a Repository of Sciences, Arts, and Polite Literature.' Despite that claim, nearly all of the ten thousand books Lane had in stock in 1791 were either novels or novelistic accounts of captivity, travel, or adventure. In contrast, Carey's stock (some imported, some published by Carey) was both considerably smaller and considerably less specialized than Lane's. Carey, too, bound an adver-

<sup>18</sup> Blakey, *The Minerva Press*, p. 122.

tisement for his shop in his edition of *Charlotte*. Although incomplete, this list is illustrative of Carey's interests as a publisher. It includes just over 280 titles. Among them were tracts by philosophers as diverse as James Beattie, Edmund Burke, and William Godwin; evangelical religious testimonials; sermons; law books; scientific treatises; pedagogical works; advice books; almanacs; feminist books such as Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*; poetry; classics; biographies; and numerous novels, tales, romances, and adventures on the Minerva model.<sup>19</sup>

One might argue that America was yet too new, too vast, and the population too scattered for a single-minded, novel-producing 'factory' such as Lane's to be successful here. Or, one might argue that Carey felt intimidated by the extensive American censure of fiction, more virulent and persistent here even than in England. But I am inclined to think Carey's varied stock reflected more his personal predilections than the economic and social limitations under which he labored. Consider, for example, that when, in 1804, Hocquet Caritat published the catalogue for his library of fiction in New York City, he could list nearly fifteen hundred titles. Caritat's library, not coincidentally, had direct and reciprocal (if unequal) trade agreements with Lane's Minerva Press.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, as Robert B. Winans has succinctly observed, 'the increase in the number of circulating libraries [in America] was largely the result of the increasing demand for novels; the general growth of the reading public was caused primarily by the novel.'<sup>21</sup> Although my research on this subject is still prelim-

<sup>19</sup> See Carey's advertisement, dated Philadelphia, April 17, 1794, bound with his first edition of *Charlotte Temple* (Philadelphia, 1794), n.p.

<sup>20</sup> George Raddin, *An Early New York Library of Fiction, with a Checklist of the Fiction of H. Caritat's Circulating Library, No. 1, City Hotel, Broadway, New York, 1804* (New York, 1940).

<sup>21</sup> Robert B. Winans, 'Bibliography and the Cultural Historian: Notes on the Eighteenth-Century Novel,' in William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench, eds., *Printing and Society in Early America* (Worcester, Mass. 1983), p. 176.

inary, I might also here note that I have located over forty American libraries that stocked *Charlotte Temple* before 1830. I have found the book listed on surviving library rosters or, more typically, have discovered a library bookplate within an extant copy of the novel. Some libraries, especially institutional or social libraries that catered to a more elite audience, did not stock novels at all. But, thus far, every library roster I have found that includes novels also lists *Charlotte Temple*.

Mathew Carey published books that could appeal to all classes of American readers, from the poorest to the most elite, and, like most urban publishers, he freely mixed in novels or novelistic books with various nonfictional works. His different social agenda, however, did not preclude him from copying closely Lane's edition of *Charlotte*. But although he produced a remarkably similar text, Carey made what seems to me significant additions to the title page of his original American edition. First, unlike Lane, he included the author's name on the title page. Second, by adding a brief attribution, he *implies* that the now-identified author is an American: 'By Mrs. Rowson, of the New Theatre, Philadelphia.' The author, like the publisher, was a new immigrant to the new nation, but Rowson's arrival in 1793 preceded the American imprint of her novel by only one year. Carey nevertheless grants Rowson de facto literary citizenship. He had no way of knowing that he was publishing a potential best seller, yet, by his designation, he asserted that what he was publishing was an *American* novel.

By alluding to Rowson's Philadelphia theatre career on its title page, Carey's edition implicitly raises two theoretical issues worth considering at some length: the historical question of a book-buying public and the historiographic issue of what constitutes a national literature. Since these are complex issues, I will address them separately, beginning with the matter of who in the early Republic could afford to buy books, which were, comparatively speaking, very expensive in the

years before machine-made paper and horse- or steam-powered presses. Carey sold *Charlotte* for between fifty cents and a dollar (depending partly on the bindings and other factors relating to the material condition of the individual book). To put the novel's cost in perspective, it should be remembered that a laborer in Philadelphia in 1794 would be fortunate to earn that much in a day, a serving girl in a week.<sup>22</sup> But by alluding to Rowson's theatrical career, Carey cleverly 'target marketed' (to use contemporary advertising jargon) the book for an audience that could afford it. Rowson was a popular character actress and playwright, well known to those upper-class and upper-middle-class Americans who paid as much for a night at the New Theatre as they might pay for a copy of Rowson's novel.<sup>23</sup> Citizens with enough disposable income to spend on culture and entertainment were potential book buyers, something the author-actress, an exceptionally astute businesswoman, also understood. More than once she came forward after a theatrical performance to give a dramatic reading from one of her novels and even to hawk her novels from the stage.

By describing Mrs. Rowson as 'of the New Theatre, Philadelphia,' Carey also raised the ideological question of nationality—implicitly supplying an egalitarian answer to Crèvecoeur's famous (and persistent) question, 'What is an American?' Crèvecoeur's classic formulation of American identity, published in England by a French immigrant, was reprinted in America by immigrant Mathew Carey in 1793, three years after Crèvecoeur had returned permanently to his native France, where he died, in 1813, at the home of his daughter, America-

<sup>22</sup> U.S. Department of Labor, *History of Wages in the United States from Colonial Times to 1928* (Washington, D.C., 1929), pp. 53, 57, 133-34, 137. These wages are corroborated by many contemporaneous cost accountings, such as those found at the end of the diary of Ethan Allen Greenwood for December 30, 1805, to February 9, 1806, in the manuscripts department of the American Antiquarian Society.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of the class affiliations of theatregoers, see Kenneth Silverman, *A Cultural History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1976), esp. pp. 545-46.

Francès.<sup>24</sup> As even this ambiguous biographical summation suggests, the whole issue of a national literature has been particularly troubling to American literary historians precisely because it affords no ready answer.<sup>25</sup> Except for the Native Americans, who certainly have not profited by their indigenous status, we are a nation of immigrants exuberantly eager to 'melt' into the homogeneous ideal 'American.' But what that label means has been a source of anxiety almost since the nation's founding. Indeed, literary historiography has, since the time of the Revolution, been marked by an implicit ideological demand for 'national purity,' what Moses Coit Tyler, writing in 1878, called a 'common national accent,' in conflict with—if not outright contradiction to—America's rampant heterogeneity.<sup>26</sup>

Nationalist ideologies have especially distinguished the historiography of the novel's rise to cultural respectability and prominence. In the years after the Civil War, literary historians began searching for that mythical creature, the Great American Novel. The very terms of the search acknowledged that, as Nina Baym has demonstrated, the novel had become a relatively respectable literary genre by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup> While the new Republic strove for a Great American Epic to embody its aspirations, a hundred years later the

<sup>24</sup> Michel Guillaüme Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Letters From an American Farmer* (London, 1782), letter 3. For a succinct assessment, see *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, s.v., 'Michel Guillaüme Jean de Crèvecoeur.'

<sup>25</sup> The inconsistencies in historical claims for an American identity have been analyzed persuasively by William C. Spengemann in 'The Earliest American Novel: Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*,' *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 38 (1984): 384-414; and Spengemann, 'What is American Literature?' *Centennial Review* 22 (1978): 119-38. For the ways in which women (by definition) have been excluded from the definition of 'American,' see the perceptive essays by Nina Baym, 'Melodramas of Beset Manhood: How Theories of American Fiction Exclude Women Authors,' *American Quarterly* 33 (1981): 123-39; and Annette Kolodny, 'The Integrity of Memory: Creating a New Literary History of the United States,' *American Literature* 57 (1985): 291-307.

<sup>26</sup> Moses Coit Tyler, *A History of American Literature, 1607-1676*, 2 vols. (New York, 1878), 1: v.

<sup>27</sup> Nina Baym, *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers: Responses to Fiction in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, 1984).

Gilded Age sought the Great American Novel. The culture perceived its best fiction to be an apt measure of and metaphor for its status as a nation that was, even then, beginning to assume international, imperialistic political and economic power.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, one cannot have a Great American Novel without a proper genealogy, and, especially in the 1880s and 1890s, numerous candidates were set forth as the 'first American novel.' After considerable debate (especially about the notion of national purity), the award was finally conferred on a book of impeccable pedigree, *The Power of Sympathy*, published by the patriot Isaiah Thomas in 1789. This work was written by the native-born William Hill Brown and centered on a quintessentially American seduction story that included, as a subplot, a realistic recounting of a notorious scandal among Boston's aristocracy, with the names only slightly changed to pretend to protect the guilty. It is hard to be more American than that.<sup>29</sup>

But in his edition of Susanna Rowson's novel, Mathew Carey, in one phrase, effectively trivializes a later preoccupation with national purity. Unlike subsequent literary genealogists, Carey simply sidestepped the whole question by stating that Rowson was 'of . . . Philadelphia.' However, at least one of Carey's contemporaries was unwilling to accept this ascription. William Cobbett, writing as 'Peter Porcupine,' denounced Susanna Rowson in a pamphlet entitled *A Kick for a Bite* (1795). A scathing attack on all of her work, but mostly on her play *Slaves in Algiers* (1794), Cobbett's diatribe descends into an ad hominem attack on Rowson's feminism, her Democratic politics, and her Johnny-come-lately status as an American. That Cobbett himself was an immigrant who later returned to England did not keep him from offering up an ex-

<sup>28</sup> Herbert Ross Brown, 'The Great American Novel,' *American Literature* 7 (1935): 1-14.

<sup>29</sup> The theoretical issue of literary nationalism in relation to the publication of the first American novel is discussed at length in Cathy N. Davidson, *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America* (New York, 1986), pp. 83-109.



clusionary and, I would suggest, perniciously narrow definition of nationality, a subject that Mathew Carey took up in two notably harsh rebuttals of Cobbett (both published in 1799), *A Plumb Pudding for the Humane, Chaste, Valiant, Enlightened Peter Porcupine* and *The Porcupiniad. A Hudibrastic Poem*. Lest it be inferred that Susanna could not speak for herself against such a prickly critic, I hasten to add that in the preface to her *Trials of the Human Heart* (1795), Rowson noted how her 'literary world [was] infested with a kind of loathsome reptile,' one of which has 'crawled over the volumes, which I have had the temerity to submit to the public eye. I say *crawled* because I am certain it has never penetrated beyond the title of any.'<sup>30</sup>

Was Susanna Haswell Rowson American? A bare biography equivocates on that question. Born in England in 1762, she lived in America from 1766 until 1778 and attributed much of her literary education to a family friend, the patriot James Otis, who referred to her as his 'little Scholar' and who encouraged her to read Shakespeare and Spenser, Dryden's Virgil, and Pope's Homer before she was ten. With the outbreak of the Revolution, Lieutenant Haswell and his family were returned to England in a prisoner exchange. Yet Susanna retained enough happy memories of those Americans who aided the family in their worst distress to decide, at the age of thirty-one, to return to the country from which she had been exiled at the age of fifteen (the age, of course, at which Charlotte Temple came to America). In 1804, with the naturalization of her husband, Susanna, too, became, legally, a citizen of the country that she had, psychologically, claimed for a decade and to which she referred as 'my dear adopted country, America.'<sup>31</sup> Four of the novels written after her immigration to America—*Trials of the Human Heart* (1795), *Reuben and Rachel* (1798),

<sup>30</sup> Susanna Rowson, *Trials of the Human Heart* (Philadelphia, 1795), xiii-xiv.

<sup>31</sup> Susanna Rowson, *Exercises in History, Chronology, and Biography* (Boston, 1822), preface.

*Sarah* (1813), and the posthumously published *Charlotte's Daughter* (1828)—were printed first in America, as were her five pedagogical works, a collection of her poetry, and numerous songs, including 'America, Commerce & Freedom,' one of the most popular patriotic songs of the new Republic.<sup>32</sup>

*Charlotte Temple's* national provenance is equally ambiguous. The novel was not a best seller in England. Lane did not include it in his 1798 prospectus of the most popular works from his press, nor was it even reprinted in England before 1819.<sup>33</sup> In contrast, Americans read, bought, and loved the book for over a century with an enduring ardor unsurpassed in American literary history. The usual pulpit pronouncement of the nineteenth century was that *Charlotte Temple* had managed to displace the Bible from the bedtables of America.

It was as an American novel that *Charlotte Temple* was read. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, Americans had even created, in Trinity Churchyard in New York City, a 'grave' for Charlotte Temple. Until well into the twentieth century, this real grave of a fictional character received far more visitors than the neighboring graves of Alexander Hamilton or Robert Fulton.<sup>34</sup> Despite repeated allegations by historians that the tomb was not authentic, tens of thousands of visitors continued to make a pilgrimage to it for a hundred years. For them, the grave contained the last remains of another immigrant, an English schoolgirl seduced by a lieutenant in the British army who promised to marry her once they arrived on American soil. After an arduous ocean crossing (during which, presumably, she lost her virginity), Charlotte was rewarded not with marriage but with abandonment and sub-

<sup>32</sup> For a complete list, with full bibliographical data, see Vail, 'Susanna Haswell Rowson,' pp. 91-160.

<sup>33</sup> Blakey, *The Minerva Press*, appendix 4 (n.p.).

<sup>34</sup> 'H.S.B.,' letter to *New York Evening Post*, September 12, 1903; and 'Charlotte Temple's Grave,' *New York Daily Tribune*, June 8, 1900. The latter clipping was preserved in a copy of *Charlotte Temple*, Special Collections, Kent State University Library. Special thanks to Kathleen E. Noland for bringing it to my attention.

sequent death in childbirth, while Lieutenant Montraville married a wealthy woman and went off to fight in the Revolutionary War. Is this really an American novel? Perhaps not. But it was printed as one by Carey and read as one by hundreds of thousands of American readers who also, I suspect, read in the devastating denouement of Charlotte's betrayal one of the first and paradigmatic failures of an American dream.

Susanna Rowson never disputed the authenticity of the tombstone erected during her lifetime in a graveyard in New York. Until her death she insisted that *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth* was true, despite the fact that no historical prototype has ever been substantiated.<sup>35</sup> But I would still suggest that the literalization of the novel by myriad American readers has made Charlotte Temple true, just as it has made *Charlotte Temple* American. Even today, at the New-York Historical Society, one can find, filed under Rowson's name, two letters written by Margaret M. Coghlan, 'who *may* have been the original for Mrs. Rowson's "Charlotte Temple."' Margaret Coghlan's diction and her tragic story make a tale as pathetic as the one Rowson tells: 'I was married during the American War in Obedience to the Commands of my father ere I had seen fifteen years, to a Captain in the Army, whose barbarous ill usage and abandonment has plunged me into an Abbess of Woe. . . . I have no means of Support and am struggling with more real misery, than I have power to describe.'<sup>36</sup> In no objective, historical sense is this Charlotte Temple, who eloped with Montraville without ever consulting the loving parents who could have saved her. A number of other details in the letter (the political affiliations of the principals, the death of both parents) also suggest a disparity between historical and fictional character.

<sup>35</sup> For a biography as fictional as anything Rowson wrote, see novelist Caroline Dall's *The Romance of the Association; or, One Last Glimpse of Charlotte Temple and Eliza Wharton* (Cambridge, Mass., 1875).

<sup>36</sup> Margaret M. Coghlan to Edward P. Livingston, December 28, 1803, Robert R. Livingston Papers, New-York Historical Society.

Nevertheless, the anonymous librarian who crosslisted Coghlan's letters under 'Susanna Rowson' read the truth of her story on a level that transcends mere facticity. For what is essential in the Coghlan 'novella' is its quintessential injustice, its disappointed promises, its sense of being betrayed by the liberal and republican ideal that posited a correlation between merit (in a woman, read 'virtue') and reward. Charlotte was recognized as just such a victim by even the first reviewer of the novel, who, in London's *Critical Review*, proclaimed her a 'martyr' and protested the severity of the punishment heaped upon her: 'We should feel for Charlotte if such a person ever existed, who, for one error, scarcely, perhaps, deserved so severe a punishment. If it is a fiction, poetic justice is not, we think, properly distributed.'<sup>37</sup> Mathew Carey felt this public exoneration of a 'fallen woman' so important that he tipped it into copies of the first American edition of the novel under the heading 'Of Charlotte, the Reviewers have given the following character.'<sup>38</sup> For the second edition (published in October of 1794), Carey printed the review on the verso of the title page, a powerful reading directive for an early American interpretive community. Naive, sexually lax, even disobedient, Charlotte Temple was still pitied by reviewers, publishers, and readers who made her into an early American icon—a *figura* of the seduced female, an embodiment of the interdependent strands of sexual and economic exploitation. Margaret Coghlan becomes Charlotte Temple in the same way that several generations of deceived, distraught, or merely lonely readers—men as well as women, old as well as young, affluent as well as poor—also became Charlotte.

Perhaps because of the pervasiveness of novels (and, no doubt, the more recent incursions into the psyche made by radio and television), we now take for granted those generic

<sup>37</sup> *Critical Review*, 2d ser. 1 (1791): 468–69.

<sup>38</sup> Susanna Rowson, *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth* (Philadelphia, 1794). The review is affixed to the verso of the front flyleaf.

and ideological features of the novel that most frightened eighteenth-century social authorities. As they clearly saw, novels encourage identification between reader and character. Moreover, emotional identification subverts moral censure, so much so that the fatal consequence of Charlotte's disobedience and illicit sexuality could be read not as justice delivered but as a tragic metaphor for human pain—for the reader's pain—in all its variety. This transvaluation of value was already present in the first review of *Charlotte Temple* in the *Critical Review*, was seconded by Mathew Carey when he reprinted it in his editions of the novel, and was echoed, resoundingly, in the hearts and minds of the readers of the novel, who, for a century, left tokens of lost loves upon Charlotte's grave and who left tender inscriptions and marginalia in copies of the novel. In the words of an anonymous but representative reader, written on July 25, 1817, 'Unfortunate Charlotte' was 'fair and sweet as the Lilly Inosentas/ the young lamb folly misled.'<sup>39</sup>

Early critics feared the novel for its power to thwart rational moralistic arguments, to subordinate logic to emotion, and to privilege the 'wisdom of the human heart' over the sterner dicta of the head. The critics feared rightly. Within fictional space-time—the ahistorical, out-of-time dimension of the reading process—there occurs a transubstantiation wherein the word becomes flesh, the text becomes the reader, the reader becomes the hero. Through the intimate, transformative process of reading, *Charlotte Temple* transcends its seemingly formulaic plot to become something much more than a simple allegory of female crime and punishment.

### III

*Charlotte Temple* enjoyed the longest popularity of any American novel and was the first fiction in America to signal the novel's rise to cultural prominence, especially among a new

<sup>39</sup> American Antiquarian Society copy of Carey's 1812 edition, verso of the last page of volume one.

kind of reader, whose tears, for over a century, kept the grass over Charlotte's final resting place as green as the dollars that passed through many a publisher's pocket. Mathew Carey, for example, followed his first American edition of *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth* with many subsequent and, after 1797, retitled versions. Appropriately, just as Carey had done unto Lane, many American publishers did unto Carey. By 1802, one could read *The History of Charlotte Temple* in a version by John Babcock of Hartford, Connecticut, or by William W. Morse of New Haven. One could read a Philadelphia *Charlotte Temple*, published by Peter Stewart, or other versions published in Alexandria, Virginia, and New York City.<sup>40</sup>

The way various publishers chose to print, bind, and market this novel reveals much about the increasing dominance of the novel as a genre and the many social functions the novel served within the culture. One *Charlotte Temple* could be repackaged in myriad ways in order to appeal to different kinds of readers and to perform different kinds of cultural work. Moreover, the external packaging of the novel—including illustrative front matter—served also to direct the reader as to how she or he might assess the text therein. I would therefore suggest that the text *changes* according to how it is presented or 'framed' by book morphology. In short, although one may not be able to judge a book by its cover, one can read what a given cover signifies, and that signification may be as complex and interesting as the text itself.

What do we make, for example, of the editions of *Charlotte Temple* apparently intended for children? In 1811, Samuel Avery produced a toy book *Charlotte Temple* (13 x 7 cm.) in a cheap calf binding. An advertisement at the back indicates that Avery also published 'school books, bibles, and testaments' as well as 'a great variety of juvenile books, which he intends to sell, (wholesale and retail) as cheap as can be pur-

<sup>40</sup> See Vail, 'Susanna Haswell Rowson,' pp. 93-94.

chased in the United States.<sup>41</sup> Rowson's story of filial disobedience, inept pedagogy, hypocrisy, dishonesty, misogyny, class conflict, and, especially, the tragic consequences of illicit sexuality is transmogrified into a cautionary tale suitable for the nursery. Publishers thus profited from the republican imperative to educate the young for citizenship in the new United States. In keeping with a growing societal reaction against Puritan pedagogical praxis, publishers, too, saw that education could be tempered with (and encouraged through) entertainment. Through the negative example of poor Charlotte, students could apprehend the need for education not just in religious dogma but also in the ways of the world. By thoroughly involving the reader's emotions in the sad story of the seduction, abandonment, and subsequent death in childbirth of a schoolgirl misled partly by a despicable French teacher, the text also illustrated that women, especially, had to learn to be cautious. Rowson, incidentally, insisted that she intended the book to 'advise' the 'young and unprotected woman in her first entrance into life,' thus setting forth an educational agenda that goes considerably beyond the three R's.

Elaborate mid-nineteenth century gift-book editions, sometimes bound in morocco, often edged and lettered in gilt, made the book suitable for display in any upstanding, middle-class home, while story paper versions masqueraded as newspapers in order to take advantage of the low postal rates accorded to the post-Revolutionary press and partly circumvent high distribution costs. One story paper edition called itself, on the title page, 'Cheap Edition of Charlotte Temple, a Tale of Truth' and boasted a price of twelve-and-a-half cents, a reduction (it claimed) of the normal fifty-cent price.<sup>42</sup> What different class allegories did different readers discover in these var-

<sup>41</sup> American Antiquarian Society copy of Samuel Avery's 1811 (Boston) edition.

<sup>42</sup> This is in the Skinner and Blanchard (Boston) edition of 1845. An 1877 edition of the novel, published in tabloid format by Norman L. Munro, was 'Given Away with Number 211 of the New York Family Story Paper.'

ied versions of the same text? Could aspiring middle-class readers hold Charlotte's father accountable for her fall? After all, as the 'youngest son of a nobleman, whose fortune was by no means adequate to the antiquity, grandeur, and . . . pride of the family,' Henry Temple had the opportunity to marry the only child of a wealthy man but chose, instead, to marry for love. Charlotte grew up in a happy home, but her lack of a dowry certainly put her at a disadvantage on the marriage market. The plot device is then inverted in the Montraville family, where the daughters have been provided with enough of a dowry to allow them to attract good husbands, and the sons (Montraville being the youngest of several) have been severely warned against marrying 'precipitously,' before being able to support a wife and family. Montraville thus rejects Charlotte in favor of marriage with a woman who is both virtuous *and* rich. If Rowson wrote a class allegory, the next question must be, *which* class's allegory? And how are gender and class intertwined in this complex allegory? The case is by no means unequivocal in the text and is further confused by the novel's long history as a best seller among poor, working-class, middle-class, and even affluent readers. In the words of one of Rowson's early biographers, the novel could be found in the 'study of the divine and . . . the workshop of the mechanic,' in the 'parlor of the accomplished lady and the bed-chamber of her waiting-maid.'<sup>43</sup>

Robert Escarpit has noted that a book (as opposed to a manuscript) is characterized by a 'multiplication of meaning,' a public and changing act, influenced by material considerations (book morphology and production) and nonmaterial ones (the previous experiences readers bring to their texts).<sup>44</sup> As if to signal their *re-creation* of Rowson's text, numerous nineteenth-century publishers again changed the novel's title in

<sup>43</sup> Nason, *A Memoir of Mrs. Susanna Rowson*, p. 50.

<sup>44</sup> Robert Escarpit, *Sociology of Literature*, 2d ed., trans. Ernest Pick (London, 1971), pp. 55-74.



ways that served as a reading directive for the book-buying public of that time. These new titles, printed at the height of the popularity of the sentimental novel, acknowledge, at least tacitly, another era in the history of the book in American culture. One now finds such titles as *The Lamentable History of the Beautiful and Accomplished Charlotte Temple, with an Account of her Elopement with Lieutenant Montroville* [sic], and *Her Misfortunes and Painful Sufferings, are Herein Pathetically Depicted*. A version from the 1860s that bears this title also includes an 'Original Portrait' of the protagonist as a quintessentially innocent young maiden, sweet and vulnerable, but rather incongruously adorned in the most fashionable couture of the day. Yet this sentimentalized rendition of Charlotte is in striking contrast to an almost simultaneous marketing of her story in highly sensational and even quasi-pornographic terms. An infamous story paper version (which resembles a contemporary tabloid newspaper) pictorializes a more mature and lascivious Charlotte. Although based on a famous Raphael Madonna, this rendition of a smoldering Charlotte is anything but virginal. And lest the reader miss the import of the cover illustration, the printer has emphasized his meaning with an unambiguous banner headline: 'The Fastest Girl in New York.'<sup>45</sup>

Charlotte, daughter of poverty and innocent victim of masculine (and bourgeois) deception; Charlotte, role model for the learning young; Charlotte, sentimental heroine; Charlotte, seductress: all these Charlotte Temples are evident in nineteenth-century editions, even before we turn to the story itself. Book morphology, the title page, dedication, and frontispiece are all texts to be read, texts as significant and as subtle as those found in the pages on which literary scholars have traditionally focused their attention. Similarly, certain texts are chosen by advertisers as the appropriate vehicle from which

<sup>45</sup> Francis W. Halsey's edition of *Charlotte Temple* (New York, 1905) reproduces on pp. xxxv and xxxvi the illustrations from both editions, the first published by Barclay & Co. of Philadelphia about 1860-65, the second published in New York around 1870, publisher unknown.

to sell a product. Take, for example, the Seaside Library pocket edition of *Charlotte Temple* that was published by George Munro early in the 1890s. The book contains an advertisement for Colgate soaps and perfumes, as well as advertisements for Castoria, Beecham's Pills, and a Cactus Blood Cure (a patent medicine touted as a cure for, among other things, consumption). Another ad informs us, 'Well Bred, Soon Wed. Girls who use Sapolio are Quickly Married.' Yet, in the midst of these ads (foreshadowing the contemporary soap opera) is an advertisement for 'The Prose Dramas of Henrik Ibsen,' the kind of juxtaposition that compromises current critical clichés about 'elite' versus 'popular' culture.

Twentieth-century texts give us still other versions of *Charlotte Temple*. The first scholarly edition of the novel was compiled in 1905 by Francis W. Halsey, who sought to redress the 1,265 errors that he had found in the many popular (but corrupt) versions of the text.<sup>46</sup> So long as textual accuracy is the explicit aim and in so far as a 262-page novel requires a 109-page introduction, we have a text about the importance, function, and purpose not only of literature but of literary scholarship as both rigorous discipline and necessary endeavor. Interestingly, Halsey's scholarly edition coincided with the end of *Charlotte Temple*'s popularity, and most twentieth-century editions have been aimed at a new audience, a specialized, elite audience of academics—as is confirmed, for example, by a 1964 paperback edition complete with footnotes and other scholarly apparatus. Gone are the sensational or sentimental titles, the extravagant typography, the pictorial representation of the injured—or potentially injurious—Charlotte, the advertisements proclaiming cures to various ailments flesh (especially female flesh) is heir to. Instead, we have an unadorned cover with such descriptive headings as 'Masterworks of Literature Series . . . Edited for the Modern Reader,' claims as medicinal,

<sup>46</sup> Halsey, ed., *Charlotte Temple*, p. vii

in their own way, as those made for, say, Mrs. Winslow's soothing syrup in many nineteenth-century editions.<sup>47</sup> Unmistakably a classroom text, the 1964 edition seems to proclaim that the text inside will not be much fun to read but, most assuredly, will be good for you.

My own new edition of the novel (it was not on that book cart at AAS in 1984, but it should be there soon) is rather like the tuba at the end of the parade, bellowing out its relationship to those that came before, slightly out of step (the tuba is always slightly out of step, isn't it?), as if trying to prove that it doesn't just bring up the rear but is really the head of a new parade. It bears the unmistakable stamp of *l'histoire du livre*, *Geschichte des Buchwesens*, history of the book, and, of course, the American Antiquarian Society. From Charlotte's martyrdom to her literary 'canonization,' from the novel's death as a popular novel to its recent resurrection as a literary 'masterwork,' there is a story in all of these variations on the same story of *Charlotte, a Tale of Truth*. And it is to that larger story, too, that students of literature and history must attend.

<sup>47</sup> Clara M. and Rudolf Kirk, eds., *Charlotte Temple* (New Haven, Conn., 1964). The advertisement for Mrs. Winslow's soothing syrup appears in *Charlotte Temple. A Tale of Truth. By Mrs. Susannab Rawson [sic]*, published by the F. M. Lupton Publishing Company of New York about 1894-98.

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