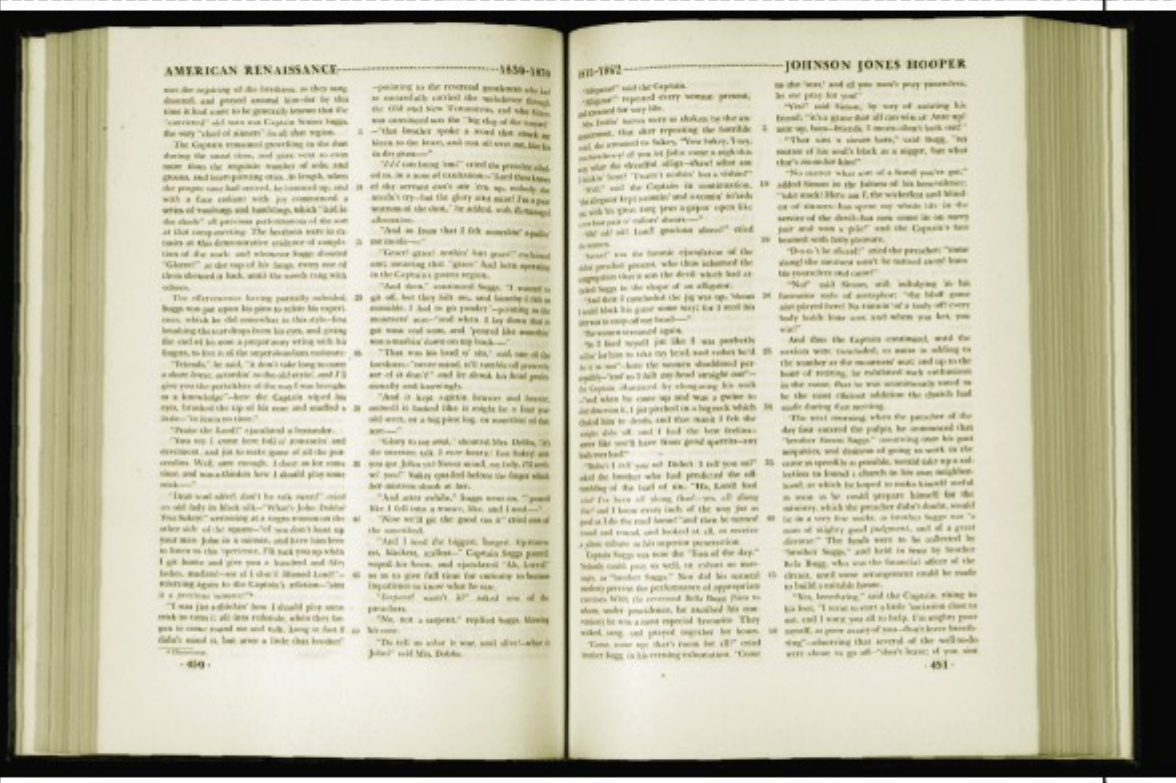
CANONS BY CONSENSUS

Critical Trends and American Literature Anthologies



Joseph Csicsila

Foreword by Tom Quirk

Canons by Consensus

Studies in American Literary Realism and Naturalism

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For Larry, Alan, and Joe
Three wise men

Contents

	Foreword by Tom Quirk	ix
	Acknowledgments	xiii
	Introduction	xv
1.	The Historical Context	1
2.	Early- and Mid-Nineteenth-Century Prose: Irving, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Melville	23
3.	Nineteenth-Century Poetry: Whitman, Dickinson, Alice Cary, Phoebe Cary, Larcom, Thaxter, Lanier, Tabb	55
4.	Post–Civil War Prose: Twain, Harte, Howells, James	86
5.	Latter-Nineteenth-Century Prose: Stowe, Jewett, Freeman, Chopin	133
6.	The African American Heritage: Equiano, Jacobs, Douglass, Dunbar, Chesnutt, Harper	166
7.	Early-Twentieth-Century Women Writers: Wharton, Cather, Glasgow	181
	Epilogue	207
	Notes	211
	Bibliography	233
	Index	245

Foreword

Tom Quirk

Joseph Csicsila's *Canons by Consensus: Critical Trends and American Literature Anthologies* is an innovative piece of scholarship—provocative by implication, lucid in presentation, steady in judgment. What the author has done is to methodically drill test bores through strata of representations of American literature in eighty-plus anthologies from 1919 to 1999. By restricting his focus to a limited, but still significant, number of American writers and tracing their critical fortunes through these classroom textbooks, he is able to contest and even contradict a number of rash assumptions about canon formation, including polemical accusations of deliberate or inadvertent sexism and racism involving a long line of literary scholars and editors. No one in the future ought to be able to make overarching claims about the American literary canon without first checking out here the facts of the cases in question. For Csicsila's book describes in empirical fashion just what those facts are. What is more, he charts the fluctuations of literary reputation as they fared through three "generations" of anthologies. One risk the author ran in addressing the subject in these chronological layers was that his arguments would become repetitious as he traced author after author through generations of anthologies. But this is not the case. The prose is nuanced throughout and situates the critical trends within contempo-

rary critical debate, often in ways that took place outside of academic offices or campus libraries. His frequent references to Edmund Wilson are a case in point, since Wilson himself did not edit anthologies yet did much to shape debate on the merits of several writers (Harriet Beecher Stowe and Kate Chopin, among others).

Csicsila also pays some attention to the practical requirements of book production (for example, how the weight of paper necessarily affected the length of an anthology, which in turn affected how many texts and authors could be represented). There are several additional complicating factors, but I think, all in all, Csicsila was wise to leave certain nebulous dimensions of his subject unexamined. For example, he does not specify the college clientele for these texts. Clearly, when the vast majority of college students were white males, the tendency to replicate the interests and tastes of that readership could have influenced the nature of anthologies. However, these are largely marketing and commercial decisions, and the editors themselves may or may not have been under pressure to make selections mirroring their audience. In any event, the sometimes strident claims made about canon formation are seldom directed at the book-publishing industry itself but rather at the academics who edited those texts. Canon formation, everyone should remember, is not the only endeavor where the capitalist lion and Marxist lamb have seen fit to frolic together.

Equally intangible is the problematic matter of copyright permissions. Perhaps it is worthwhile to note, for example, that there is no professional journal or even a directory of permissions editors in the country. Nonetheless, when one steps beyond that fluctuating line between the realm of public domain and the undiscovered country of what intrigues current readers, permissions editors immediately step forward to greet you there. But they themselves don't seem to know who the other guardians are, even though permissions costs are a crucial factor in the anthologizing process. Negotiating these permissions costs is like dickering at a vast garage sale, where no one seems connected with anyone else, or to possess any sense of aesthetic, pedagogical, or other values. By dealing primarily with works that were and are, for the most part, in the public domain, Professor Csicsila has rightly eliminated a powerful element that looms outside the central question of how editorial judg-

ments, over several generations, have made an impact on our notions of the American canon.

Another thing Csicsila astutely chose not to do was to conjure up sociological profiles of the three generations he designates. The historiographical generation, for one, is often portrayed as reflecting socialist imperatives brought about by the Depression. In the midst of the Depression it would certainly be understandable that the themes of, say, Edith Wharton might be deemed too far removed from the grim realities of the day. Still, as Csicsila points out, Wharton did have her champions even then. By contrast, the New Critical generation has been characterized as suffering from a Cold War mentality—nervous, conservative, to a degree escapist. But several anthologizers of that period—for example, Wright, Bode, and Howard—were anything but New Critics. The author was right to avoid this kind of tidy explanation, partly because it has been done elsewhere, partly because that path would make him stray from his announced method, but mostly because that sort of explanation in the last analysis doesn't really reveal very much, either because the theory behind it is flawed or the facts of the case won't support it. To give a single instance, one of Willa Cather's favorite critics (of her own work and of others) was Randolph Bourne, and when he died of influenza in 1918, she thought it was a great loss to American culture. Bourne was a self-described left-wing "literary radical"; Cather was politically conservative. The reasons for this affinity lie outside the tidy sphere of ideologies.

In brief, then, this *focused* study amounts to only one approach to investigating the issues behind canon formation. However, Csicsila's way, empirically verifiable, has that advantage over more theoretical methods, and turns up a number of surprises, as the reader will soon discover in the following chapters. There will inevitably be mysteries of the anthologizing process that possibly can never be explained. It is easy enough to understand why genuinely talented or socially important white male writers (O. Henry, Frank R. Stockton, Lafcadio Hearn, Richard Harding Davis, Booth Tarkington, Steven Vincent Benet, James Branch Cabell, William Vaughn Moody, Upton Sinclair, Conrad Richter, Thornton Wilder, and our first Nobel Prize winner, Sinclair Lewis, as well as others) should have drifted out of sight. But why aren't the names

of Mary Noailles Murfree, Constance Fenimore Woolson, Zona Gale, Ruth Suckow, Fannie Hurst, Dorothy Parker, Helen Hunt Jackson, or Edna Ferber more visible in the literary classroom? Henry James thought Woolson at least as good as Freeman or Jewett. The absence I find especially mystifying is the near total neglect of Pearl Buck, our second Nobel Prize winner. It may be that Buck's religious faith was an impediment to her reputation, but that doesn't seem to diminish the reputations of Stowe or Lydia Maria Child. My point here is that as supposedly "inclusive" as contemporary notions of the canon seem to be, there remains some sort of, perhaps unexamined, exclusionary principle at work. *Canons by Consensus,* because it is an inquiry that drives at the heart of this controversy, may permit others to more precisely frame the sorts of questions they wish to ask about canon formation.

At any rate, Joseph Csicsila makes it clear that unquestionably talented writers (Ellen Glasgow, for example) may be in danger of being wholly forgotten. His study should help readers be more alert to what is being lost, as well as sensitive to what has been recovered. However, as the epilogue indicates, the very recent changes in anthology publication may well usher in a "computer technology" generation of canon rearrangement and production. Any number of publishers now advise college teachers to "make your own" anthology from a list of selections, and a shrink-wrapped edition will be delivered to their door. "Online e-texts" offer another alternative avenue for instruction and canon building, as do CD-ROM and hypertext solutions. No one can yet foretell what the exact consequences of these options may be. Perhaps, observes Csicsila, there will be a newfound liberation for teachers and students alike; conceivably the resulting changes will, instead, bring about "mainly confusion" in our literary culture. He is sanguine, in his concluding view, that the best literature will outlast any particular presentation of it and that, in the end, it requires no special pleading from any quarter.

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Introduction

Only a handful of studies have previously noted the part that college-level literature textbooks have played historically in the rising and falling reputations of American authors and texts. Yet as Henry Louis Gates Jr. observed in 1992, "a well-marked anthology functions in the academy to create a tradition, as well as to define and preserve it."[1] Indeed, most scholars would agree that American literature as a field, American literature anthologies, and criticism of individual American authors have essentially evolved together since the early 1920s, influencing each other in innumerable ways. Critical appraisals of Emily Dickinson, for instance, have always affected how anthologies have presented her work; simultaneously, her academic reception has encouraged new scholarship devoted to her poems. But within this network of mutually influential forces, the salient role of the literary anthology remains largely overlooked in literary research.

Among the few glances at literature anthologies as a shaping force in American literary criticism are a chapter in Jane Tompkins's *Sensational Designs* (1985), which passingly investigated Nathaniel Hawthorne's inclusion in literature textbooks, and Keneth Kinnamon's "Three Black Writers and the Anthologized Canon," a 1994 look at how American anthology editors have treated the work of Charles Chesnutt, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and James Weldon Johnson.[2] These and a few other academics have come to recognize that the standing of American authors and

works has always been related to inclusions in and exclusions from literature anthologies. After all, these editorial decisions essentially dictate who is taught in college classrooms across the country and how.

Attending the scarcity of inquiries about this topic is the absence of any accurate record of precisely which authors have appeared in textbooks since the advent of the modern-day anthology format in the 1920s. Nevertheless, despite the lack of a reliable record several recent scholars have proceeded to theorize about the history of college-level American literature anthologies. Such blind speculation about which authors and what works have appeared in literary textbooks has then become an unchallenged foundation for subsequent scholarship. Among such cases are the repeated charges that early anthology editors routinely excluded women writers from their collections. There were, to be sure, blind spots in the vision of pre-1970s literature textbooks (their near-wholesale disregard of African American writers, for instance). But women authors were hardly neglected. In fact, a thorough census reveals that college-level anthologies of American literature regularly featured the work of female writers, including Emily Dickinson, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary Wilkins Freeman, Edith Wharton, and Ellen Glasgow, typically with as much attentiveness and generosity of space as that conferred by today's presumably more "enlightened" textbooks. Elizabeth Ammons's claim that textbooks of American literature "systematically minimized or omitted white women,"[3] then, cannot possibly be corroborated by the textual evidence, especially in light of the fact that the presentations many women writers received in textbooks of the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s matched or exceeded the amount of space each has been accorded in the recently published *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* (1996).

Equally problematic is the method by which some commentators have constructed canonical arguments by citing only selected anthologies, particularly those of the early 1960s. Readers are left to infer that these specialized texts are representative, which leads to a mistaken understanding of the development of literature anthologies and the historical reputations of American writers and texts. To take one instance, Tompkins's *Sensational Designs* asserts that Fred Lewis Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919) and Perry Miller's *Major Writers of America* (1962) are "representative" literary textbooks

for their respective times.[4] Her argument then lists nearly sixty writers supposedly dropped from the anthology format between 1919 and 1962 (among them Abraham Lincoln, Bret Harte, Hamlin Garland, George Washington Cable, Joel Chandler Harris, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Mary Wilkins Freeman, to name only a few). Tompkins concludes that "in addition to a sharp narrowing in the range and number of authors, there has been a virtual rewriting of literary history" in anthologies of American literature between the publications of Pattee's and Miller's textbooks.[5]

Assuredly, if one were to accept as "representative" Pattee's anthology, which contained 117 writers, and Miller's anthology, which included fewer than 30 writers, one would have to deduce, as Tompkins does, that sometime after 1919 and before 1962 literally scores of writers had been unceremoniously dropped from the annals of American literary history and that the anthology of American literature had been radically reconfigured. However, neither the overarching assertion that Pattee's and Miller's anthologies amount to "representative" collections nor the contention that dozens of meritorious writers were discarded from textbooks between 1919 and 1962 proves to be accurate. As we will see, Pattee's anthology, though standard in its broad coverage of American letters, was decidedly out of sync with its contemporaries in its editorial assumptions, as well as in its choice of literary materials. Likewise, the drastically reduced contents of Miller's anthology were highly unusual for that day. As a matter of fact, no fewer than eighteen anthologies of American literature were in print as of 1962 (including a revised edition of Pattee's textbook). The overwhelming majority of these anthologies collected the work of at least one hundred writers, including most of those authors believed by Tompkins to have been tossed out of anthologies by 1962.[6] These and other erroneous notions concerning American literature anthologies deserve correction.

Critical debate involving the anthology of American literature inevitably leads to issues of the "canon," for as John Guillory and others have rightly pointed out, "the problem of the canon is the problem of syllabus and curriculum."[7] Among the most informed studies of canon theory to date is Wendell Harris's 1991 *PMLA* article, "Canonicity." Harris's groundbreaking analysis suggests that scholarship related to canonicity, especially in recent years, has operated, at best, under a lax assump-

tion about universal agreement over what is meant by "the canon" as well as about the forces that construct such lists. At worst, he points out, canonical debates have functioned under a misconception that anything even resembling *The Canon* ever existed at all.

By distinguishing among several types of canons and rethinking the process of canon formulation, Harris builds on Alastair Fowler's generally accepted list of six types of literary canons and adds to it another four varieties, bringing the total number of classifications to ten. These categories range from the all-inclusive "potential canon" (which "comprises the entire written corpus, together with all surviving oral literature") to the highly selective "personal canon" (the list of texts with which a specific individual is familiar) and also include such specialized cases as the "biblical canon" and the "pedagogical canon." His conclusions are immensely helpful for their ability to penetrate to the central critical question of our times. "If we have not one canon of literature but many, no canon formation but, rather, constant processes of text selection, no selection based on a single criterion, and no escape from the necessity of selection, to attack The Canon is to misconceive the problem."[8] Put another way, critics who pursue a relentless assault against such an elusive construct as *The Canon* not only partake in an utterly irresolvable inquiry but also frustrate the possibility for a substantive understanding of the forces involved in canonical evolution.

Among the categories of canon that Harris adds to the original Fowlerian six are two varieties, the diachronic canon and the nonce canon, that he suggests currently enjoy preferred status within the academy for very different reasons. According to Harris the diachronic canon consists of "the glacially changing core of literary figures" who have received "special recognition in selection after selection over centuries or at least decades."[9] Oftentimes critics of *The Canon,* particularly those who attack its inherent exclusivity, have in mind something close to this definition. Yet, as all but the most zealous skeptics of *The Canon* seem to have conceded, there is the difficulty of deciding which textual selections among the countless that have appeared over time have been granted authority (and by whom?). Another problem is the fact that such objectors have hardly reached any consensus about who precisely belongs to this elusive and hallowed assembly, except that they are typically male, dead,

and white. As a result, this category of canon usually serves as a sort of "straw-man canon" and leads to charges of gross historical inequity.

The nonce canon, on the other hand, is an utterly tangible category comprising authors and works that are passed along from one generation to the next through anthologies and scholarly texts. Recently, several commentators, including Paul Lauter, Tom Quirk, and Gary Scharnhorst, have effectually endorsed (though not by Harris's name) this sort of classification as among the most appropriate arenas for the study of an American canon. Lauter, for instance, who is currently general editor of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* defines the American literary canon in his *Canons and Contexts* as "that set of authors and works generally included in basic American literature college courses and textbooks, and those ordinarily discussed in standard volumes of literary history, bibliography, or criticism."[10] Milton Stern, coeditor of the popular *Viking Portable American Literature Survey* of the 1960s and 1970s, emphasizes the fluidity of literary canons when he points out that the selection of authors and texts in literature anthologies "shapes what gets taught and, we hope, READ in American college classes. And that shapes what is accepted as canonical at that moment."[11]

Given an emerging consensus regarding conceptions of the canon, what we are left with, then, if we are to discuss an American canon effectually, is a two-part question. First, what has actually appeared in college-level anthologies since their inception soon after World War I? This question can be answered by a perusal of the more than eighty major anthologies of American literature designed specifically for the college classroom published between 1919 and 1999, and in part this study attempts to provide that resource.

The second question, equally relevant, involves identifying the factors that determined what did and did not appear in these textbooks. Obviously, this issue of selection criteria cannot be adequately grasped until what was selected for inclusion in American literature anthologies has been established. Suffice it to say that the majority of past scholarly characterizations of the content of literary textbooks, as well as charges of wholesale editorial prejudice by conspiratorial power structures, turns out to have been off the mark. Evidence indicates that the selection of authors and materials literary by anthology editors, today as

in the past, is governed far more by prevailing trends in academic criticism than by personal biases.

The historical evolution of the anthology of American literature designed expressly for use in the college classroom occurred in three distinct phases since about 1920. Each of these phases corresponds with the impact of a dominant trend in American academic criticism. The first period of the college-level American literature anthology opened, we might say, with the appearance of Fred Lewis Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919) and came to a close by about 1946, the period during which literary historiography reigned as the principal influence over scholarship in the United States. The second phase of the American literature anthology commenced with the publication of the third edition of Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1947) and extended to the mid-1960s, which corresponds with the rise and decline of New Criticism within the academy. The third phase commenced about 1967 with the third edition of the still highly successful *The American Tradition in Literature* and continues through to the present, a period that has witnessed an increased awareness of and attention to multicultural interests in literary criticism. Each of the three phases of the anthology of American literature in the twentieth century was shaped fundamentally by the leading trend in the criticism of its time.

Canons by Consensus

1

The Historical Context

The story of the American literature anthology really begins in the late nineteenth century with the desire of a number of university scholars to formalize the study of their nation's own literary artists. Although more than a century had passed since the United States gained its political freedom from Great Britain, English departments in American universities as of 1900 still had not fully achieved a sense of literary independence. Americans, harboring a sense of provincial inferiority, were wary about maintaining that their own literary past could be ranked with the hallowed traditions of England and Europe. American literature was very young by comparison, and most of the reading public—including all but a few academic scholars—believed that American literature was not yet as aesthetically elevated as the literature of the Old World. Universities did occasionally offer courses in designated types of American writers in the final decades of the nineteenth century, but for a student to announce an intention to study literature at this time invariably meant that the student would study *English* literature.

The slow growth of an academic curriculum in American literature seems lethargic indeed when contrasted to the maturation of other curricula of academic study in American universities at the time, such as American history. Less than 10 percent of the more than 150 universities in the United States had developed fledgling graduate programs in American literature by 1900, and according to Kermit Vanderbilt's landmark study, *American Literature and the Academy: Roots, Growth, and*

Maturity of a Profession (1986), "only four Ph.D.s had emerged in the field."[1] By contrast, scholars of American historical studies reported that "almost nine-tenths of the historical dissertations written in American universities in the Eighties and Nineties dealt with native subjects."[2] By the 1890s most universities were offering equal selections of courses in ancient, European, and American history. Even within the relatively few colleges that were teaching American poetry and prose, the literature of England and other modern European languages received vastly more attention.

Attempts by literary scholars to organize during the 1880s managed to move their profession toward specialized treatments of American literature. In 1883, together with nearly forty language and literature specialists from universities around the country, A. Marshall Elliott founded the Modern Language Association of America, and one year later that group published the first edition of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.* Also instrumental at about this time, suggests Vanderbilt, was a national consciousness of the deaths of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in the 1880s and then of James Russell Lowell (1891), John Greenleaf Whittier (1892), Oliver Wendell Holmes (1894), and Harriet Beecher Stowe (1896), which "appear to have deepened a sense that an era had ended and could begin to be duly assessed."[3]

Book-length collections of American literature marketed for the general public also played a crucial role in shifting national attention to its own literary past. Although these collections had been popular with American readers since the mid-1800s, colleges only gradually adopted this anthology format in the classroom. Evelyn Bibb's invaluable study of literary anthologies records that several scholars trace "the first true college text" of American literature back to John Seely Hart's *Manual of American Literature,* published in 1872 (scholars likewise credit Hart with offering, at Princeton, the first college course in American literature at an American university that same year).[4] Hart's collection, like its contemporaries that were intended for a more general readership, was suggestive of a biographical dictionary or encyclopedia supplemented by small excerpts of poems and prose and represented the work of literally hundreds of American authors. Concerning the logic of these early anthologies, Bibb explained, "The general aim is full coverage of the lit-

erature; and [an] underlying assumption is that a sampling of the work of an author is better than no representation at all."[5] Detailed attention to factual data and biography and the absence of historical and interpretive information characterized these first literary collections. But despite such limitations, Hart's anthology laid out the format for subsequent classroom texts.

Coinciding with the rising interest in American letters in the American academy during the 1880s, the next stage in the development of the academic American literary anthology grew out of attempts by scholars to apply critical methodology to the study of literature. In November 1878 Moses Coit Tyler published his renowned two-volume *Literary History of the American Revolution,* a work of great importance for having pioneered the art of literary historiography. Tyler's connective critical approach revolutionized American literature studies, and for at least the next half-century it became the dominant mode in academic literary scholarship. Forty years later the editors of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21), which Vanderbilt lauds as an "epochal" achievement in the history of American literary study, praised Tyler's work as "notable and still unsurpassed."[6]

Moving the study of literature beyond mere biography and fact gathering, literary historiographers such as Tyler essentially approached the body of American letters as a portal to the American mind and spirit. According to them, American literature (which in concept at that time also included political and scientific documents) was the written record of the American cultural milieu, and, as such, it reflected and preserved the nation's fundamental characteristics and thought. "There is but one thing more interesting than the intellectual history of a man," declared Tyler in his literary history of colonial America, "and that is the intellectual history of a nation."[7] As an archival repository of the American spirit literature was at best considered only secondarily as a formidable artistic expression. For literary historiography the works of literature themselves became a *means for* study rather than the *subject of* study. Literary historians did make small gestures toward demonstrating aesthetic values in the literature, but their critical comments (by modern standards) were vague and impressionistic. Despite these shortcomings, Tyler and other literary historians provided academic American literary studies with an incipient critical methodology.[8]

As a result of this progress, editors of classroom anthologies of American literature started adopting literary historiography into their formats. The first notable classroom anthology combining narrative literary history with selections of poetry and prose was Charles F. Richardson's *American Literature, 1607–1885* (1887–89). Though Richardson's text was divided into two volumes, separating the historical analysis (volume 1, published 1887) from the actual literature itself (volume 2, published 1889), he unified the John Seely Hart–like collection of poetry and prose with the Tyler-like literary history handbook and treated for the first time the entire period of American literature up to his own day. Richardson's anthology signals, according to Bibb, the end of "an era of foundations in literary historiography and the beginning of an era in which [it] exerted a long influence in . . . college classrooms and on textbook production."[9]

Years later the editors of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21) would express discontent with Richardson's efforts to move beyond the "historical inquiry and elucidation" of Tyler's work by embracing "aesthetic judgment."[10] Taking issue particularly with Richardson's declaration in *American Literature, 1607–1885* that "we have had enough description, we want analysis," the editors of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* implied that Richardson's work had wrenched the study of American literature into realms of inquiry unsuited for academic scholarship.[11] Even though these early critics of the late-nineteenth-century American literature anthologies complained about shifts away from literary historiography, in actuality collections of literature designed in part for classrooms remained fairly similar in content and approach from their beginnings until about 1925. Bibb agrees, noting that historical approaches to literature reigned as the guiding criteria for the selection of authors and their works in these formative years. "On the whole, makers of the first anthologies were not primarily interested in *belles-lettres* or an author's 'best' writing. They deliberately selected material that was 'characteristic' of a type or class of writing, of a section of the country, or of American intellectual achievement."[12]

Meanwhile, academic interest in American literary studies began to accelerate rapidly during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Vanderbilt reports that forty-two doctoral dissertations were completed on American literary topics between 1900 and 1920, despite "little if any

seminar work in the American area."[13] Compared to the years prior to the turn of the century, American universities were witnessing "a thriving graduate program in American literature" during this period of germination.[14] To meet this expanding interest in American literature within universities, a number of literary histories and collections of poetry and prose virtually free of interpretive explication entered the market between 1900 and 1920. Nevertheless, the earlier textbooks by Tyler and Richardson, along with Barrett Wendell's *A Literary History of America* (1900), continued their hegemony as the trusted "authorities" until about 1915.[15] Suggesting a more scholarly approach to American letters, Wendell's textbook was fashioned in the style of Tyler's and the first volume of Richardson's set, but it added to their format an extensive annotated bibliography of primary and secondary works. Neither Wendell's nor subsequent literary histories published during the next few decades advanced literary historiography beyond studies of language patterns and social science. "In the nineties there was general agreement that the appreciation of literature and the development of taste were primary aims. However, the involvement of English departments with methods and metaphors drawn from science was in practice resulting in emphasis on philology, history, sociology and other matters extrinsic to the literary work."[16] Historical approaches to literature maintained their supremacy both in academic studies of American literature and in American literary textbooks into the 1920s, as evidenced by the success of a second generation of influential and widely used literary histories, which included W. B. Cairns's *A History of American Literature* (1912) and *The Cambridge History of American Literature.* Yet the dominance of literary historiography in academic studies of American literature showed signs of erosion following World War I, as critics began calling for a greater appreciation and recognition of literature as a valid art form.

Soon after the publication of the first volume of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* in 1917, while most academic scholars were acclaiming its appearance as a landmark event in American literature studies, several factions of critics, located both inside and outside the academy, began to question the validity of literary historiography as a viable mode of scholarship. Leading the charge were the New Humanists whose ranks eventually included university professors Irving Bab-

bitt, Paul Elmer More, Norman Foerster, and Robert Shafer. Often characterized by their contemporaries and later commentators as merely ahistorical moralists, in the end, the New Humanists succeeded in elevating certain American writers to the rank of serious artists and spread the idea that such aesthetic features as literary craftsmanship and formal structure merited appreciation. The problem as Babbitt saw it was that literary historiography presumed rather condescendingly that the work of American writers (unlike that of their English counterparts) could serve no higher purpose than to illuminate trends in social or political history, and thus it scrupulously ignored the literary qualities of American poetry, prose, and drama.

A majority of scholars at the time, including anthology editor Franklyn B. Snyder of Northwestern University, nonetheless found merit in literary historiography and came to its defense. "I wonder whether we should not frankly recognize the fact that American writers have been more successful in mirroring social and economic and political conditions than in creating works of art, and should so shape our courses as to make them courses in American civilization, reflected in American literature, and not primarily courses in American *belles-lettres*."[17] Yet by the mid-1920s critics outside the academy had joined Babbitt and his supporters in voicing dissatisfaction with the narrowly historical approach to American literature dominating the country's universities. Among those at the forefront of the movement against historiography was a Yale professor turned magazine editor, Henry Seidel Canby. Like the New Humanists, he believed that American letters deserved artistic appreciation, and in 1927, before a national audience in the esteemed *Saturday Review of Literature,* he, too, questioned the prevailing method of educating about literature:

> Shall we teach the great Americans as artists in that international world of art where reputation must be based upon intrinsic excellence? Or shall we use American literature of all sorts as an index to a national culture which, it is only too clear, political history has not so far made us understand?
>
> The second method has its fascinations and indeed is in danger of capturing our colleges. . . . [L]iterature should never be taught as history, unless the object is to teach history, not literature."[18]

Canby at the same time objected to the wholesale discarding of history in literary study. Like many others he advocated an approach that considered aesthetic as well as historical concerns, recommending that scholars "read the great Americans as they wrote, not to illustrate America (except for Cooper in his decadence), but because they had something to say, and could say it finely, *and not without reference to the America that bred them.*"[19] Indeed, few academics of the period approved of modes of studying American writers devoid of "reference to the America that bred them." Most New Humanists, including Foerster, who as late as 1947 would argue that American literature has merit "because of its revelation of the development of the American mind,"[20] willingly acknowledged the value of biography and social history. Indeed, Robert Shafer, editor of the most selective and aesthetically modish anthology of American literature published in the 1920s, denounced outright all methods of studying American literature "which divorce the subject from intellectual, social, and political history,"[21] whereas Canby himself in 1929 cautioned that "the background . . . must not be allowed to obliterate the foreground, the literature itself."[22]

Although Gerald Graff's opinionated *Professing Literature: An Institutional Study* (1987) has described the critical debate of that period as an "attack from aesthetic formalists and humanistic moralists,"[23] condemnation of the status quo scholarship characterized by *The Cambridge History of American Literature* actually came from all sides, liberal and radical as well as conservative. Van Wyck Brooks and the outspoken H. L. Mencken, hardly vanguards of the right wing and neither formalists nor humanists, were as impatient with apologists of literary historiography throughout the 1920s and 1930s as Babbitt and Canby were. Carl Van Doren, a chief editor of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* and representative in many ways of the old-guard genteel academy, implied as much when he reflected in 1936 on the critical debates of the previous decade: "More and Babbitt, Sherman and Mencken, Lewisohn and Van Wyck Brooks, all demanded that literature take more certain courses toward more certain ends than I felt any need for."[24] Brooks and Mencken certainly scolded the New Humanists for their spiritual Toryism with equal vigor, yet both parties criticized an American academy they believed to be afflicted by an acute case of Anglophilia and cultural inferiority. Discussions arguing the intrinsic value of American

literature among scholars and critics, oftentimes fierce, lasted into the late 1940s and 1950s. Perhaps most important, Babbitt's, Brooks's, and Mencken's challenge of literary historiography made way for the recognition of American literature as a respectable, well-defined field of study in universities.

The transition of American literature studies into an age of modern sophistication occurred both figuratively and literally during the 1920s. In April of 1921 the final two volumes of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* appeared, providing a climactic feeling of culmination to the exclusionary nature of literary historiography within academic American literature studies. Later that same year scholars of American literature organized themselves and met for the first time as the American Literature Group at the Modern Language Association's annual meeting. Then in 1923, as if providing American literary studies with its long-sought sense of legitimacy, a section devoted exclusively to American literature was added to the *Publications of the Modern Language Association* bibliography (previously confined to English, Germanic, and romantic languages and literatures), with Foerster becoming its first bibliographer. Thereafter, activity in the field of academic American literary studies soared. The proliferation of scholarly attention to American authors consequently demanded that college English departments discuss standards and requirements pertaining to American literature, and by 1927 the American Literature Group "was considering the possibility of setting up requirements for a Ph.D. degree in American literature."[25] Finally, in January of 1930 the first scholarly journal dedicated entirely to American literary studies, *American Literature,* published its first volume under the editorship of Jay B. Hubbell, who would continue in the post until 1954.

The ferment of American literary scholarship during the 1920s inevitably began to exert influence on the production of American literary anthologies. In fact, Bibb finds that a "really clear-cut differentiation between high school and college textbooks emerges only in the 1920s."[26] Before then, anthology editors had intended that their textbooks be used as general guides to American literature for students of all levels, but by 1925 scholars were compiling collections specifically for year-long college courses, interspersing historical background with the poetry and prose together in the now-familiar, same-volume format. Influenced by recent critical trends of the 1920s, scholar-editors began moving text-

books away from almost total emphasis on the historical backgrounds and biography, bringing about an expanded coverage of literature. Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose: A Book of Readings, 1607–1916* (1925) became the first literary anthology designed for the college classroom that divided American literature under the conventional modern headings of "Colonial/Puritan background," "Romanticism," and "Realism." Shortly afterward several other major literary anthologies appeared, one after another, ushering in the age of the modern anthology of American literature.

Though the first edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* rightly deserves acclaim as the prototype of the textbook format that would dominate college-level literary instruction over the next seventy years, the first phase of the American literature anthology, as mentioned above, actually had commenced some six years earlier with the publication of Fred Lewis Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919). During at least the first half of the 1920s it prevailed as the most widely used anthology of American literature in the country's college classrooms and thereafter became the first of many textbooks in the modern era to experience several editions over multiple decades. Pattee's textbook, however, really shares more with the public-oriented anthologies of the nineteenth century than with those of the 1920s and beyond. Its selections, for instance, seem eccentric when compared to anthologies published after 1925; and its professed editorial concerns are, to say the least, exceedingly nationalistic:

> The recent manifestation of American patriotism, the new discovery by Europe of the soul of America, and the new insistence upon teaching of Americanism in our schools and colleges, especially in those that for a time were under government control, has brought the study of American literature into the foreground as never before. More and more clearly it is seen now that the American soul, the American conception of democracy, —Americanism, should be made prominent in our school curriculums, as a guard against the rising spirit of experimental lawlessness which has followed the great war, and as a guide to the generation now molding for the future.[27]

Despite such antiquated pedagogical assumptions, *Century Readings* outlasted countless competitors and endured as a fairly popular text-

book among professors of American literature for nearly half a century. Probably due more to Pattee's immense stature in the field of American literary studies than to its content, *Century Readings* was enlarged an unprecedented three times in only thirteen years (entering its third edition by 1926 and a fourth in 1932) and remained in print as late as 1965. And literary historiography would remain the most pervasive scholarly approach in American literature studies well into the 1940s.

In one of the earliest modern anthologies of American literature, *A Book of American Literature* (1927), editors Franklyn B. Snyder and Edward D. Snyder explained that they selected works best illustrating "the status of our national thought and civilization at different epochs, as reflected in American literature."[28] Both Norman Foerster and Jay B. Hubbell, arguably the two most influential anthology editors to emerge from this period, declared allegiance to the process of historical and social elucidation in the compiling of their anthologies. Surveying some of the titles of the first modern American literature anthologies—including *American Life in Literature* (1936), which Hubbell conceded he chose "because it suggests some of the compiler's aims,"[29] and *The American Mind* (1937)—provides a fair indication of the pervasiveness of literary historiography in the production of early college literary textbooks.

The predominance of historical considerations in the compilation of first-generation anthologies of American literature initiated several notable trends in textbook production during this *historiographical phase.* Already mentioned briefly was the tendency among editors of this period to showcase particular works because of their qualification to convey the spirit of a bygone era. Hubbell declares this recurring ambition in the preface to his 1936 anthology, stating that he has "looked for selections that picture American life in some characteristic way."[30] Ten of the seventeen anthologies of American literature to appear between 1919 and 1946 expressly record their intent to include literature mainly to illustrate intellectual, sociological, or national tendencies. And of these ten textbooks, at least eight make the historical interest of a piece of literature the chief criterion for its inclusion.

One result of most early editors' desire to present the variety of the American experience through selections of poetry, prose, and drama was the sometimes bewildering inclusiveness of their anthologies. Typically varying in length from one thousand to two thousand total pages

(many were packaged in two-volume sets), these first modern anthologies on average accommodated only a small fraction of the literature found in today's six-thousand-page, two-volume collections. However, even with such limited space the historiographical-phase anthologies consistently incorporated the work of 100 to more than 260 writers. This statistic is amazing considering that only a few of these early anthologies included writers who had published beyond 1920. Even more remarkable is the comparison of the typical first-generation anthology with, say, the two-volume fourth edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1994), which presents the work of just over two hundred writers (more than half of whom were published after 1920) in a textbook of almost six thousand pages. There are, nonetheless, three historiographical-phase anthologies, namely Robert Shafer's *American Literature* (1926) and the first two editions of Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy's *Major American Writers* (1935, 1945), which disregarded the prevailing trend of wide coverage. Nonetheless, a clear majority of the anthologies of American literature published between 1919 and 1946 afforded space to authors in sizable numbers. Regional authors, in particular now-neglected poets such as Sidney Lanier and John Banister Tabb, and regional women writers, including Stowe, Freeman, and Jewett, benefited most from this effort by early anthologists to provide full coverage of America's literary heritage.

Another trend among early anthologies of American literature was the absence of longer works. The singular exception to this rule was the inclusion of Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter* in its entirety (minus "The Custom House" sketch) in Shafer's *American Literature* (1926). It would be another twenty-six years before a second American literature anthology would include the unabridged text of a full-length novel. The scarce reprinting of novels during the initial period of the modern anthology of American literature is a complex phenomenon. To begin with, unlike today, earlier editors rarely included entire book-length works in their anthologies because these collections lacked sufficient space. While many anthologies that were published between 1919 and 1946 might appear somewhat larger than contemporary collections, the earlier textbooks actually contain considerably fewer pages and therefore less material because of their heavier, thicker paper.

These facts notwithstanding, even in excerpted format certain highly

regarded novels such as *The Scarlet Letter* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* appear very infrequently in historiographical-phase anthologies. Some editors—perhaps influenced by the rising tide of belles-lettres aestheticism in the academy—simply balked at including mere fragments of what they considered the finest works of fiction. Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy, for example, were among the first anthology editors to declare their dissatisfaction with the practice of extracting episodes from longer narratives. They asserted in the preface to their 1935 textbook *Major American Writers* that such novels as *The Scarlet Letter, Typee, Moby Dick, Huckleberry Finn,* and *The Rise of Silas Lapham* cannot be adequately sampled in an anthology. Almost fifteen years later Gay Wilson Allen and Henry Pochmann, editors of *Masters of American Literature* (1949), echoing Jones and Leisy, explained that they, too, "endeavored to print 'wholes' rather than 'snippets.'"[31] Unquestionably, this inclination survives to the present. James E. Miller, for example, reflecting on the compilation of his 1991 anthology, *Heritage of American Literature,* remarked: "I know for sure, indeed, that I did not want to include excerpts from novels and that I wanted whenever possible to include whole works."[32]

In deciding not to excerpt even acclaimed book-length narratives, editors obviously expected instructors to assign the longer works in addition to the anthology readings, supplementing the broad framework of the textbook with either library copies or inexpensive editions of a particular novel, a common practice even in the literature survey courses of today. In fact, Jones and Leisy state in no uncertain terms that the novels they cannot "adequately represent" are the very works "which should be read" in a college-level American literature course.[33] Norman Foerster, who expressed little reservation about including excerpts from several novels in the 1925 and 1934 editions of his *American Poetry and Prose,* eventually conceded in his 1947 edition that the novel "no longer has a place in American literature anthologies—if indeed it ever had a place, since excerpts from novels are never satisfying. It is now assumed that novels will be 'parallel reading.'"[34]

Another scholarly trend of the period indirectly served to heighten interest in the historical and sociological significance of American writings. As scholars continued their attempts in the 1920s and 1930s to distinguish American letters from the vast body of English literature,

primarily working to uncover a wholly indigenous character in our nation's poetry and prose, they began to turn their attention to the American frontier. Most academic literature specialists agreed that New England had generated nearly all of the nation's "best" literature before 1900 but assumed that region was too indebted to imported European styles to exhibit distinctly American traits. Eventually literary scholars unearthed rich veins of indubitably native literature in the tales, sketches, and verse of the agrarian Midwest, the Mississippi Valley, the South, and the Far West, and as a result they created an entirely new type of literary study within the American academy.

The frontier studies movement, as it would later be called, incorporated a blend of literary historiography and belles-lettres criticism in its approach to American literature. In a sense the frontier studies movement did as much as any other phenomenon to allow the gradual introduction of aesthetic methodologies into the study of American literature. At the same time, and occasionally with near-patriotic zeal, the movement also began to champion distinctly American authors, as scholars demonstrated the development of a completely native literature worthy of comparison to that of any other country. Vernon L. Parrington virtually pioneered the frontier studies movement singlehandedly in the first decades of the twentieth century, and his monumental three-volume study of American literature, *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927–30), was universally lauded in textbook anthologies published before 1940.

Despite notable contributions by Marxist and psychoanalytic scholars to academic criticism of the late 1920s and 1930s, these potent trends in scholarship exercised surprisingly little appreciable influence on the production of college-level American literature anthologies between the wars. Recent commentators who look back at this period and conclude otherwise often mistake the typically enthusiastic rhetoric of literary historiography for an emergent Depression-era political activism. Jane Tompkins, for example, in *Sensational Designs* observes, "In all of their remarks, the editors [of anthologies of the 1930s] evince a need to show the 'connection' between 'our literature and American life and thought' as if somehow literature had been delinquent in its responsibility to society. In short, the social and political consciousness of the thirties changed anthologists' sense of their aims as literary critics."[35]

Tompkins misinterprets the language of first-phase editorial allegiance to historiographical methodologies, mistaking it for a brand of political activism that simply did not exist among anthologists in the 1920s and 1930s. Scholars, critics, and literary textbook editors since the mid-nineteenth century had striven to show a connection between American literature and American life and thought. It was the practice of literary historiography, not an engaged political or social consciousness of the 1930s, that guided these critical aims.

Evelyn Bibb's 1960s study of American literature textbooks decided that 1957 was the year in which anthologies of American literature shifted their "major emphasis" to the "belletristic" qualities of American authors.[36] But her conclusion miscalculates; by the late 1940s a majority of scholar-editors had already adopted an aesthetic approach to American letters in their literary anthologies. Indeed, a comparison of the first and second editions of Jay B. Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* indicates that the transformation in American literary studies had been virtually complete by 1950.

Disclosing in the preface to his 1936 collection a theoretical alliance with literary historiography, Hubbell wrote, "I have tried to illustrate the fairly close connection between our literature and American life and thought. Without waiving my own critical standards, I have looked for selections that picture American life in some characteristic way. If our writers too often lack the artistic qualities of the great Europeans, they have at least mirrored clearly the multifarious life of a vast territory."[37] But in revising *American Life in Literature,* published as a second edition in 1949, Hubbell rethought his overall assessment of American literature. Pointing out that "much more space is given to major writers," Hubbell stipulated that in his updated textbook "American literature is not treated merely as a record of changing political and economic thought. *American Life in Literature* is *still* primarily a collection of writings whose chief value lies in their literary quality. Ideas and movements come and go, but memorable writing remains."[38] The contrast between these statements is striking. Hubbell's first passage cited what were at the time several commonly assumed deficiencies of American literature, in effect apologizing for its overall inferior quality. Yet in the latter statement he proudly championed the nation's writers and implicitly (and ironically) criticized the very type of historically oriented anthology he

himself had published and defended in 1936. Consequently, Hubbell's collections signaled the sea change in academic literary anthologies between the early 1930s and the late 1940s, themselves recording a momentous shift in the field of American literary studies.

The brief period between the appearances of Norman Foerster's 1947 edition of *American Poetry and Prose,* in which Foerster declared he would no longer excerpt the finest American novels, and Hubbell's 1949 *American Life in Literature* marks the inception of the *New Critical phase* in American literature anthologies. During this second era of literature anthologies, which lasted until about 1965, nearly all literary textbooks put together fewer authors and simultaneously expanded their material. For instance, an earlier anthology such as *The American Mind* (1937) squeezed more than 260 American writers into fifteen hundred pages, and the editors of *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938) crowded 152 writers into their seventeen-hundred-page textbook. In contrast, second-generation editors Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long in the first edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* (1956) displayed only one hundred writers in their highly durable twenty-five-hundred-page textbook. As mentioned earlier, by the early 1960s a few specialized anthologies were limiting their two-volume, two-thousand-page collections to fewer than twenty-five authors. The most extreme case, Falk and Foerster's *Eight American Writers* (1963), presented the work of only Poe, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Mark Twain, and Henry James in the space of about sixteen hundred pages.

While this emphasis on critical standards ignored a mounting number of writers during this second stage, some editors deliberately restricted their list of authors for pedagogical reasons. Reiterating sentiments they initially expressed in 1935, Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy discussed in the 1952 edition of *Major American Writers* their dissatisfaction with anthologies that attempted all-inclusiveness. "It is still the conviction of the editors that the introductory course in American literature has suffered from trying to include too much, with the result that the student leaves the subject in a confused state of mind because he has tried to study too many authors in too short a time."[39] Still other textbooks combined this notion of responsibility to the student with that of artistic excellence, as did the editors of *American Lit-*

erary Masters (1965), who asked: "If you are going to study literature, why not the best?"[40] In any case, many of those writers deemed "major" or "important" by academic scholars were allotted more space within this second generation of literary anthologies. Interestingly, the manner in which editors filled the extra room allocated to American writers during these years progressed in two very distinct and completely opposite directions.

The most common (and predictable) editorial method of representing authors in the second generation of literary textbooks, given the extra available space, was simply to provide a broader sampling of work. If editors of the earlier anthologies usually included extracts from four to six works, which when broken down into chapters and individual stories amounted to about ten individual selections, collections during the New Critical phase routinely drew from seven or eight different works and averaged almost double the number of individual pieces reprinted in the earlier anthologies, in several cases offering as many as twenty to twenty-five selections.

Inaugurating a trend that would shape production of subsequent literary anthologies, especially in the 1980s and 1990s, Miller's *Major Writers of America* (1962) and Falk and Foerster's *Eight American Writers* (1963) were the first college-level collections of American literature to assemble teams of academic specialists to confront the task of putting together literary textbooks. Distinguished authorities on specific writers were joined by experts on other authors and periods, each of whom completed very focused assignments, which when united resulted in meticulously collaborative efforts. Nearly all anthologies that have employed editorial teams list each editor's assignment, generally by period (e.g., 1750–1865; Realism, etc.) but lately more by race, gender, or social group (e.g., women poets; Native Americans). Some anthologies, such as those in the early 1960s that included fewer than twenty authors, assigned individual writers to certain designated editors.

While the majority of New Critical–phase anthologies incorporated additional shorter pieces by American authors, a few collections utilized the extra pages by including unabridged full-length narratives. Bibb's proposed date of 1957 as the year that literary anthologies became decidedly "belletristic" appears to be about a decade too late, yet her observation does come close to marking the commencement of an eight-year

period between 1957 and 1965 of high aestheticism in the anthology of American literature. As an illustration Beatty, Bradley, and Long, deciding to include full-length works in 1961, write in the preface to their second edition: "Recognizing the need for the critical study of some works of larger scope, we have added two complete full-length novels, each a masterpiece of its period: in volume 1, Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter;* and in volume 2, Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.*"[41] Indicating that they had become aware of the need for novels in literary textbooks between 1956 and 1961, a shift that arose coincidentally with the technological abilities of bookbinders to encompass longer pieces of literature, implied as well that critical tastes had altered between 1956 and 1961.

Kermit Vanderbilt, however, chronicles a separate development that had consequences related to the timing of the anthologizing of full-length novels. "Inexpensive paperbacks radically altered the teaching of American literature. Publishers like Rinehart, Viking, Norton, Scribner, and Houghton Mifflin enabled students in the 1950s and after to purchase their own copies of classic novels and an author's selected shorter works."[42] In light of this new competition from paperback editions, anthology editors, whether or not wholly in favor of incorporating full-length novels into their formats, were confronted with a vastly changed publishing landscape. Indeed, between 1946 and 1961 no fewer than nine separate new editions (most of them scholarly) of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* appeared, with introductions by various individuals including Brander Matthews, Dixon Wecter, Lionel Trilling, Leo Marx, Henry Nash Smith, T. S. Eliot, and Wallace Stegner. Evelyn Bibb agreed that the widely available paperbacks had by the late 1950s "undermined" the "prestige and authoritativeness" of the anthologies of American literature.[43]

In 1965 Bibb reported confidently in the concluding pages of her study that "there appears to be a general acceptance of a canon of American literature consisting of a 'classic' eight"—Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, Melville, Whitman, Mark Twain, and Henry James.[44] (The famed UNESCO poll of 1949 and Floyd Stovall's much-used bibliography *Eight American Authors* [1956], both commissioned by the Modern Language Association, were instrumental in sanctioning this seemingly mandatory "canon" during the 1950s.) By the late 1960s, however,

egalitarian proponents of minority rights movements within the academy began to question the validity of an all-white-and-male American literary canon and to demand that "forgotten" writings of people of color, women, and other slighted segments of American society be accorded equal attention. A recent literary anthology, commenting retrospectively on the long-term effect of these revolutions in the study of American literature, correctly points out that "in the 1970s a whole new scholarship developed that examined the cultural implications of gender, class, and race."[45] These newly formulated critical trends inspired a resurgence of historical and social emphases in the academic study of American literature during the late 1960s and early 1970s and exerted an impact on the shape of textbook production over the next two decades that as of today still shows little sign of abating.

At first this movement away from a wholly belletristic mode of representing American writers was scattered and tentative. Irving Howe, for instance, in the preface to his *The Literature of America: Nineteenth Century* (1970), suggested that "there remains the problem of how to approach the literature of the past, whether historically or critically."[46] But if one considers the decidedly aesthetic slant of anthologies of American literature in the fifteen years prior to the appearance of *The Literature of America,* Howe's musing appears rhetorical. Just one year later, Howe, along with fellow editors Mark Schorer and Larzer Ziff, boldly declared in the 1971 edition of *The Literature of America* that "literary merit was the primary criterion of choice, relevance to the age and to intellectual history the second."[47]

By the late 1970s, editors were eschewing "literary merit" as their criterion and instead embracing scholarly practices that harked back in almost palindromic fashion to the pre–World War I era. For example, Benjamin DeMott, Theodore Gross, David Levin, and Alan Trachtenberg proclaimed that their anthology, *America in Literature* (1978), "is an attempt to reflect organically the most urgent ideas in our nation as they have risen from the roots of American soil and issued through the American mind and imagination."[48] Both the title, which subtly underscores the editors' beliefs about the presence of intellectual issues of America expressed through its literature, and the focus on "ideas . . . issued through the American mind and imagination" recall the suppositions about literary criticism extolled by the editors of *The Cambridge*

History of American Literature in the days when intellectual historiography reigned unchallenged as the method of literary analysis in academic scholarship. Within the last eight or ten years of the twentieth century the historically oriented literary textbook again became standard. The 1991 edition of *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology,* to pick only one, promised to elucidate a multifaceted link between literature and American culture. "This anthology focuses strongly upon the connections between American literature and its various contexts: historical, political, economic, religious, intellectual, and international."[49] Another textbook distanced itself from belletristic concerns even further. Making no apologies about its agenda, *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990), announced editor Paul Lauter, "frankly embodies a political vision, one growing out of the civil rights and women's movements, that challenges the authoritative structures of individualism that mark American culture."[50] When asked about the unique contribution his anthologies have made, Lauter's response suggested an influence that extends to the college-level textbook format itself: "Just look at how all the major anthologies have changed in the course of the last ten years. . . . We really showed how a serious commitment to diversity and a multicultural view of American culture and literature could be embodied in a textbook and therefore made available for classrooms. In the course of achieving that goal, we brought to the attention of teachers all over the world a much wider range of authors and works. I think that's our main legacy."[51] While other major textbook editors might disagree about the extent of *The Heath Anthology*'s influence, it is oddly true that this return to historical and cultural methods of literary anthology compilation has increased the overall resemblance of these third-generation textbooks to the first modern anthologies.

The most conspicuous development in literary textbooks since the late 1960s, during what might best be termed the *multicultural phase,* has been the assemblage of a perpetually growing body of writers. During the first two phases of the modern anthology, many collections of American literature were transmogrified from an all-inclusive scrapbook into a restrictive showcase of twenty or thirty "major" authors. This trend began to reverse itself noticeably by the early 1970s. Showing this trend, the editors of W. W. Norton's *The American Tradition in Literature,* the most widely used literary textbook in American colleges be-

tween the late 1950s and early 1980s, added four or five writers, usually contemporary figures, along with two hundred pages each time they revised their anthology in 1961 and 1967. In 1974, however, they abruptly introduced more than fifty new writers in the two-volume set while adding more than fifteen new authors (most of whom were from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) in the revised single-volume format without boosting its physical size. And since the mid-1970s this inclusiveness has ballooned tremendously.

Late New Critical–phase textbooks on average had presented the work of about one hundred different writers, but during the early 1960s that number dropped sharply, in some cases to fewer than twenty. Conversely, *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation* (1969), a typical multicultural-phase anthology, declaring its intention to include "minor" and "lesser known writers," brought together nearly 150 authors in thirty-seven hundred pages.[52] By 1981 *The American Tradition in Literature* compressed well over two hundred writers within its four thousand pages, and one of the most massive literary textbooks to appear, *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1994), managed to fit an astounding 374 American authors into a two-volume, six-thousand-page production. Unquestionably the widest selection of any recent anthology (the 1994 edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature,* by contrast, maintained levels set in the early 1980s with its grouping of just over two hundred writers), *The Heath Anthology* surpasses even the most inclusive first-generation collection by more than one hundred writers. One result of this amalgamation of more authors into third-generation anthologies was that most authors considered "major" had their page apportionments reduced.

The 1961 revised edition of the two-volume *The American Tradition in Literature* had been the first textbook to include *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in its entirety. But when Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long revised the single-volume "shorter edition" version of *The American Tradition in Literature* in 1962, they decided, presumably because of limited space, not to reprint Mark Twain's novel. This argument was repeated when both the one- and two-volume versions were published in a third edition in 1967. In 1974, however, the editorial team of the fourth edition of *The American Tradition in Literature,* which now included George Perkins, decided to remove the novel from the

two-volume collection, explaining that *The Scarlet Letter* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* were dropped "in order to make four hundred and more pages available for other material. It was thought that the two books are so widely available in paperback that the loss to the student would not be great, particularly when balanced against the great gain embodied in the large number of other works that could be encompassed in the same space."[53] As the first revised production of *The American Tradition in Literature* published after the critical shift back toward historical and cultural methods of academic literary analysis, the 1974 fourth edition illustrated both the costs and benefits of adding—in this case more than fifty—"previously ignored" authors to collections of American literature. Visionary for its time, indeed, the fourth edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* presented an impressive number of minority writings that had not appeared in earlier versions of its or its competitors' textbooks. Among the newly added selections were tales, speeches, and poems by Native Americans assembled in a section titled "The Indian Heritage," excerpts from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), and short works by Kate Chopin and Charles Chesnutt. For the fifth edition in 1981 the editors of *The American Tradition in American Literature,* now no longer intent on relying on the "widely available" paperback market to supplement their textbook, decided to reinstate the unabridged novels they had removed in 1974 because, they said, "sufficient pages have been added . . . without significant loss."[54] The editors were no doubt reacting to fresh competition, for in 1979 the first edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* was introduced in one- and two-volume versions, both of which contained several complete novels, including *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.*

By the late 1980s anthologies of American literature were explicitly competing with each other in terms of overall comprehensiveness and diversity in formats. One of the first textbooks to reattempt the sort of all-inclusiveness that guided the production of late-nineteenth-century literary anthologies was *The Harper American Literature* (1987). In fact, the editors of this anthology actually began their preface by praising Evert A. and George L. Duyckinck's 1855 *Cyclopedia of American Literature* (which had featured more than eight hundred writers) for its broad representation of American letters. The two-volume *The Harper American Literature,* of course, comes nowhere near the Duyckincks' immense

assortment but does pack more than 140 authors into its second volume alone, almost 40 more than had volume two of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1985). Overall inclusiveness continued to be a principal concern of anthology editors in the 1990s.

With the history of the present-day anthology of American literature sketched in broad outline, we can turn to the specific contents of these classroom textbooks. The remainder of this study explores how critical responses to individual American writers have influenced their presentation in anthologies of American literature since 1919 and investigates how these textbooks themselves have sometimes shaped critical attitudes toward particular authors. Through an examination of the way in which thirty writers have been presented over the *historiographical, New Critical,* and *multicultural* phases of the anthology of American literature, a substantive portrait of American literary history, pedagogy, and canonical studies emerges.

The selection process for the thirty authors grouped in six chapters has endeavored to include those writers—both the so-called privileged and marginalized—most often cited in literary histories and annual reviews of academic criticism such as *American Literary Scholarship.* Chapter 2 will treat early- to mid-nineteenth-century prose writers Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville. Chapter 3 will concentrate on nineteenth-century poets, including Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman, Alice Cary, Phoebe Cary, Lucy Larcom, Celia Thaxter, Sidney Lanier, and John Banister Tabb. Chapter 4 will study post–Civil War prose writers Mark Twain, Bret Harte, William Dean Howells, and Henry James. Chapter 5 looks at latter-nineteenth-century female prose writers Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary Wilkins Freeman, and Kate Chopin. Chapter 6 focuses on nineteenth-century African American writers such as Olaudah Equiano, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Jacobs, Frances Harper, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and Charles Chesnutt. Chapter 7 concludes the study with an analysis of the early modernist women writers Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, and Ellen Glasgow.

2

Early- and Mid-Nineteenth-Century Prose

Irving, Cooper, Poe, Hawthorne, Melville

Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Herman Melville, because their work constitutes the nation's earliest acclaimed imaginative prose, illustrate well the trends in textbook publishing in the twentieth century. The diminishment of Irving's popularity among anthology editors, for instance, is traceable in large part to the decline over the last eight decades of historiographic considerations in American literary scholarship. Cooper's situation epitomizes the enormous difficulty twentieth-century anthologies have had in dealing with an author whose body of work offers very little in the way of shorter pieces. Poe and Hawthorne, on the other hand, have enjoyed relatively secure rank as "major" authors in literary textbooks since 1919, and editors of collections have had little trouble selecting pieces from their writings. Nevertheless, the history of how each has been showcased is unique and demonstrates the point that not all major authors have been handled equally over the last several decades. Contrasting with Irving's descent, Melville's rising critical popularity during the twentieth century exemplifies the circumstance of introducing a rediscovered writer in literary textbooks. Taken together, these writers of American romantic fiction reveal basic patterns in the decisions regarding American writers considered for literary anthologies since 1919.

Despite recent efforts by a few anthology compilers to repackage Washington Irving as a prophetic critic of enduring American cultural anxieties, the appraisals of Irving by textbook editors as an American writer of the first order have declined steadily over the last sixty years. Though Irving was customarily heralded in the 1920s and 1930s as the father of American literature and our country's first accomplished literary ambassador to the Old World, many of today's anthologies adopt a generally dismissive tone when discussing his contribution to American letters, and some even question outright his former status as a significant American writer. Various rationales might explain Irving's critical decline. Scholars as early as the 1960s, for example, began to express discontentment with the stilted, antiquated style of his early prose and the less and less accessible humor of his satires. But beyond these problems it is critical ideology that most completely accounts for Irving's falling reputation among textbook editors in the twentieth century.

Irving's shrinking popularity within the anthology format is primarily the result of the de-emphasis of historical considerations in American literary criticism since the 1920s. Although often encapsulated in masterfully styled prose, Irving's work depends on materials associated with social history. *A History of New York* (1809), large sections of *The Sketch Book* (1819–20) and *Bracebridge Hall* (1822), and *The Crayon Miscellany* (1835), for example, chronicle in detail the people, places, and events of early-nineteenth-century England as well as America. Obviously, Irving also left behind masterful works of fiction, of which "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and "Rip Van Winkle" are the best known. But these flashes of purely imaginative artistry for Irving are comparatively rare when his canon is considered in its entirety. Thus as scholar-editors in the 1930s began to counter the prevailing trend of using Irving's writings merely to present students with glimpses of the Hudson River Valley culture of the late eighteenth century or society on the American prairie before the Civil War, and instead utilized it in classroom anthologies to illustrate the fountainhead of American fiction or exhibit America's contribution to world literature, only a select few of Irving's tales and an occasional passage from his longer works continued to meet the evolving criteria for inclusion in classroom anthologies. Consequently, Irving's space in American literature collec-

tions dwindled like that of scores of other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers as the qualifications for literary merit altered.

Throughout the *historiographical phase* of the anthology of American literature, long into the 1940s, textbook editors showcased Irving predominantly as a prolific and eclectic author who had mastered a number of literary styles and forms. It was common for these early literary collections to present eight or nine selections from four to seven books by Irving, ranging from such classic volumes as *The Sketch Book* and *Bracebridge Hall* to lesser-known titles, including *The Life and Voyages of Columbus* (1828), *The Alhambra* (1832), and *Woolfert's Roost* (1855). An amazing total of thirty-three different selections taken from nine of Irving's works appeared during this initial period of the anthology.[1] Early textbook editors oftentimes underscored their exhibitions of Irving's literary versatility by according him a variety of titles in their introductions to his work. In one typical instance editors Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder characterized him as "a historian and scholar as well as essayist."[2] Implied in such early summaries is the notion that being a literary artist could add little, if at all, to Irving's already illustrious reputation.

The descriptions of Irving as essentially a historian, essayist, and biographer recurred most often in the anthologies of the 1920s and 1930s; he was rarely considered a writer of tales, let alone an innovator of the American short-story form. Moreover, "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" were reprinted infrequently during these early years. "Rip Van Winkle" appeared in fewer than half of the first-phase anthologies, and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" made it into only two textbooks, the first and second editions of Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy's *Major American Writers.* In no case do they appear together before the late 1940s. Collectively the two stories make up less than 10 percent of the total selections by Irving printed in anthologies between 1919 and 1946. As a point of contrast, the first chapter of volume 3 of *A History of New York,* commonly titled "The Golden Reign of Wouter Van Twiller"—which humorously details, as Irving's narrator discloses, "the person and habits" of an early colonial American governor (and, somewhat by implication, the day-to-day lives of seventeenth-century Dutch settlers of New York)—is excerpted in all but three an-

thologies from this period. This piece alone constitutes about 13 percent of Irving's material in these collections.

By today's standards "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" were definitely given short shrift in the 1920s and 1930s, but their overall disregard seems even more curious for two additional reasons. First, virtually every historiographical-phase textbook, regardless of whether it included one of these two classics of American literature, praised both tales as important texts. Second, according to Haskell Springer's 1976 bibliography nearly one-third of the published scholarship on Irving between 1910 and 1946 that specifically dealt with his canon discussed *The Sketch Book* generally or "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" in particular.[3] What, then, accounted for this editorial unwillingness to present "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," given the fact that both works were recognized as important stories as early as the 1910s by critics and scholar-editors alike?

In addition to their ambition to present the widest variety of Irving's work that space allowed, a majority of first-phase anthologies of American literature favored material suited for the methodologies of literary historiography. Because most early textbook editors operated under the assumption that certain of Irving's books provided unique access to the life and times of people and cultures of the past, they preferred excerpts from *A History of New York* and similarly structured volumes, as well as certain shorter essays such as "The Author's Account of Himself" and "The English Writers on America," all of which possess historiographic appeal. As mentioned above, "The Golden Reign of Wouter Van Twiller," from *A History of New York,* appears in all but two collections during this initial period and ranks as the most anthologized selection by Irving between 1919 and 1946. And appropriately enough, a significant number of historiographical-phase editors seemed to conclude that *A History of New York* was the highlight of Irving's career. The Snyders' *A Book of American Literature* (1927) made this point explicitly: "Yet when all is said and done one wonders whether Irving's claim to our gratitude does not rest more firmly on the *Knickerbocker History* than upon anything else."[4]

Over the decades scholars and anthology editors have commended *A History of New York* precisely for its historiographic qualities. Joe Lee

Davis, John Frederick, and Frank Mott argued this very point in their 1948 collection, *American Literature:* "There is much more sound history in the book than its primary purpose of entertainment would suggest. Irving had done no little real research, and presented a clearer and more complete account of New York's colonial history—in spite of emphasis on burlesque elements—than had previously appeared."[5] Late in his career, eminent Irving scholar Henry Pochmann reflected that a majority of Irving's works had not lent themselves to the aesthetically moded criticism of the late 1940s and beyond and that Irving's appeal has lain primarily in the field of literary history.[6] Still, scholars have long recognized artistic virtue in Irving's canon. Pochmann himself was, in fact, largely responsible for calling attention to Irving's careful craftsmanship and the belletristic qualities of his fiction. Yet academic anthology editors were slow to adopt extrahistoriographic criteria for the selection of material by Irving in their collections.

The shift within the anthology format away from presenting "Irving the historical writer" to showcasing "Irving the innovator of a main line of American fiction" commenced in earnest around the mid-1930s. Historical concerns undoubtedly dominated first-phase textbooks, but a few anthologies from this period made attempts to highlight the more aesthetic qualities of American literature. Among the first anthologies dedicated to presenting the "best" of American letters was Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy's 1935 *Major American Writers.* Predictably, then, the Jones and Leisy textbook promotes Irving not as a historian, biographer, or scholar but as a literary craftsman. "As a writer of belles-lettres," write Jones and Leisy, "he was our first success," adding that "he wrote primarily as an artist."[7] Conceding Irving's relevance as a historical writer, the editors of *Major American Writers* still manage to emphasize the aesthetic features of his work: "Irving also occupies an important place in the development of historical writing in the United States, being well nigh the first to clothe the muse of history in the garments of literature."[8] Significantly, the Jones and Leisy textbook reprints for the first time in an anthology of American literature "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," a story that modern scholarship celebrates for such literary traits as theme, characterization, development, and form.

In 1938 *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* reflected the growing consensus among academic literary critics since at least the

1920s that Irving originated the American short-story form. Speaking of the American material in *The Sketch Book,* editors William Rose Benet and Norman H. Pearson asserted that "the best of the tales are American classics, and mark the beginnings of the development of the short story in America."[9] *A College Book of American Literature,* published a year later in 1939, on the other hand, argued nearly the opposite case. Admittedly, its editors—Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn—granted a place for Irving among America's respected writers, but they hardly seemed willing to go much further: "To the American short story he contributed several important tales but nothing in the way of development."[10] Published within a year of each other, these two evaluations reflect the disparity of opinion about Irving's critical standing among scholars in the years before World War II and thus marked a transformation in the scholarly dialectic concerning Irving's essential contribution to American letters. It is significant, in other words, that the debate in Irving studies as of 1939, so far as it is depicted in textbooks of American literature, is focused squarely on the artistic merit of his short stories. This shift reflects considerable progress from just a decade before, when commentary regarding Irving's part in the development of American fiction was rare and introductions instead praised Irving's talent for capturing the spirit of his times. Ultimately, the two summaries signaled an emerging critical debate in anthologies about Irving as a bona fide literary artist.

The recurring theme in anthologies of American literature between 1947 and the mid-1960s was the artistic excellence of Irving's work. Praise of Irving's contribution to American letters in *New Critical–phase* literary textbooks ranged from Theodore Hornberger's assertion in 1947 that "he is most significant for bringing American fiction into the mainstream of world literature"[11] to Sculley Bradley's remark in 1961 that "he was the first great prose stylist of American Romanticism."[12] Throughout these and other discussions of Irving's artistry he was credited with such notable accomplishments as distinguishing the American tale from the European tradition, inaugurating local color fiction, and defining the course of American fiction into the early part of the twentieth century.

One result of this newfound appreciation of Irving's creative powers in collections of this period was a reevaluation of Irving's entire body of work, particularly with respect to the ranking of his books

against each other. Whereas first-generation editors considered *A History of New York* to be the book on which Irving's legacy rested, second-generation editors typically rated it merely "a minor literary triumph."[13] Replacing *A History of New York* as Irving's masterpiece, predictably, was *The Sketch Book.* The 1948 anthology *American Literature* reflected this shift, declaring that "Irving's permanent place in our literature is secured primarily by *The Sketch Book* and other earlier work."[14] Because of the rising popularity of *The Sketch Book* and the de-emphasis on *The History of New York,* "Rip Van Winkle," and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" predominate in New Critical–phase anthologies. "Rip Van Winkle" captured the distinction as the selection most often anthologized between 1947 and 1966, appearing in fourteen of the twenty collections of American literature that included his work.[15] "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" was reprinted in eleven anthologies, and in nine of these cases it was showcased alongside "Rip Van Winkle." "The Golden Reign of Wouter Van Twiller," on the other hand, which made it into all but three historiographical-phase textbooks, appeared in just twelve of the twenty anthologies from this period.

Among the consequences of presenting Irving chiefly as a literary artist between 1947 and 1966 was a noticeable decrease in the amount of space afforded to Irving's work in New Critical–phase anthologies. Obviously other critical developments help explain the availability of fewer pages for Irving's writings, namely the large-scale introduction of twentieth-century American authors to the anthology format in the late 1940s and early 1950s, as well as the occasional recovery of earlier American writers that occurred naturally over the years. At the same time, advances in publishing technology after World War II allowed for the expansion of space in textbooks without corresponding bulkiness. But the fact that Irving's canon had relatively little to offer in the way of unalloyed belles-lettres fiction and the de-emphasis of historical considerations in American literary scholarship led to Irving's diminished presence in the textbooks of this period.

In most cases second-generation editors reserved only about half the space for Irving's writing that it had received in historiographical-phase collections. Between 1947 and 1966 the average anthology of American literature reprinted three to four selections by Irving culled from two to four of his books. In addition to *The Sketch Book* and *The History of*

New York, Tales of a Traveler (1824) emerged as a popular resource among anthology editors during these years. From this book "Adventure of a German Student," a gothic tale of physical and psychological terror set in the days of the French Revolution, and "The Devil and Tom Walker," Irving's Faustus-like story of a miserly old man who sells his soul to the devil, two stories often praised alongside and compared to "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," made particularly strong showings in New Critical–phase collections, affirming the increased appeal since the 1940s of Irving's more aesthetically notable writing.

By the early 1970s critical opinion had concluded, as editors Howe, Schorer, and Ziff argued in their collection, that "the best of Irving's work consists of a few stories such as 'Rip Van Winkle.'"[16] Accordingly, a majority of anthologies of American literature since about 1970 have abridged Irving's selections down to "Rip Van Winkle," "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," and an occasional third or fourth tale. Presumably a result of New Critical–phase editorial paring, *multicultural-phase* anthologies gave students only Irving's best-known tales.

Though "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" surpass everything else written by Irving in textbooks since 1967, a second, lesser trend during this period deserves attention. Praise of Irving's historical prose, which had all but disappeared during the second phase, began to recur with increasing frequency in early multicultural-phase textbooks. Countering to some degree the momentum created by New Critical–phase textbooks to concentrate on Irving's tales, a few anthologies excerpted the historiographic works, particularly *The History of New York,* and in a few cases developed a newfound admiration for such neglected books as *A Tour on the Prairies,* Irving's account of his 1830s travels to the Oklahoma territories. Seymour Gross and Milton Stern's 1975 anthology points out really for the first time in a literary textbook the cultural significance of Irving's western writings, and selections from *A Tour on the Prairies* appear in a total of six anthologies of American literature between 1967 and 1999. While a small percentage, considering that almost forty anthologies have been published since 1967, those six collections matched the number of times that selections from *A Tour on the Prairies* had appeared during the first two phases combined.

A History of New York regained its status as a critically acclaimed work during the multicultural phase. Editors David Levin and Theodore Gross, in their 1978 anthology, even went so far as to consider it "a neglected masterpiece."[17] Neglected though it may have seemed, third-generation editors actually admired *A History of New York* for many of the same reasons as had historiographical-phase anthology editors. Indeed, *The Literature of America* (1970) points out that "a work like *Knickerbocker's History* is valuable as a reflection of the easy good nature . . . that Americans displayed during the first years of the Republic"[18]—in other words, that it could provide students with the flavor of life in America during the first decades of the 1800s.

More recently, Donald McQuade's 1987 *The Harper American Literature* suggested a similar sentiment, though phrased in postmodern rhetoric: "Irving's work remains not only a hallmark of the new nation's literary tastes but also a projection of new patterns of vision responsive to a new cultural context."[19] Several contemporary textbooks like McQuade's have rediscovered Irving's "neglected masterpieces" and found in them themes germane to today's theoretical debates over culture, tradition, and progressive ideology. As the 1978 *America in Literature* rightly points out, Irving's "subject is the relationship between modern progress and tradition in America,"[20] and given today's critical preoccupation over culture and the dueling forces of tradition and progress, it seems truly an anomaly that Irving's place in the anthology of American literature has disintegrated.

Unlike Irving, James Fenimore Cooper has maintained a fairly stable reputation since the 1920s in American literature anthologies. Editorial praise of his work has remained high, and the amount of space provided for his work in literary textbooks, with a few exceptions, has fluctuated little. Moreover, from the earliest historiographical-phase anthology, Cooper has been celebrated chiefly for his creation of an American myth in the character of Natty Bumppo and as our nation's first novelist of distinction. Editors from all three periods of the American literature anthology generally agree that the five volumes that make up the Leatherstocking series, *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deerslayer* (1841), stand as Cooper's most enduring work. Yet, at the same time,

Cooper's reputation among scholar-editors, though basically unaffected by the kinds of critical forces exerted on Irving's canon in the twentieth century, has encountered its own set of difficulties.

As a writer of fiction whose body of work consists almost entirely of novel-length texts, Cooper has presented a major challenge to anthology editors over the last several decades. Literary textbook compilers, faced with the twin burdens of limited page space and market pressure to include as many writers as their critical standards might allow, have dealt with the problem of anthologizing Cooper—and novel-length texts generally—in approximately six ways. The first and perhaps most obvious means of getting around the obstacle of anthologizing Cooper is simply to provide excerpted chapters from a few of his novels. Clearly, most collections of American literature have chosen this route, but a review of editorial commentary indicates that few did so enthusiastically.

During the historiographical phase of the anthology of American literature few editors expressed compunctions about the practice of excerpting episodes from full-length works. From time to time a textbook would provide an explanation for not including any selections from the genre of the novel at all, but in only one instance did editors actually see fit to defend their decision to include passages from a longer work.[21] After all, collections of literature had been reprinting selections from novels for at least the previous one hundred years, so the precedent for providing snippets from book-length narratives was well established. But once aesthetic modes of criticism took hold in the academy after World War II, textbook compilers seemed far less nonchalant about excerpting novels.

Jay B. Hubbell's second edition of *American Life in Literature* (1949) typified the emerging apologetic tone in editorial attitudes toward including passages from novels in their anthologies in the early years of the New Critical phase: "Extracts from novels are used only when it seemed otherwise impossible to represent an important author properly. Certain writers, however, notably Brown, Cooper, Howells, and Ellen Glasgow, either wrote no short stories or left none brief enough or significant enough to be included. Yet one cannot afford to leave out writers as important as these. In reprinting chapters from novels, I have looked for passages which could best stand alone and which were at the same time representative and excellent in themselves."[22] Just a few short years

later the compilers of the 1955 *American Heritage* seemed even more contrite: "If the editors erred in their decision to . . . include selections from novels, they hope they erred on the side of common sense."[23] Despite the semblance of editorial anguish over whether to excerpt or not to excerpt, the bulk of second- and third-generation textbooks continued the practice of extracting short episodes from novels to represent writers such as Cooper.

On average, anthologies published between 1919 and 1999 showcased four to seven chapters from three to four of Cooper's narratives. Already mentioned is the sustained popularity of the five Leatherstocking tales, which have generally constituted about 80 percent of Cooper's material in most anthologies in the twentieth century. Fred Lewis Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919) provided testimony about the early regard for Cooper's Leatherstocking novels, which subsequently endured eight decades of critical evolution. "In his thirty-two novels there is much that need not be read. One may ignore almost two-thirds of his entire set of books. Among his best are the five Leather-Stocking Tales."[24] Notwithstanding this frank assessment, other of Cooper's volumes made respectable showings at various points after the 1920s.

The Pilot (1824) appeared in ten collections between 1919 and 1952, chapters 17 and 18 being most often selected. Occasionally an anthology would excerpt an earlier passage from *The Pilot,* usually chapter 4 or 5, but the action-packed episode involving the sea battle between the American ship *Ariel* and the British vessel *Alacrity* was the most often anthologized scene from the novel. However, in spite of this relative popularity during the historiographical phase of the American literature anthology, excerpts from *The Pilot* appeared in just one collection after 1952. Essays from *The American Democrat,* such as "An Aristocrat and a Democrat," and various letters from *England and America* supplemented chapters from the Leatherstocking tales in around half the anthologies of American literature published since 1919, and their esteem remains high.

Although the Leatherstocking cycle has been the preferred material among anthologies of American literature, editors excerpting episodes from these novels have experimented with showcasing Cooper's masterpieces in various ways. Many anthologies have simply culled chapters

almost at random. Three textbooks, however, revealed a strategy behind their selections from the Leatherstocking tales. The first instance was Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers* (1935). In addition to providing detailed summaries of all five volumes in the cycle, Jones and Leisy attempted to render a portrait of Natty Bumppo's experiences, explaining that "there is sufficient unity in the books to justify the presentation of a series of excerpts from the five novels which will illustrate Leatherstocking's career from his first warfare with the Indians to his death."[25] *Major American Authors* reprinted one chapter from each of the five volumes in the chronological sequence of Natty's life.

The 1969 anthology *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation* followed essentially the same idea in its presentation of the Leatherstocking tales but added Cooper's "Preface to the *Leather-Stocking Tales,*" as well as different headings for each of the five excerpts. Chapter 1 from *The Deerslayer* they titled "The Young Leather-Stocking"; chapter 32 from *The Last of the Mohicans* was dubbed "An Indian War"; "The Virgin Forest" headed the opening chapter of *The Pathfinder;* chapter 20 from *The Pioneers* was augustly labeled "Natural Man vs. Man and Nature"; and chapter 32 of *The Prairie* was entitled "The Power of Natural Man." The last anthology to specify an underlying pattern to the selections from the cycle it chose to reprint was *American Literature* (1973), edited by Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren. Just as with the previous two examples, Brooks, Lewis, and Warren present one chapter from each of the five volumes in the chronological sequence of Leatherstocking's life. Yet what distinguishes the five chapters excerpted in this latter anthology is the fact that each purportedly illustrates a developing consciousness in the character of Natty Bumppo. The editors go to great lengths to connect each selection thematically. The resulting effect is a striking depiction of Bumppo's psychological, spiritual, and ethical integrity.

A second way in which anthologies of American literature have dealt with the difficulty of showcasing Cooper's work has been to step back from including anything at all and simply recommend his novels as outside reading. Three anthologies, all from the 1920s, declined to reprint material by Cooper presumably for this reason, though only two of the three mentioned that they decided to forgo the custom of providing excerpts from full-length narratives. Discussing their list of editorial cri-

teria for inclusion in *The Literature of America* (1929), Arthur Hobson Quinn, Albert Croll Baugh, and Will David Howe asserted that "selections should, with a few necessary exceptions, be complete texts or complete units of the works represented."[26] The editors also explained that "practical considerations have forbidden the inclusion of passages from novels, which must be read in their entirety."[27] Curiously, and without explanation, Quinn, Baugh, and Howe concede that they made "exceptions" in the cases of Charles Brockden Brown and Herman Melville, "both of whom," they claim, "may be read in selection."[28] One could reasonably assume that Cooper was omitted from *The Literature of America,* as well as from Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1925) and Robert Shafer's *American Literature* (1926), because these scholar-editors were loath in general to excerpt novels.[29]

Closely related to this second means of presenting Cooper's work is the custom of refusing to excerpt novels, of recommending them as outside reading but in turn providing shorter, miscellaneous readings by that particular author. Foerster's 1947 anthology initiated this practice, at least with respect to Cooper's work, and reprinted several of his nonfiction essays. A fourth alternative, employed by the editors of *The Odyssey Surveys of American Writing* (1965), was to reprint several of the prefaces to Cooper's books in addition to selections from his nonfiction prose. A fifth option for presenting Cooper's work, arguably the most experimental, was adopted by *The Literature of the United States* (1947, 1953, 1957). Editors Walter Blair, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart, who made a point of explaining that they were representing one particular novel in their collection precisely because it was neglected in others, reprinted eight chapters from a single novel, *The Pioneers,* and provided summaries of the excised intermediate chapters. *The Pioneers* was the only novel-length work included in their anthology, and considering the thoroughness of the summaries of expunged chapters, one comes close to having read the novel in its entirety.

A sixth and final solution to the problem of including Cooper is, of course, to reprint an unabridged novel. George McMichael's *Anthology of American Literature* was the first literary textbook to deem Cooper's narratives important enough to be included in their entirety when it anthologized *The Prairie* in 1980. In 1990 the seventh edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* became the second textbook to reprint a com-

plete novel by Cooper, in this case *The Pioneers.* Revised editions of McMichael's anthology eventually discontinued the practice of publishing uncut full-length texts by Cooper. The latest edition of *The American Tradition in Literature,* however, has chosen again to reprint *The Pioneers* in its entirety.

On a much different note, the relationship between the work of Edgar Allan Poe and the anthology of American literature since 1919 has been enviable, to say the least. Poe is among not only the two dozen writers who have enjoyed relatively secure status among literary textbook editors but also a much more exclusive circle of pre-twentieth-century writers whose space apportionment in American literature anthologies has actually increased over the last eighty years. Other "major" writers such as Nathaniel Hawthorne and Mark Twain have received expanded coverage mainly because literary textbooks since the 1960s have begun to accommodate unexcerpted novel-length texts, including *The Scarlet Letter* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* An analysis of the manner in which anthologies of American literature have presented Poe's work uncovers a far more complex set of circumstances that explain his enviable place among anthologized American writers.

Over the last century there has prevailed a mostly quiet debate within American literary criticism over whether Poe's chief contribution to world literature came in the form of his poetry, prose, or criticism. Killis Campbell's groundbreaking study *The Mind of Poe* (1933) was really the first serious exploration of the nature of Poe's critical reputation, and it observed that among Poe's contemporaries Poe was better regarded as a short-story writer than as a poet: "The consensus of intelligent opinion," explains Campbell, "would have given first place in the matter of actual worth to his tales." A majority of literary critics today would agree with Poe's peers about his best work and probably further suppose that the tales have always enjoyed preferred status among scholars. But indeed they have not. E. C. Stedman in the Stedman-Woodberry edition of Poe (1894–95) allied with Poe's contemporaries in his acclaim of Poe's fiction. Yet sometime between the turn of the century and the end of World War I Poe scholarship, swayed by Poe's immense popularity among the French symbolists and early modernist poets, shifted its basic opinions and elevated the worth of his poetry above that of his tales. In fact, by the arrival of Fred Lewis Pattee's first anthology in 1919 the

conclusion that Poe's best work was his poetry was so foregone that in Pattee's textbook Poe is casually referred to simply as "the Poet."

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Poe scholarship from time to time addressed this issue of Poe's chief contribution directly. Killis Campbell's essay on Poe in the celebrated *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21) alluded to the debate in Poe studies but artfully managed to avoid the appearance of taking a position: "Poe's tales, which exceed in number his fully authenticated poems, have been held by some of the most judicious of his critics to constitute his chief claim to our attention. There are those who will not subscribe to this view, but it is plain that he was the most important figure in the history of the short story during his half-century."[30] Campbell rendered an equally tentative judgment of Poe's career in the preface to his *Poe's Short Stories* (1927), stating that "it was as a writer of short stories that he made his most substantial and, some would have it, his most important contribution to imaginative literature."[31] Here and in the *Cambridge* essay Campbell diplomatically sidesteps clarification of his own critical opinion. Interestingly, Floyd Stovall disclosed in the 1960s that "Professor Killis Campbell believed that Poe's genius was primarily that of a poet and that his greatest permanent achievement was made in poetry."[32] Stovall's revelation about Campbell's preference makes sense considering the post–World War I critical consensus about Poe's work. And indeed, if one rereads Campbell's *Cambridge* essay and the preface to his edition of the short stories in light of Stovall's revelation, the fact that Campbell avoids (by disclaimer) including himself among those critics who value Poe's prose over his poetry corroborates his disagreement.

Campbell, who stated in 1927 that "it is probably as a poet that he is best known today,"[33] certainly had ample company, especially during the 1920s and 1930s, in his conviction. Arthur Hobson Quinn, author of *Edgar Allan Poe: A Critical Biography* (1941) and, along with Campbell, an early force in Poe studies, believed that Poe's poetry took precedence over his prose and criticism.[34]

Early-twentieth-century academic emphasis on Poe's poetry logically influenced how first-generation literary anthologies presented Poe's work. On average, historiographical-phase textbooks showcased approximately twenty-five selections by Poe. Typically two were critical pieces, three or four were short stories, and twenty (oftentimes many more than twenty)

were poems. Pattee's anthology afforded the least amount of space to Poe of any literary textbook between 1919 and 1946, reprinting only nine poems, three tales, and Poe's review of Hawthorne's *Twice Told Tales;* yet like most historiographical-phase anthologies Pattee's focus was fixed squarely on Poe's verse.

The Literature of America (1929), edited by Arthur Hobson Quinn, Albert Croll Baugh, and Will David Howe, reaffirmed the veneration that first-generation anthologies had for Poe's poetry. This textbook compressed a staggering twenty-seven poems in its section on Poe but saw fit to include only three stories and three selections of criticism. Nearly comparable in their regard for Poe's verse, the first two editions of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1925, 1934) amassed respectively twenty-three and twenty-two poems in their sections on Poe but were slightly more equitable in their presentation of his prose; the 1925 edition reprinted five tales and two critical pieces and the 1934 version included six stories (the most of any first-generation anthology) and two essays.

Reaffirming this early trend in academic assessments of Poe's career, a review of published scholarship shows that a total of 146 articles on individual poems and tales by Poe appeared between 1900 and 1945.[35] Of these 146 studies, 83 deal with Poe's poetry and only 60 his tales. While a roughly four-to-three ratio hardly points to an obsession with Poe's poetry at the expense of his other work, it does suggest the scholarly preference for his verse. Compared with the statistics for the period between 1946 and 1973, however, these early figures seem striking. A consideration of the data for the period between 1946 and 1973 reveals that 344 articles on specific poems and tales by Poe were published. Of these scholarly studies a staggering 260 analyze his short stories (an increase over the first statistical period of more than 430 percent), and just 84 deal with Poe's poetry.

The ratio of poems to prose selections in New Critical– and multicultural-phase anthologies of American literature echoed this post–World War II shift in academic appraisals of Poe's legacy to world literature. The space provided for Poe's work in literary textbooks began to increase significantly in the late 1940s as editors reduced the number of Poe's poems they included while simultaneously doubling and in some cases tripling the number of his stories. The average of twenty poems in

first-generation anthologies plunged in New Critical– and multicultural-phase anthologies to just over thirteen, with many textbooks since 1970 reprinting fewer than ten. Conversely, the typical number of Poe's stories in American literature anthologies published since 1947 rose to over six. Recent editions of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* and *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* each include eight tales by Poe, and the 1991 *Heritage of American Literature* reprints eleven. Literary textbooks published since 1947 have additionally maintained an average of two critical essays by Poe.

Early indications of an academic shift away from critical emphasis on Poe's poetry toward his prose appeared in the 1935 edition of Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers.* In addition to supplying their readers with five of Poe's short stories and three of his critical essays (as well as sixteen poems), Jones and Leisy stressed the excellence of Poe's fiction in their introductory essay, asserting that Poe "strove to continually better his own technique, especially in the short story—a genre with which his name is immortally associated."[36] In the decade following the publication of Jones and Leisy's anthology, rival textbook editors seemed content to maintain the partiality toward Poe's poetry in their collections. Perhaps the only anthology during this time to rival the emphasis that *Major American Authors* placed on Poe's fiction was *A College Book of American Literature* (1939), which reprinted sixteen poems, six tales, and four critical essays.

A third edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* appeared in 1947, and its presentation of Poe reveals slight but obvious signs of a critical shift from Poe's poetry to his prose. Changes from the 1934 second edition include the dropping of three poems (from twenty-two to nineteen) and the addition of one story (from six to seven) and one critical essay (from two to three). What had been a subtle editorial trend in the 1930s and early 1940s lunged forward full-force in 1948 with the publication of Davis, Frederick, and Mott's *American Literature: An Anthology and Critical Survey.* The editors of that collection showcased an unprecedented eight short stories (compared to only twelve poems). Proof that Poe's fiction had gained respect in the previous decade came over the next three years as *Masters of American Literature* (1949) included ten selections of Poe's fiction (along with twenty-five poems and five critical essays), and Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1949) in-

creased its number of tales by one to a total of four (while decreasing the number of poems by three to a total of sixteen). These increases in space apportionment (oftentimes eight or nine pages per story) devoted to Poe's work came during a period when textbook editors—always constricted by limitations of space—were introducing large numbers of twentieth-century American writers for the first time. Moreover, these editors seldom gave more room to a writer they had included in a previous anthology.

The evidence of proportions in literary textbooks, supported by the previously mentioned data on scholarly publications before and after 1945 on Poe's work, points to the 1940s as the period during which a fundamental transformation in Poe's critical reputation took place in the United States. The question that remains, then, is what specifically happened in the 1940s to motivate this change? Though published in 1933, Campbell's *The Mind of Poe* deserves partial credit for arousing critical interest in Poe's fiction. For in addition to reminding readers that Poe's tales had been the most admired portion of his canon during his lifetime, Campbell's study argued with ample evidence that Poe's short stories provide much better access to mid-nineteenth-century popular culture than does his poetry. As an enormously influential figure in Poe studies, Campbell had considerable influence in shaping academic perceptions of Poe and his work.

Another probable—though at first seemingly unlikely—contributing factor to the 1940s shift in Poe's academic reputation was the work of F. O. Matthiessen. Poe was not among the five figures Matthiessen dealt with in his landmark study *American Renaissance* (1941), but Matthiessen did write an astute article on Poe in 1946 for the influential *Sewanee Review,* and this article was reprinted two years later as a chapter in Robert Spiller's *Literary History of the United States* (1948). Matthiessen's "Edgar Allan Poe" begins with several paragraphs of commentary regarding Poe's early verse. The article points out that only a small number of these first poems "shows any special promise." After hesitant praise of Poe's verse, Matthiessen proceeds to review most of the major tales, providing brief interpretations of some and arranging nearly all of Poe's stories by their fictional type. Matthiessen treats Poe's fiction as serious art and in the process enthusiastically praises its critical importance to Poe's career and to American literary history.

Giles Gunn attests in *F. O. Matthiessen: The Critical Achievement* (1975) that Matthiessen esteemed Poe, particularly as a critical theorist, at a time when, as Gunn points out, "many of his contemporaries were prepared to dismiss Poe outright as a simple romantic."[37] Matthiessen concluded his article on Poe by asserting that "he stands as one of the very few great innovators in American literature."[38] By 1946, the year *Sewanee Review* published "Edgar Allan Poe," Matthiessen was at the height of his renown, and the academy was still staggered by the impact of *American Renaissance,* whose effect on academic literary criticism as a profession was immediate and profound. The effect on anthology editors was incontestable. For example, *American Literature: An Anthology and Critical Survey,* the textbook edited by Davis, Frederick, and Mott in 1948 that provided the most liberal selection of short stories of its time (eight, compared to only twelve poems), cited Matthiessen's article on Poe prominently in its bibliography of Poe scholarship.

By 1965 the critical consensus regarding Poe's best work had shifted from that of the 1920s so dramatically that in his introduction to Poe's work for *American Literary Masters* (1965) Roy A. Male could write: "The harsh fact, now generally recognized, is that apart from 'To Helen' and 'The City in the Sea,' Poe's poetry is marred by cliches, lapses of taste, and a mechanical rhythm."[39] Only Floyd Stovall, practically a lone voice in 1963 regarding the matter of Poe's best work, stubbornly asserted in the preface to Poe's section in *Eight American Writers* that "[Poe's] greatest single achievement was the creation of a few specimens of strange and unforgettable poetry."[40] But Stovall's defense of Poe's poetry as his chief claim to literary immortality came at a time when Poe studies had long since concluded otherwise. (Stovall published two books in the 1960s on Poe's poetry and in both continued to argue for the merit of Poe's verse.)

With the publication in 1978 of *Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* Thomas Mabbott's much anticipated edition of Poe's tales and sketches, Poe studies apparently received the final verdict on the question of Poe's most enduring legacy. Mabbott pronounced his judgment in the introduction: "Poe's tales are his chief contribution to the literature of the world. They are—like 'The Raven,' which is a tale in verse—eminently translatable and they are known in practically every major language. That Poe himself cared more for his lyric poems than for even his

imaginative prose there is no doubt. . . . He came to value his stories more highly, too, and in the summer of 1849 he told his young friend Susan Archer Talley that he thought he had done all he could in verse, but perhaps not yet in prose."[41] Recent anthologies routinely side with Mabbott and those who see Poe's work in short fiction as his primary artistic accomplishment.

Despite the drastic transformation in Poe's academic reputation during the twentieth century, anthologies since 1919 have remained fairly consistent regarding which of Poe's poems, tales, and critical essays they have included in their textbooks. As of 1999, for instance, "The Fall of the House of Usher," "To Helen," and "The Raven" had appeared in every anthology of American literature designed specifically for the college classroom published since 1919. At least a dozen other works by Poe have been reprinted in all but a handful of anthologies. Stories and poems such as "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," "The Cask of Amontillado," "Ulalume," "The City in the Sea," and "Israfel," and the critical essays "The Poetic Principle" and "Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales*," have likewise circulated with regularity among literary textbooks since 1919, demonstrating that while critics have over time changed their collective mind about what constitutes Poe's greatest achievement, there has been, for at least the past eighty years, a virtual consensus among literary critics concerning the relative value of Poe's specific works.

Nathaniel Hawthorne, unlike Irving, Cooper, and Poe, is among the few authors whose treatment within twentieth-century anthologies of American literature has received some scholarly attention. A portion of the final chapter of Jane Tompkins's *Sensational Designs* (1985) examines the manner in which textbook editors since Fred Lewis Pattee have fashioned portraits of Hawthorne's career, and as a pioneering analysis this chapter deserves much credit. Still, several mistaken assertions about anthologies underlie her larger argument.

Tompkins's examination of Hawthorne and the American literature anthology essentially compares the way Hawthorne's work was featured in the 1932 fourth edition of Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* and the 1979 first edition of Ronald Gottesman's *The Norton Anthology of American Literature.* After pointing out what seem to be glaring differences between the two textbooks, particularly between their critical assumptions, their descriptions of Hawthorne as

an artist, and the stories by Hawthorne they chose to reprint, Tompkins concludes that critical understanding of both Hawthorne the writer and his work are "constructed" and radically reconfigured with each generation of academics. Because the context in which Hawthorne's work appears differs so greatly between the 1932 textbook and the 1979 textbook, explains Tompkins, the Hawthorne of 1932 is nothing like the Hawthorne anthologized in 1979.

There is more than a grain of truth in the assertion that critical assessments of both Hawthorne the artist and his work have changed since 1919. In fact, the same could be said of nearly all American writers anthologized over the last eighty-five years. But Tompkins vastly overstates the transformation in the way literary textbook editors presented Hawthorne's fiction in the twentieth century. First, in making a case for Hawthorne's altering persona in collections of American literature published between 1919 and 1979, Tompkins considers evidence from only sixteen literary textbooks, even though she purports, so she tells her readers, to examine "the history of literary anthologies."[42] Yet no fewer than forty anthologies of American literature designed specifically for the college classroom appeared in the sixty years between 1919 and 1979. A review of this far more comprehensive record indicates that anthology editors since World War I have been remarkably consistent in their selections from Hawthorne's canon. Further, when compared to the thirty-six other anthologies published between 1919 and 1979, Pattee's 1932 anthology, which Tompkins posits as a standard for its time and on which she bases much of her argument, turns out to be exceedingly atypical.[43]

Consider as one point of comparison the 1925 first edition of Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (which Tompkins does not cite in *Sensational Designs*), universally regarded as the first modern anthology of American literature designed specifically for a year-long college-level survey course. Its reprinting of "The Gentle Boy," "Young Goodman Brown," "The Minister's Black Veil," "The Maypole of Merry Mount," "Endicott and the Red Cross," "Rappaccini's Daughter," "Ethan Brand," and selections from *The American Note-Books* compares favorably with selections from just about any anthology published in the last twenty years as an assortment of critically sound, contemporary choices from Hawthorne's canon. Even the 1934 second edition of Foerster's *American*

Poetry and Prose (which Tompkins does cite), published two years after the version of Pattee's textbook to which Tompkins refers, presents what could easily be mistaken for a current selection of Hawthorne's tales (it dropped "The Gentle Boy" and added an excerpt from chapter 2 of *The Scarlet Letter*).

If one excepts the fourth edition of Pattee's *Century Readings* that Tompkins offers as representative and its three earlier versions, one is left with twelve anthologies published between 1919 and 1946. Surveying the contents of these historiographical-phase anthologies, Robert Shafer's *American Literature* (1926) included as its only selection from Hawthorne's work *The Scarlet Letter* in its entirety (minus "The Custom House" sketch). Among the remaining eleven collections, "Young Goodman Brown" and "Ethan Brand" appeared in eight first-generation textbooks; "The Maypole of Merry Mount" was presented in seven; "Endicott and the Red Cross," "The Minister's Black Veil," and "Rappaccini's Daughter" were reprinted in five; and "The Birthmark" was collected in three. All of these pieces, especially the reprinting of an unexpurgated *The Scarlet Letter,* precisely resemble the selections that one expects to find in today's most popular anthologies.

Compare the statistics from these twelve first-phase anthologies with Pattee's choices from Hawthorne's canon for the 1919, 1922, 1926, and 1932 editions of *Century Readings.* Reprinted in each of Pattee's first three anthologies are "Sights from the Steeple," "David Swan," "The Birthmark," "The Great Stone Face," and the preface to *The House of the Seven Gables.* For the 1932 revision Pattee selected "Sights from the Steeple," "The Maypole of Merry Mount," "The White Old Maid," "David Swan," and "The Old Manse." With the exceptions of "The Birthmark" and the preface to *The House of the Seven Gables* in the first three editions and "The Maypole of Merry Mount" in the 1932 version, the selections that appeared in Pattee's textbooks were indisputably out of sync not only with today's anthologies but, more important (for the purposes of this discussion), with virtually all the anthologies of the 1920s and 1930s. Indeed, only one other textbook from the initial phase (but none from the New Critical or multicultural phases) even comes close to rivaling the unorthodox choices from Hawthorne's body of work that *Century Readings* provides.[44]

Let us return, now, momentarily to Tompkins's broader conclusion

that Hawthorne's reputation is ultimately "constructed" by each successive generation of scholar-editors (therefore implying that Hawthorne's work can never possibly sustain any authentic sense of timeless aesthetic appeal), which she bases entirely on the evidence of Pattee's 1932 anthology as a representative textbook. Tompkins's argument observes that both Pattee's 1932 anthology and Gottesman's 1979 anthology include "The Maypole of Merry Mount" but that none of the other stories selected for Hawthorne's section in these two anthologies are the same. Therefore, says Tompkins, "the context in which 'The Maypole of Merrymount' appears in the *Norton Anthology* is entirely different," so radically different that "The Maypole of Merrymount" as it appears in the 1932 collection "is not the tale . . . included in the 1979 Norton anthology."[45] The selections that accompanied and provided a "context" for "The Maypole of Merry Mount" in the 1979 textbook include "Young Goodman Brown," "The Minister's Black Veil," "Rappaccini's Daughter," "My Kinsman Major Molineux," "Roger Malvin's Burial," "Wakefield," selections from *The American Note-Books,* the preface to *The House of the Seven Gables,* and *The Scarlet Letter.* When compared to the stories that accompanied "The Maypole of Merry Mount" in Pattee's 1932 anthology, the two portraits of Hawthorne's career presented in the 1932 and 1979 collections do seem dissimilar.

It is worth noting, however, that the first three stories listed above for the 1979 textbook, the selections from *The American Note-Books,* and "The Maypole of Merry Mount" were all included in Foerster's 1925 anthology—a much more characteristic first-phase textbook than Pattee's. In reality the contexts in which "The Maypole of Merry Mount" appeared in both the 1925 and 1979 collections were almost identical, which undermines Tompkins's perception that Hawthorne's reputation as a literary artist is wholly "constructed" by succeeding generations of scholars. In other words if critics in 1979 could appreciate and regard as important basically the same group of stories that Foerster and his contemporaries esteemed in 1925, despite major critical-ideological shifts (such as the one that followed the impact of Frederick Crews's *The Sins of the Fathers* [1966], for instance), then contrary to Tompkins's conclusions, certain of Hawthorne's stories do seem to display a measurable timeless allure. Further, given the evidence that Foerster's textbook is far more representative for its day than Pattee's, and the fact that Foerster's

1925 anthology shares five (of its eight) selections with Gottesman's 1979 anthology, Hawthorne's reputation—at least among anthology editors since 1919—appears to have remained fairly constant as opposed to having been radically reconstructed over the last eighty-five years, as Tompkins could argue in *Sensational Designs.*

Like Poe, Hawthorne has steadily received more space in literary anthologies since 1919. During the first phase, editors included an average of slightly more than six selections per textbook of Hawthorne's short fiction, prefaces, or excerpts from longer works. *A College Book of American Literature,* published in 1939, showcased the most pieces by Hawthorne of any first-generation textbook at twelve, and the 1929 *The Literature of America* reprinted the fewest selections, four (excepting, of course, the aforementioned *American Literature* [1926], which anthologized only a complete *The Scarlet Letter*). The combination of advances in bookbinding technology and thinner papers after World War II allowed New Critical–phase textbook editors to boost the average number of stories by Hawthorne to almost ten. Tales such as "Young Goodman Brown," Hawthorne's classic story of a man who is utterly transformed by a one-night experience in the wilderness (appearing in all but three anthologies between 1946 and 1965, including the three editions of *The Literature of the United States* [1947, 1953, 1961]); "The Minister's Black Veil," the story of the tragic, Dimmesdale-like Parson Hooper (reprinted in all but five New Critical–phase textbooks); and "The Birthmark," the symbolic tale of a man who ultimately destroys his wife as he strives for her perfection, continued their strong showings throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Perhaps surprisingly, the most anthologized story by Hawthorne between 1946 and 1965 was not "Young Goodman Brown" but "Rappaccini's Daughter," which appeared in all but one second-generation textbook.

Multicultural-phase anthologies maintained the number of short selections established by textbooks in the second period at just under ten (that number falls to just under nine if the condensed "shorter edition" textbooks are considered for the third phase). Quite predictably, "Young Goodman Brown" has appeared in every anthology of American literature since the mid-1960s. One other story by Hawthorne shares this honor with "Young Goodman Brown," but the sustained appearance of "My Kinsman Major Molineux" in multicultural-phase textbooks is

rather startling. First, "My Kinsman Major Molineux" was completely ignored by first-generation editors and only made it into one anthology of American literature published prior to 1960, the 1957 edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose.* A few anthologies from the early 1960s, particularly the "major authors" textbooks that could afford to reprint upwards of fifteen and more selections, included "My Kinsman Major Molineux" along with other usually neglected tales and sketches. But after 1965 its appearance in literary anthologies was astoundingly consistent. Perhaps this sudden attention was due to the psychological treatments of Hawthorne's canon, especially Crews's *Sins of the Fathers,* in the mid- to late 1960s. Clearly, "My Kinsman Major Molineux" lends itself to questions of psychological inquiry: dream imagery, guilt, isolation, rite of passage, sexual desire, repression, public humiliation, the search for a mythical father figure, the complexities of family relationships. In any case this story has emerged since the mid-1960s as a staple in literary anthologies.

As in the case of James Fenimore Cooper's body of work, anthology editors in this century have frequently been conflicted about the inclusion of full-length novels in their textbooks. Robert Shafer's decision in 1926 to reprint *The Scarlet Letter* in its entirety was truly a landmark event. The next literary anthology to attempt to include an uncut full-length work by an American author would not be published until 1952, when the third edition of *Major American Writers* collected an unexcerpted version of Mark Twain's *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916). Only four historiographical-phase textbooks, three from the 1930s and one from 1941, furnished a chapter from *The Scarlet Letter,* but no anthology since has extracted a snippet-sized selection from Hawthorne's masterpiece.

By the late 1950s anthologies began to resemble their present massive physical form, which among other things ultimately allowed for the inclusion of novel-length texts. The second edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* (1961) became the second anthology to offer the full-length version of *The Scarlet Letter* and was the first to provide "The Custom-House" sketch. The 1967 third edition of this anthology also reprinted *The Scarlet Letter* complete with "The Custom-House," as did one other collection from the 1960s, Charles Anderson's *American Literary Masters.* Citing limited space and widespread availability of the

novel in paperback versions, the fourth edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* (1974) dropped *The Scarlet Letter* from its section on Hawthorne but promptly returned the novel in the anthology's fifth edition (1981) after several competitors decided to include unexpurgated versions of *The Scarlet Letter* and other major novel-length texts. All but two or three anthologies (and most of the single-volume versions) published since 1980 have opted to include *The Scarlet Letter* as part of their presentation of Hawthorne's career.

In 1917 Herman Melville received scant notice in Carl Van Doren's survey of sixteen mid-nineteenth-century prose writers titled "Contemporaries of Cooper" in the monumental *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21). By the time the next generation of scholars published a mammoth literary history in 1948, however, Melville's reputation had risen so substantially that an entire chapter of thirty-one pages —the largest amount of space accorded any writer in the *Literary History of the United States*—was set aside for his work alone. Such was the story of Melville's twentieth-century climb from obscurity to critical distinction. Melville's well-known literary recovery had its effect on anthologies of American literature.

Van Doren's notice of Melville in 1917, though brief, was in retrospect bold for its praise of the nearly forgotten writer himself and the book on which much of his reputation would be rebuilt over the next eighty years. *Moby Dick* (1851), wrote Van Doren, is "the best of his, and one of the best American, romances," further adding that "the immense originality of *Moby Dick* must warrant the claim of its admirers that it belongs with the greatest sea romances in the whole literature of the world."[46] But even an endorsement from a critic as respected as Van Doren met resistance in the literary textbook trade of the 1920s. Pattee, for instance (whose four editions of *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* were the only anthologies published before 1932 to provide selections from more than a single work by Melville), declared unambiguously in his introduction to Melville's work that "as a novelist Melville was a failure."[47]

The first signs that Van Doren's and others' work on Melville had begun to influence scholar-editors came in 1926 with the appearance of Robert Shafer's anthology *American Literature.* Shafer wrote in his sketch of Melville's career: "Melville, though a frustrated, unstable, ill-

balanced man, was nevertheless a writer of genius whose books have scarcely yet taken their deserved place in American literature."[48] This sort of mixed reaction characterized most historiographical-phase anthology introductions to Melville's work. That is to say, early editors appeared, on the one hand, eager—indeed in some cases anxious—to heap praise on the recently recovered writer and his work but, on the other hand, equivocating in their admiration, whether biographical or aesthetic. Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers* enlists a dualistic strategy in its editors' review of Melville, referring to "both the greatness and failure of his method."[49] Jay B. Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936) extended its commentary revival at large, asserting that "even if some contemporary critics have overrated Melville, it would seem clear now that *Moby-Dick,* his masterpiece, belongs among the great American novels, along with *The Scarlet Letter* and *Huckleberry Finn.*"[50]

By the late 1930s anthology editors appeared ready to praise Melville without disparaging him. William Rose Benet and Norman H. Pearson's 1938 textbook declares that "Melville was the most versatile American writer of prose in the nineteenth century" and that "no writer of prose in his century so well understood the various potentialities of his medium."[51] Expressing similar sentiments, *A College Book of American Literature* (1939) regarded Melville as "an independent genius, owing little to the writers of New England or to the Knickerbocker school. Neither Hawthorne nor Poe had his vigor, breadth, and prodigality as a writer of fiction. His *Moby Dick* now ranks as one of our great works of fiction."[52] Two years later Matthiessen's *American Renaissance* (1941) would disprove theories that Melville's art emerged uninfluenced by Emerson, Hawthorne, and various other early-nineteenth-century literary circles. The exceptionally high praise of Melville in relation to his contemporaries that began to appear in the late 1930s would persist for the next half-century.

Historiographical-phase textbook editors generally chose to represent Melville's work in their collections with one or two excerpts from either *Moby Dick* or *Typee* (1846). Selections from *Moby Dick* appeared in all but two first-generation anthologies, namely the first and second editions of Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers.* The most frequently reprinted episode from Melville's masterpiece during this period, ap-

pearing in ten of the fifteen collections that excerpted *Moby Dick,* were chapters 132 through 135, which chronicle Ahab's three-day pursuit of the whale near the end of the novel. Pattee's first three editions of *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature,* however, reprinted chapter 48 ("The First Lowering") from *Moby Dick* and chapter 26 from *Typee.* Presumably in response to its contemporaries, the fourth edition of *Century Readings* provided the more conventional selection from *Moby Dick,* chapters 132–35, but kept the same excerpt from *Typee* that had appeared in its previous editions.

Disregarding early trends in presenting Melville's work, and in keeping with their editorial policy of avoiding excerpts from novel-length works when possible, Jones and Leisy's 1935 and 1945 editions of *Major American Writers* reprinted only "Benito Cereno." These editions were the only two textbooks of American literature published before 1946 to offer a short story by Melville.[53] Three other historiographical-phase anthologies anticipated later approaches to showcasing Melville's talent: Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936), Benet and Pearson's *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938), and Baker, Curti, and Thorp's *American Issues* (1941) offered markedly extensive selections of Melville's writings, including samples of his poetry. Hubbell's textbook initiated this comprehensive approach to Melville's career, providing two letters from Melville to Hawthorne, two excerpts from *Moby Dick* (chapters 36 and 111), and six poems. Amazingly, Benet and Pearson outdid even Hubbell and provided eighteen different selections from Melville's body of work. The 1938 anthology reprinted thirteen poems and excerpts from five novels (*Typee, Mardi* [1849], *White Jacket* [1850], *Moby Dick, and Pierre* [1852]). *American Issues* likewise offered an assorted presentation of Melville's career, consisting of fourteen excerpts, sketches, and poems.

The two decades of debate between the wars over Melville's literary significance were, in a sense, capped off by the appearance of a pair of studies of extraordinary consequence to Melville scholars. The first was Willard Thorp's *Herman Melville: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes* (1938). Hershel Parker credits Thorp and his book with having "established Melville as a major American writer to be studied in all American colleges."[54] In addition to providing relatively reliable texts of Melville's writings and the most accurate bio-

graphical summary yet written of Melville, Thorp's book furnished, according to Parker, "the best brief survey of Melville's social and political views."[55] The second and better-known critical study, of course, was F. O. Matthiessen's *American Renaissance* (1941). Matthiessen's chapter on Melville placed the author of *Moby Dick* side by side with Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Whitman as an American literary artist of the first magnitude. Few if any commentators over the next few decades would quarrel with Matthiessen's conclusions.

Picking up where Hubbell and Benet and Pearson left off, New Critical–phase anthology editors on average dramatically increased the space their collections allocated to Melville's body of work. Half the literary textbooks published between 1947 and the mid-1960s included at least eight selections by Melville, and nine of these presented more than twelve pieces. The most ample offerings from Melville's canon occurred, as one might expect, during the 1960s, with the appearance of the "major author" anthologies. Two such textbooks, *Masters of American Literature* (1959) and *Major Writers of America* (1962), each reprinted more than thirty excerpts, stories, and poems by Melville.

Accounting for much of the expanded coverage was a newfound editorial interest in Melville's career as a poet. Whereas only three first-generation textbooks anthologized Melville's verse, fifteen New Critical–phase collections (about three-fifths) incorporated selections of Melville's poetry. Stanley Williams's chapter on Melville in *Eight American Authors: A Review of Research and Criticism* (1956) suggested that the 1940s had been a pivotal period in the recognition of Melville's verse and pointed to one publication in particular that initiated interest in this area of Melville's canon: "Both the scholar and general reader remained preoccupied with the prose [of Melville] until about 1944. In this year F. O. Matthiessen gave us *Herman Melville, Selected Poems.*"[56] Beyond providing twenty-one pages of what Williams termed "meticulously selected verse"—including a few lines from *Clarel* (1876), Melville's philosophically and theologically dense eighteen-thousand-line poem of an American group of pilgrims wandering through Palestine—Matthiessen's slim volume prompted Robert Penn Warren to compose a widely read and highly regarded study of Melville's poetry for *Kenyon Review* in the spring of 1946.[57] In 1962 Richard Chase wrote of Warren's piece: "This essay did much to gain readers for Melville's poetry when it first ap-

peared in 1946 and is still the best commentary."[58] Matthiessen's and Warren's efforts were then supplemented in 1947 by the appearance of Howard Vincent's *Collected Poems of Herman Melville,* the most extensive and reliable offering of Melville's verse to that time.

Another factor that may have prompted anthologies of American literature to turn to Melville's verse as a means for expanding their coverage of Melville after World War II was the previously discussed reluctance of New Critical–phase textbook editors to excerpt novel-length texts. Indeed, the frequency with which selections from *Moby Dick* appeared in literary textbooks published between 1947 and 1966 dropped dramatically from the previous period. Only four second-phase anthologies excerpted episodes from *Moby Dick,* and no collection of American literature, second-generation or otherwise, ever offered a complete text of Melville's 1851 masterpiece. Extracts from a few of Melville's other novels make similarly limited showings during the New Critical phase: *Typee* (1), *Mardi* (3), *White Jacket* (2), and *Pierre* (2). Interestingly, excerpted selections from Melville's novels to appear during this phase were all anthologized between 1947 and 1959. What is more, not a single textbook of American literature published in the 1960s included an extract from any of Melville's novels.

New Critical–phase anthologies also began to showcase more of Melville's short fiction. Eleven collections during this period reprinted "Benito Cereno," up from just two historiographical-phase textbooks. These eleven appearances qualify "Benito Cereno" as the most anthologized piece of fiction by Melville between 1947 and 1966. The novella-length *Billy Budd* (1924) made its first appearance in an anthology of American literature in 1948, and during the next eighteen years it was collected in an additional eight literary textbooks. Another newcomer, "Bartleby the Scrivener," made its initial showing in the 1960 shorter edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* and was subsequently included in six more anthologies before 1967.

With Melville's status restored by the mid-1960s, multicultural-phase anthologies of American literature essentially followed the practices of the second period in their presentation of Melville's work. A majority of literary textbooks published since 1967, for instance, have continued to increase the number of selections from Melville's body of work. On average, third-generation collections reprinted fifteen to twenty stories,

poems, letters, and excerpts from novels by Melville. In particular, Melville's Civil War poems such as "The Portent," "Shiloh," "Malvern Hill," "A March into Virginia," and "A Utilitarian View of *The Monitor*'s Fight" have remained relatively popular, as editors since 1967 typically have included anywhere from ten to fifteen poems in their collections. In fact, numerous anthologies since the 1950s have ranked Melville's *Battle-Pieces and Aspects of War* (1866) with Whitman's *Drum-Taps* (1865) as the most significant American verse to emerge from the Civil War.

A handful of multicultural-phase anthologies have reprinted episodes from the novels, but only one has maintained that convention since 1979. When Ronald Gottesman's first edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1979) reprinted chapter 54 from *Moby Dick* ("The Town-Ho's Story"), it became the first textbook since 1959 to include an excerpt from Melville's masterpiece. Melville scholar Hershel Parker's contribution as a period editor of *The Norton Anthology* since the 1979 first edition no doubt accounts for this particular selection. The first and second editions of *The Harper American Literature* (1987, 1994) have also recently presented selections from *Moby Dick.*

Although instances of Melville's longer fiction in anthologies have become rarer since the 1950s, his short fiction has continued to grow in popularity as a choice among textbook editors during the multicultural phase. "Benito Cereno," "Bartleby the Scrivener," and *Billy Budd* have become standard selections for anthologies since the 1960s, and over the last twenty years, almost without exception, the three stories have appeared together in most literary textbooks. A fourth short story by Melville, one that was altogether ignored until 1969 by collections of American literature, has emerged in this third phase as a preferred selection.[59] The relatively recent admiration for "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids" (1855) is not surprising given its concerns with human sexuality, gender, and the abuses of an industrialized culture on the individual in view of the current scholarly interest in these themes. In fact, "The Bachelors of Paradise and the Tartarus of Maids" has been reprinted in virtually all anthologies of American literature published since 1989.

When charting the outlines of a writer's canonical status over time, literary critics have tended to think only in terms of rising and falling reputations. But as the cases of these five early- and mid-nineteenth-

century American prose writers demonstrate, the lateral movement of an author's overall standing is just one way that canonical status evolves. Critical trends of the last eighty-plus years have also, for example, ended up dictating which works came to be deemed most representative of a given artist's contribution to American literature. This has held true even when, as in the situation of Edgar Allan Poe, there was little apparent change from decade to decade in that writer's academic popularity. Critical fashions and emphases have silently impacted scholarly tastes in particular kinds of genre, sentiment, content, styles, and themes, which affected, in turn, who and what was included in literature anthologies and then who and what got taught in college classrooms. More than anything, the cases of these five writers illustrate the inflexibility of the canonical structures that overlooked numerous writers in academic conversations about our literary past.

3

Nineteenth-Century Poetry

Whitman, Dickinson, Alice Cary, Phoebe Cary, Larcom, Thaxter, Lanier, Tabb

The reputations of practically all nineteenth-century American poets in anthologies of American literature since 1919 have undergone dramatic shifts of one kind or another. Predictably, the poetry of such minor authors as Alice and Phoebe Cary, Lucy Larcom, Celia Thaxter, Sidney Lanier, and John Banister Tabb was dealt with inconsistently in twentieth-century literary textbooks. But even the cases of Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson, the two most secure figures within this era, exhibited fluctuations as notable as those experienced by Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, or Herman Melville.

On the surface Walt Whitman's status as a "major" American writer in literary textbooks seems both to have been established early in the twentieth century and to have remained fairly stable at least since the year of his centenary in 1919. A quick scan of American literature anthologies published over the past eighty-plus years shows that editors have generally provided ample coverage of Whitman's work and that this inclusiveness has expanded significantly with time, particularly since the 1960s. But there is more to this seemingly uncomplicated history. Indeed, a closer review of the evidence reveals that while college-level collections of American literature have always granted Whitman's po-

etry and prose considerable space, anthologists were surprisingly slow in their recognition of Whitman as one of America's truly finest writers.

Historiographical-phase literary anthologies on average reprinted a little more than twenty-five poems by Whitman and one of his prefaces, usually "Democratic Vistas" (1867)—arguably Whitman's most significant work in prose that discusses among other topics the need for a great democracy to have great literature if it is to avoid both anarchy and mediocrity—which appeared in twelve of these seventeen textbooks. Accordingly, Whitman's section in these early collections typically consisted of anywhere from sixty to more than one hundred pages and was comparable to, say, the space afforded to Ralph Waldo Emerson's work. Accounting for a large part of this coverage, of course, all but four first-phase anthologies included "Song of Myself" (a few simply chose to excerpt large portions of the poem), which normally occupied up to half the number of pages committed to Whitman in these collections.[1] Yet even though these early editors appeared to confer on Whitman these first-rank privileges, few were actually willing to grant him "major" author status.

Like much of the critical opinion of Herman Melville between the World Wars, early sentiment regarding Whitman's contribution to American letters was mixed. The Snyders' *A Book of American Literature,* published in 1927, typifies historiographical-phase equivocation about Whitman's place among American writers, asserting, "It is not yet possible to come to any sure conclusion concerning Whitman's ultimate position among the poets. Hardly a generation has passed since his death; we are still unable to see him in a fair perspective. It already seems clear that a considerable amount of his work will be forgotten."[2] Five years later Pattee appeared slightly more optimistic when he reported that Whitman "seems to be growing more and more in importance." Just a few sentences farther on in the same essay, however, Pattee conceded that "for many . . . his place in our poetry is not yet secure."[3] Norman Foerster held similar reservations about Whitman and in his 1934 anthology warned his audience that "the reader of Whitman must be selective, for the poet, like Wordsworth, wrote too much and too unequally."[4] Even as late as 1948, Henry Seidel Canby, in his chapter on Whitman for the *Literary History of the United States,* remained somewhat unconvinced about Whitman's lasting claim to greatness.[5]

Despite the prevailing hesitancy among the most influential historiographical-phase scholar-editors about Whitman's achievement, a few early literary textbooks readily recognized Whitman as a writer of first importance. Robert Shafer, for example, wrote of Whitman in 1926 that "it is at least evident that he has taken his place near the head of American writers. No other American save Emerson has exercised such an influence as he has over later thought, and he stands alone in the extent and importance of his influence over later poetry."[6] A decade later Jay B. Hubbell, appearing to corroborate Shafer's once-audacious remarks, concluded his introduction to Whitman in the 1936 edition of *American Life in Literature:* "He [Whitman] now occupies a conspicuous place in literary histories and anthologies, and he is generally recognized as one of the two or three most important American writers. Scholars, who have long neglected him, have in the past decade done much to make his work better understood."[7] Perhaps the earliest appreciation on record of the role that literary anthologies play in the validation of an individual author's academic reputation, Hubbell's commentary also signals the beginnings proper of Whitman's sustained rise to literary greatness in the collective opinion of academic criticism at large.

Most critics before World War II saw Whitman's career as one of slow maturation. That is to say, the early-twentieth-century literary establishment generally regarded Whitman's early verse as the stuff of his poetic apprenticeship. Routinely faulted as "unpolished," "too unrestrained," "formless," "indecent," or "lacking a lofty purpose," the majority of Whitman's pre–Civil War work was labeled underdeveloped and forgettable. Offering a partial explanation for this early critical assessment of Whitman's pre-1865 verse, Jerome Loving, in his chapter on Whitman for the *Columbia Literary History of the United States* (1988), observes that after 1860 Whitman's verse "becomes less and less Emersonian (in the original sense) and so more and more acceptable to the genteel taste of the New England literary establishment."[8] In other words, many first-phase literary critics, a majority of whom were still steered by genteel attitudes, tended to revere Whitman's later, more conventionally crafted verse. Even the editors of *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938), one of the most aesthetically inclined first-phase anthologies, asserted that "it is in his later work that he became a great poet."[9]

"O Captain! My Captain!" (1865), one of the two or three most highly

praised of Whitman's poems during the 1920s and 1930s, epitomizes the form and poetic sentiment that these more conservative-minded critics appreciated in verse. Scott Giantvalley's bibliography, *Walt Whitman, 1838–1939: A Reference Guide* (1981), records thirty book and journal-article citations for "O Captain! My Captain!" between 1919 and 1940: only two of Whitman's other works would receive more critical attention between the wars—"Song of Myself" and the elegiac "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" (1866). Accordingly, "O Captain! My Captain!" became a standard selection in first-generation American literature anthologies, appearing in all seventeen literary textbooks published between 1919 and 1946.

Critical adoration of "O Captain! My Captain!" between the wars ranged from the assured belief that among Whitman's poems it was "most likely to live forever"[10] to the assertion that it represented "the perfect threnody of American poetry"[11] (another commentator still goes further by suggesting that it stands as the best poem in all of American literature).[12] Eventually, however, a few dissenters began to question whether "O Captain! My Captain!" merited the acclaim it had received for so long. Two articles from the 1930s in particular make specific reference to the poem as an inferior work, one pointing out that "O Captain! My Captain!" is "more suitable for recitation before an enthusiastically uncritical audience than for its place in the *Oxford Book of English Verse.*"[13]

The first signs of the critical declension of genteel attitudes toward "O Captain! My Captain!" indicated that for much of the period between 1919 and 1946 Whitman was appreciated, in large part, for very different reasons than he would be after World War II and beyond. This tendency might go far toward explaining how certain scholar-editors, namely Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder, Norman Foerster, and Fred Lewis Pattee, could have judged much of Whitman's work potentially forgettable and why they would question Whitman's enduring place in American literary history. In other words most historiographical-phase critics ignored or slighted the pre–Civil War verse (precisely what scholars value most today), such as "Calamus" (1860) and "Children of Adam" (1860), not to mention "Song of Myself."

With the appearance of groundbreaking analyses of Whitman's poetry in the late 1920s and early 1930s, especially Vernon L. Parrington's

Main Currents in American Thought (1927–30) and various commentaries by Floyd Stovall, Gay Wilson Allen, Killis Campbell, Clarence Gohdes, and Louise Pound, to name only a few, Whitman studies entered a fresh period of critical perception, which first and foremost recognized its subject as a technical innovator of the highest order. Added to this type of critical activity was the simultaneous growing scholarly acceptance of modernism as a serious literary movement, whose sources—according to many of its most accomplished practitioners, including Ezra Pound, Wallace Stevens, William Carlos Williams, and Carl Sandburg—could be traced back in part to Whitman's midcentury experiments in verse. As a result, scholar-editors like Shafer could by the mid-1920s point to Whitman's profound influence on his literary successors (and compare it to the legacy of other towering influential figures such as Emerson) as yet another reason to celebrate an unconventional body of work. Taken together, the waning of nineteenth-century tastes and attitudes in both academic criticism at large and Whitman studies in particular by the early 1930s initiated a newfound critical appreciation of Whitman.

By 1950 Whitman's standing as one of the three or four most eminent American writers was sound. F. O. Matthiessen's *American Renaissance* (1941), Henry Seidel Canby's *Walt Whitman: An American* (1943), and Gay Wilson Allen's *Walt Whitman Handbook* (1946) furnished corrective interpretations of Whitman's poetic vision and (perhaps even more important) redirected scholarly attention to Whitman's earlier work. *New Critical–phase* anthologies responded by beginning to incorporate what might be termed Whitman's more characteristic poetry and prose. As another consequence of 1930s and 1940s scholarship, literary textbooks during the second phase addressed for the first time questions of Whitman's homosexuality. A more "authentic" portrait of Whitman, then, emerged between 1947 and the mid-1960s as the poet's popularity, critical and otherwise, continued to soar.

Though second-generation anthologies maintained about the same number of Whitman's poems that had appeared in the typical historiographical-phase textbook, the sorts of selections showcased in these later collections were noticeably different. "O Captain! My Captain!," for example, the most frequently anthologized of Whitman's poems between 1919 and 1946, all but disappeared from collections of Ameri-

can literature before the end of the New Critical phase. The first edition of *The Literature of the United States* (1947) became the earliest college-level anthology published since 1919 to ignore the poem. This trend proceeded until only one second-phase collection published after 1955 chose to reprint "O Captain! My Captain!," and fewer than one-third of all New Critical–phase literary textbooks selected the poem for their section on Whitman. A review of Whitman scholarship for the years 1940 to 1975 confirms critical disinterest in "O Captain! My Captain!" Donald Kummings's *Walt Whitman, 1940–1975: A Reference Guide* (1982) recorded just two entries that took up the poem (one of which roundly criticized it as inferior and untypical).[14]

Not surprisingly, "Song of Myself" remained a very popular choice among textbook editors between 1947 and 1966. Longer poems joining "Song of Myself" as frequently anthologized during the second phase were comparative newcomers "Children of Adam" and "Calamus," both of which explore the myriad complexities of sexuality, male-female love, and male-male love. Fewer than half the first-generation collections had presented selections from the "Calamus" group, typically one or perhaps two poems (either "I Hear It Was Charged against Me" [1860] or "I Saw in Louisiana a Live-Oak Growing" [1860]). Only two anthologies published between 1919 and 1946 had reprinted lines from "Children of Adam."[15] By contrast, nearly two-thirds of all New Critical–phase anthologies chose selections from "Calamus," and no fewer than six second-generation anthologies presented poems from "Children of Adam." Most of the collections published between 1947 and 1966 that included these two poem groups provided numerous selections from each, and in one case editors reprinted complete versions of "Children of Adam" and "Calamus."[16]

Also marking a newfound editorial interest in Whitman's earlier work during the second phase was the increased appearance of the 1855 "Preface to *Leaves of Grass*." As I have mentioned already, eleven first-phase collections had reprinted "Democratic Vistas."[17] During the New Critical phase that number grew slightly to sixteen anthologies. Conversely, only five literary textbooks published between 1919 and 1946 had decided to include the 1855 "Preface"; this figure jumped to sixteen anthologies in the second phase—the same number of collections that picked up Whitman's "Democratic Vistas" in the same period.

Another development between 1947 and the mid-1960s in the presentation of Whitman's career was the discussion of his homosexuality. The first anthology to address the subject was the third edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1947). Near the midpoint of essentially the same introduction to Whitman's work that had appeared in the first two editions of his textbook, Foerster briefly added in 1947: "Whitman never married; toward men he apparently had an abnormal attraction."[18] Foerster's sudden notice of this aspect of Whitman's biography might seem strange at first glance; however, the timing is an explainable consequence of developments in Whitman criticism during the 1940s.

Critical references to Whitman's homosexuality by twentieth-century commentators, though inexplicit, are nonetheless well documented. Edgar Lee Masters's 1937 biography of Whitman, according to Scott Giantvalley, was the first study that "admitted Whitman's homosexuality as worthy of careful analysis."[19] While Masters's book may have made it more difficult for future scholarship to ignore the implications of Whitman's sexual nature, it was arguably a pair of articles by Malcolm Cowley published in the *New Republic* in 1946 that had the most profound impact on this aspect of Whitman studies.[20] The second of Cowley's essays, provocatively titled "Walt Whitman: The Secret," scolded past commentators who either attempted to apologize for or camouflage Whitman's homosexuality. Like Masters, Cowley called for a fundamental reexamination of Whitman's body of work that weighed the implications of his homosexuality. Foerster's short allusion to Whitman's sexuality in his 1947 anthology was almost certainly inspired by Cowley's 1946 articles, as Foerster lists them both in the bibliographic essay that introduces the section on Whitman in the 1947 edition of *American Poetry and Prose.*

Clarence Gohdes and James D. Hart's *America's Literature* (1955) was the only other anthology published before 1960 to make reference to Whitman's homosexuality. Strangely, even the fourth edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1957) avoided mention of the topic, deciding to drop the sentence about Whitman's sexual nature that it had added to the poet's sketch in 1947. Perhaps the intention was to protect the poet's reputation from the reticence of the times concerning homosexuality.

Gay Wilson Allen's biography of Walt Whitman, *The Solitary Singer,*

appeared in 1955, the year of the centennial of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass.* According to Donald Kummings one of the central aims of Allen's study was to interpret Whitman's "homoerotic impulse" and demonstrate how Whitman consciously "sublimated" that impulse into "the role of poet of democracy and of universal brotherhood."[21] Such a literary interpretation of Whitman's private life should have emboldened most editors to allude to the issue in their introductory sketches to Whitman's work, and a few did in the early 1960s. A majority of anthology compilers, however, probably saw Allen's reading of Whitman's sexual nature as yet the latest in a long line of speculative theories, and rather than attempt to untangle the complicated evidence pointing toward Whitman's homosexuality or address its implications, they took the path of least resistance and simply elected to ignore the topic altogether. Besides, anthology editors of the 1950s and 1960s were much more apt to focus on the aesthetic qualities of literature (and thus tend to slight biographical and historical considerations), given the influence of New Critical approaches to American writers, which were at their height during this second phase.

In 1965 Charles Anderson's anthology *American Literary Masters* could proclaim with little hesitancy that Whitman "is almost universally considered the greatest American poet."[22] Most *multicultural-phase* literary textbooks would say as much, but in the 1970s editors began to carve out for Whitman a place among the *world's* greatest writers. To illustrate, compare the closing sentences of the sketch of Whitman's career in the first three editions of George McMichael's *Anthology of American Literature,* which span the years 1974 to 1985 and steadily elevate Whitman's literary status from great American poet to that of immortal writer. The final sentence from the 1974 introduction reads, "Whitman had been a radically new poet, had made his own rhythms, created his own mythic world, and in writing the sprawling epic of American Democracy he helped make possible the free-verse unorthodoxies and the private literary intensities of a twentieth century that would one day come to honor him *as one of the great poets of America.*"[23] In the 1980 second edition the editors reprint this sketch from the 1974 volume with one notable difference. "Whitman had been a radically new poet, had made his own rhythms, created his own mythic world, and in writing the sprawling epic of American Democracy he helped make possible the free-verse

unorthodoxies and the private literary intensities of a twentieth century that would one day come to honor him *as one of the great poets of the world.*"[24] But the elevation from great American poet to great world poet would go farther in the 1985 third edition, where the editors made yet another alteration to the final line of their Whitman introduction. "Whitman had been a radically new poet, had made his own rhythms, created his own mythic world, and in writing the sprawling epic of American Democracy he helped make possible the free-verse unorthodoxies and the private literary intensities of a twentieth century that would one day come to honor him *as one of the great poets of all time.*"[25] From American genius to world-class author to timeless great, Whitman's stock has continued to rise exponentially in a majority of anthologies of American literature published since the mid-1960s.

Reflecting Whitman's ever-swelling critical popularity since the 1960s, third-phase anthologies have selected on average more than thirty-two poems by Whitman, as well as two to three of his prefaces, which is an increase of nearly ten works (and anywhere from twenty-five to fifty pages!) when compared to first- and second-generation totals. Continuing several trends that were initiated after World War II, third-generation collections present much from the early years of Whitman's career. "Calamus" and "Children of Adam" have remained very popular selections, as has, of course, "Song of Myself." The preface to the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass* and "Democratic Vistas" were joined by other of Whitman's prose works, primarily selections from *Specimen Days* (1882–83), Whitman's somewhat random and lyrical autobiographical reminiscences of his early days in New York and Washington, D.C., as frequently reprinted pieces in third-phase textbooks. One additional trend carried over from second-phase collections: "O Captain! My Captain!" virtually disappeared from textbooks after 1966.

Anthologies of American literature published since the mid-1960s have experimented with their presentation of Whitman's body of work in numerous other ways. The Civil War has become a convenient halfway point for all but a few two-volume multicultural-phase literary textbooks. Because major portions of Whitman's career occurred both before and after the Civil War, scholar-editors have disagreed about whether to group his work with pre–Civil War writers (volume one) or those who wrote after 1865 (volume two). Almost without exception

when historiographical- and New Critical–phase collections were packaged in two-volume sets, Whitman's work was placed in the second volume along with that of other late-nineteenth-century American authors. After the infusion of significant numbers of twentieth-century writers began in the 1950s, Whitman's place on the relative timeline of American literary history logically shifted backward. As a result, editors have since placed Whitman at the end of their first volumes and have classified his work as the culmination of American romantic poetry.

Presumably in an attempt to accommodate instructors who wish to teach Whitman as both a late romantic and an early realist, a handful of anthologies published in the 1980s and 1990s either reprinted all or part of their Whitman selections in both volumes. Another innovation to unfold during the multicultural phase is the inclusion of a complete version of the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass* in the 1987 *Harper American Literature*. In an equally isolated experiment, the 1978 textbook *America in Literature* became the first and only anthology to excerpt a chapter from Whitman's 1842 temperance novel *Franklin Evans* (chapter 25, "The Conclusion").

Third-generation anthologies have generally refrained from discussing the homosexual component of Whitman's biography. Among the few textbooks that discuss the issue extensively are Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren's *American Literature* (1973), the five editions of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1979, 1985, 1989, 1994, 1998), and the three editions of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990, 1994, 1998). *The Heath Anthology* presents the lengthiest inquiry into the connections between Whitman's sexuality and his art. Conceivably the recent trends in Whitman scholarship to scrutinize their subject as the writer of timeless verse rather than the poetry of personal expression, Whitman's homosexuality is little more central to multicultural-phase portraits of his career than to those of earlier periods. In any event Whitman's status as one of the three or four most important writers in current anthologies of American literature seems unshakable.

The contours of Emily Dickinson's twentieth-century academic reputation have exhibited many of the same fluctuations that characterized Walt Whitman's career. Like Whitman's, Dickinson's poetry was greatly misunderstood and underestimated by early genteel-minded scholars in

the 1910s and 1920s, who resisted her unconventional style and form. Like Whitman, Dickinson's status as a significant American writer emerged between the wars in large part because of her perceived influence on modern poetry. And like Whitman, Dickinson's status as a second-rate nineteenth-century American poet slowly transformed, within the covers of literary anthologies, into that of a major American author and eventually a great world poet. But even though Whitman's and Dickinson's cases are relatively similar in these respects, Dickinson's twentieth-century rise to critical fame is in other ways wholly unique.

Fred Lewis Pattee and Norman Foerster, through their published criticism, as well as their compilation of highly successful anthologies, set the course for early historiographical-phase scholarly assessments of Emily Dickinson's body of work. Pattee, to his credit, took notice of the recovered poet in his acclaimed 1915 study, *A History of American Literature since 1870*. But his remarks could scarcely have been more hostile and potentially devastating to Dickinson's emerging academic reputation. Describing her poems as "mere conceits . . . valueless and for the most part lifeless" and then cavalierly declaring that the poetry "should have been allowed to perish as their author intended,"[26] Pattee gave expression to a negative perception of Dickinson's verse that would persist among most academics for at least the next quarter-century.

In spite of such caustic commentary, Pattee elected four years later to include Dickinson in the first edition of *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919). None of the half-dozen selections Pattee reprints for his anthology—"Just Lost When I Was Saved" (160), "I Held a Jewel in My Fingers" (245), and "Through the Strait Pass of Suffering" (792), to name a few—could be regarded as her more characteristic poems. In the introduction to Dickinson's section Pattee attenuated his earlier criticism. "Her poems," he writes, "gathered from her private portfolios, are as pale and exotic as the Indian pipe flowers on the covers of the little volumes in which they have been printed."[27] Though impressionistic, Pattee's "analysis" of Dickinson's verse was a step forward for the general state of Dickinson studies. By 1919 Pattee apparently had decided to evaluate Dickinson's work rather than completely dismiss it. Oddly, then, Pattee was responsible for welcoming her into the anthology format, which eventually helped assure Dickinson a place in the American canon.

Foerster also made an early and rather paradoxical impression on Dickinson studies. The editors of the monumental *Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21) solicited Foerster to write a chapter on "Later Poets," which appeared in the third volume of the history, published in 1921. He initiated his survey with a generous three-page discussion of Dickinson's place among late-nineteenth-century American poets. While his commentary was mostly complimentary, Foerster ultimately criticized Dickinson's "defective sense of form" and concluded his remarks about Dickinson's career with what has become one of the most infamous predictions in all of American literary criticism: "Her place in American letters will be inconspicuous but secure."[28] Years later, however, Foerster would distance himself from that earlier position only by pointing to Pattee's suggestion in 1915 that Dickinson's poetry ought to have been destroyed rather than preserved by Dickinson's family.[29]

Even though Foerster appeared skeptical about Dickinson's critical longevity in 1921, the first edition of his *American Poetry and Prose* (1925) delivered a decidedly different impression of Dickinson's standing among American writers. Most anthologies published in the 1920s and early 1930s presented only a very small selection of Dickinson's verse, if they bothered with it at all. Pattee's first three textbooks (1919, 1922, 1926), for example, had just six of Dickinson's poems each. And, on average, collections of American literature published between 1919 and 1937 reprinted no more than ten selections from Dickinson's body of work. The first two editions of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1925, 1934), however, anthologized an unprecedented twenty-nine poems each, twice as many as the closest competitor. Among Foerster's liberal samplings were such standards as "There's a Certain Slant of Light" (258), "The Soul Selects" (303), and "I Like To See It Lap the Miles" (585). If Foerster's chapter in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* envisioned little more than a second-rate status for Dickinson among future literary scholars, his anthologies, like Pattee's before, presciently lifted Dickinson and her poems from literary obscurity and carved out a place for her among America's more acclaimed writers.

In the decade and a half following World War I Dickinson's critical status rose steadily. One factor largely responsible for this momentum was the growing recognition among academic scholars of modernism, specifically modern poetry, as an authentic literary movement. In fact,

Foerster's 1925 textbook implies just such a connection, heralding Dickinson as no less than "a precursor to the poets of the twentieth century." [30] Robert Shafer's 1926 anthology suggests similar sentiments in its introductory sketch of Dickinson. Of Dickinson's body of work he observes, "It has faults which anyone may see, but excellencies which few achieve, and, though its place in American literature may be small, it has exercised a remarkable influence upon some very recent writers."[31] Today Dickinson's influence on early modernist poets like Ezra Pound, H.D., Amy Lowell, William Carlos Williams, and Marianne Moore is well documented, particularly as her work anticipated the Imagist school. Indeed, as modernism established itself as a movement in the 1920s, it simultaneously recognized the status of trailblazers such as Dickinson and Whitman.

Another factor contributing to Dickinson's initial critical rise in the years immediately following World War I was the scholarship of Amherst professor George F. Whicher. Between 1925 and 1936 Whicher published a dozen articles and reviews on Dickinson and her work for such notable publications as *American Literature* and *Dictionary of American Biography.* In 1938 Whicher published the first full-scale, sufficiently reliable biography of Dickinson, *This Was a Poet: A Critical Biography of Emily Dickinson.* Later Dickinson scholars are indebted to Whicher's watershed study for numerous reasons, not the least of which was its effectively putting an end to what had become the scholarly pastime of attempting to uncover the identity of Dickinson's secret "lover." Indeed, few anthologies published in the 1920s and 1930s could resist coverage of this aspect of Dickinson's biography. Whicher offered his own theory about the person's identity, but as Dickinson scholar Sheila Clendenning points out, it is much more important that he "proceeded to discredit the whole inquiry by reminding readers that Dickinson herself had stipulated that the speaker in her poetry was a 'supposed person.' "[32]

Several Dickinson scholars over the years have also pointed to a 1928 essay by Allen Tate titled "Emily Dickinson" published in *Outlook* as having wielded influence over the direction of Dickinson's critical popularity in the late 1920s and beyond. Clendenning, for example, calls Tate's piece an "important essay"[33] in her bibliography of Dickinson criticism, and Caesar Blake and Carlton Wells include a revised version of the article in their *The Recognition of Emily Dickinson: Selected Criticism since*

1890 (1964). Perhaps more than anything else, Tate's essay attempted to explain Dickinson's unconventional form, which up to that time had been regularly criticized as deficient, and place her within the nineteenth-century New England literary tradition of Emerson and Hawthorne.

A third component to Dickinson's critical ascent in the 1920s and 1930s was the publication in rapid succession of several new collections of her poetry. In 1924 Dickinson's niece Martha Dickinson Bianchi published *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson,* and author Conrad Aiken edited *Selected Poems of Emily Dickinson.* Five years later Bianchi and Alfred Leete Hampson brought together an additional 191 poems and published the widely reviewed *Further Poems of Emily Dickinson* (1929). That next year Bianchi edited a popular centenary edition of her aunt's verse containing 787 poems (all but one previously published) titled *The Poems of Emily Dickinson* (1930). In 1935 Bianchi and Hampson released *Unpublished Poems of Emily Dickinson,* and in 1937 they published *The Poetry of Emily Dickinson,* a massive 484-page compilation that essentially merged the 1930 and 1935 titles under one cover.

Among this cluster of editions the last two titles probably had a particularly direct and profound effect on the presentation of Dickinson's career in literary anthologies. As I mentioned above, an average of ten poems by Dickinson appeared in historiographical-phase literary textbooks published between 1919 and 1937.[34] Beginning in 1938, however, the year following the appearance of *The Poetry of Emily Dickinson,* coverage of Dickinson's career in collections of American literature skyrocketed. In the remaining four first-phase textbooks, those published between 1938 and 1946, editors found space for thirty-two poems, fifty-four poems, thirty-seven poems, and thirty-nine poems, respectively, an average of forty-two selections per collection. Modern standard pieces that had appeared only once or twice in literary textbooks since 1919, such as "This Is My Letter to the World" (441), "I Died for Beauty" (449), "A Narrow Fellow in the Grass" (986), and "My Life Closed Twice before Its Close" (1732), now were likely to appear regularly with the broader coverage; and other acclaimed selections, including "I Felt a Funeral in My Brain" (280) and "Because I Could Not Stop for Death" (712), could be introduced for the first time. It is notable that the 1935 first edition of *Major American Writers,* edited by Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy, omitted Dickinson's verse altogether, thus be-

coming the only historiographical-phase anthology not to include her work. By contrast, the 1945 second edition of *Major American Writers* would contain thirty-nine poems from her body of work.

Attending the increasing coverage of Dickinson's poetry in the late 1930s and early 1940s was a change in editorial attitudes toward Dickinson as a writer. In 1936 Jay B. Hubbell seemed to respond to Foerster's 1921 unfavorable assessment of Dickinson's future academic reputation when in his *American Life in Literature* he observed that "her place among the American poets is not yet fully determined, but we may be certain that it will be high."[35] The editors of *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938) affirmed that Dickinson had at last achieved status as a significant writer, calling her "one of America's finest poets."[36] The *Oxford* editors traced the beginnings of Dickinson's critical rise back to the 1920s and specifically cited early first-generation literary textbooks as having contributed to that recovery: "It was not until in the nineteen-twenties, with her inclusion in various anthologies and with the publication of *The Life and Letters of Emily Dickinson,* that there was true appreciation of her poetic significance."[37] After the publication of Whicher's biography in 1938, historiographical-phase anthologies, including Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers,* routinely regarded Dickinson as America's major woman poet.

Although the distinction of major "woman" poet probably strikes today's readers as quaintly sexist, second-generation scholar-editors seemed largely unaffected by such implications and by the mid-1960s had elevated Dickinson to the most exclusive levels of the American canon. New Critical–phase anthologies generally kept pace with the coverage granted Dickinson in post-1937 first-generation anthologies, slightly increasing the average number of selections they included to about forty-five poems per textbook. This figure does not include, however, a handful of anthologies published between 1947 and 1966 that accorded Dickinson's work unusually generous space. Gay Wilson Allen and Henry Pochmann's 1949 anthology, for instance, reprinted 146 of Dickinson's poems together with sixteen letters. Two other anthologies from this period likewise provided more than one hundred poems by Dickinson. If one were to include these three anthologies with the others, the average number of Dickinson's poems to appear in second-phase collections would jump from forty-five to nearly sixty.

Editorial commentary in second-generation anthologies continued the lines of inquiry initiated by earlier textbooks. Most summarized the events surrounding the "discovery" of Dickinson by critics of the 1920s, and even more identified Dickinson as a precursor to modern American poetry. One of the changes that did occur in the anthologies of the 1950s and early 1960s with respect to their coverage of Dickinson was an elevation in the degree of acclaim conferred. As early as 1949, textbook editors saw fit to drop the gender-specific labels that had qualified Dickinson's status in the 1930s and 1940s and lauded her simply as "one of the giants of nineteenth-century American literature."[38] Still others heralded Dickinson as one of America's greatest poets. In 1955 Robert Spiller declared Dickinson "one of the great poets of all time" years before a similar honorific title was bestowed on Walt Whitman, and in 1959 the editors of *Masters of American Literature* likewise recognized Dickinson as "an acclaimed world poet."[39]

By the 1940s Dickinson's verse had attracted serious attention from many of the period's most respected American literary scholars. In fact, such critical luminaries as Gay Wilson Allen, Richard Blackmur, F. O. Matthiessen, Robert Spiller, Louis Untermeyer, and Stanley Williams had all published studies of Dickinson's poetry long before her place among America's greatest authors was assured. Yet slippage in her standing could occur. In 1949 the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) solicited the American Literature section of the Modern Language Association for a list of the twenty best American books for the purpose of translating America's finest literature into numerous foreign languages and disseminating the works around the world. Twenty-six of the country's "outstanding specialists in American literature" were polled and asked to select twenty books that best represent the literary art of America. Each time a particular work appeared on a returned ballot it was awarded five points (if someone nominated more than twenty books, the additional titles received three points each). The top fifteen authors according to the UNESCO poll were as follows (total points for each are in parentheses): 1. Hawthorne (164); 2. Poe (163); 3. Melville (143), Henry James (143); 5. Mark Twain (141); 6. Emerson (140); 7. Thoreau (125); 8. Whitman (120); 9. Frost (109); 10. Franklin (103), Cooper (103); 12. Irving (92); 13. Cather (85); 14. Dickinson (81); 15. O'Neill (77).[40] It is perhaps worth pointing

out, as Jay B. Hubbell observed in *Who Are the Major American Writers?* (1972), that the "New Critics" or those that would have considered themselves practitioners of New Criticism were conspicuously absent from the list of twenty-six UNESCO "specialists" voting in the 1949 UNESCO poll, whose credentials generally stretched back as far as the 1920s and 1930s.

The UNESCO poll of 1949 never accomplished its intended task of making available packaged translations of the "best" American books, but it did have an enormous impact on the state of American literary criticism in the 1950s and 1960s. Even though the UNESCO poll ranked specific *books* by Americans and not the authors themselves, the results of the survey were interpreted by many literary critics as statistical confirmation of an American canon of *writers.* Floyd Stovall, for example, used the poll as the basis for his then-landmark bibliographical study, *Eight American Authors* (1956). Published at a time when the study of American literature was just beginning to hit its stride as a respected field of academic inquiry, Stovall's book and its selection of eight writers had the effect of sanctioning the top UNESCO vote-getters as *the* American canon, demoting Dickinson and scores of other writers whose standing among academic critics was in reality almost or every bit as considerable in 1956 as most of the writers included among the "great eight."[41] In spite of the fact that Dickinson placed fourteenth, Stovall explained in his preface to *Eight American Authors* that she was the only writer outside the top eight "seriously considered" for inclusion in his bibliography.[42]

Dickinson's academic reputation could thus have suffered an appreciable setback among American literary scholars in the mid-1950s had it not been for the timely effort of Thomas H. Johnson and the publication of his definitive edition of Emily Dickinson's poetry in 1955. Johnson's three-volume scholarly edition of Dickinson's verse arranged 1,775 of her poems chronologically, restored their strange punctuation, and provided variant readings for scores of selections. It was immediately hailed universally as a monument of textual scholarship. At last Dickinson studies had produced the reliable texts that scholars since Whicher had called for. And if Dickinson's work had seemed unconventional before 1955, Johnson's restoration of the poems back to their original, unorthodox form made them seem all the more rare and eccentric. As a

result, interest in Dickinson's work continued to grow in the late 1950s and early 1960s despite the misguided attempts of some New Critical–phase scholars.

Surprisingly, many anthologies published after the appearance of Johnson's authoritative edition continued to reprint pre-Johnson versions of Dickinson's poems. Although most anthologies began identifying the individual works using Johnson's numbering, only seven of the twelve literary textbooks published between 1956 and 1966 opted to publish the restored poems with their original punctuation.[43] This casual attitude changed, however. Only a handful of multicultural-phase textbooks chose to present versions other than those in Johnson's collection. The last textbook to anthologize corrupt texts of Dickinson's work was published in 1975.

Third-generation anthologies further expanded their coverage of Dickinson's canon, increasing the average number of poems they included from fifty-eight in the second period to just over sixty-four after 1966. Like their New Critical–phase counterparts, all multicultural-phase editors offered a similar core of thirty to forty standards from Dickinson's body of work—"Safe in Their Alabaster Chambers" (216), "I Felt a Funeral in My Brain" (280), "After Great Pain, a Formal Feeling Comes" (341), "This Is My Letter to the World" (441), "I Died for Beauty" (449), "Because I Could Not Stop for Death" (712), "A Narrow Fellow in the Grass" (986), "My Life Closed Twice before Its Close" (1732)—and complemented those selections with an additional ten to twenty lesser-known works. Textbooks since the mid-1960s have also continued to deliver high praise of Dickinson's career, usually placing her side by side with Whitman as "the two greatest of American poets, and, indeed, as one of the greatest poets writing in English."[44] One anthology from the early 1970s went even further, asserting that Dickinson "was much more innovative than Whitman."[45] Dickinson's standing as a major American author has endured virtually unchallenged in multicultural-phase anthologies and looks to remain safe.

There is one recent development worth noting in the presentation of Dickinson that is wholly unprecedented in third-phase textbooks. The Dickinson section in the 1994 edition of Paul Lauter's *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* introduces the theory that Dickinson was probably a lesbian or at least bisexual and insinuates that she had en-

gaged in a long-term sexual relationship with her brother's wife. Peggy McIntosh and Ellen Louise Hart, authors of this Dickinson essay, open the issue by admonishing past scholars for a collective covert attempt to conceal Dickinson's homosexuality. "It is important to understand the role in Dickinson studies played by homophobia, which is the fear and hatred of love between people of the same sex. Increasingly feminist scholarship is revealing close same-sex attachments that have been covered up, denied, and effaced, and such is the case with this poet." McIntosh and Hart then move their discussion into the specifics of Dickinson's sexuality: "We do not know to what extent Dickinson expressed her sexual desires physically, but we do have clear evidence that her affinities were both lesbian and heterosexual. . . . Susan [the wife of Austin Dickinson] and Emily's relatives went to unusual lengths to mutilate and destroy evidence of the women's relationship. Perhaps Austin, bitterly estranged from Susan in his last years, also wanted to clear his sister of identification with his wife."[46] Scholarly conjecture that Dickinson might have been a lesbian dates back at least to Rebecca Patterson's 1951 biography, *The Riddle of Emily Dickinson,* which speculated about the nature of Dickinson's relationship with Susan Dickinson and argued that Kate Scott Anthon had been the object of Dickinson's love in both her life and poetry. The revival of interest in Dickinson's love life, specifically as it could have involved other women, is attributable to scholarship of the last two decades. Whether this interest in Dickinson's supposed homosexuality becomes more than a timely fad within Dickinson studies—something, unfortunately, curiously akin to the inane scholarly interest in likely male lovers of Dickinson during the 1920s and 1930s—is yet to be seen.

Unlike Emily Dickinson, Alice Cary, Phoebe Cary, Lucy Larcom, and Celia Thaxter all achieved a degree of recognition as poets during their lifetimes. All four women sold their poetry to well-known nineteenth-century magazines, published volumes of their own verse, and were recognized and praised by such eminent nineteenth-century literati as Rufus Griswold, Edgar Allan Poe, James C. Fields, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Greenleaf Whittier, James Russell Lowell, and Edmund Clarence Stedman. Yet even the contemporary notice and support of their influential male counterparts was not enough to ensure critical acceptance (to say little of any acclaim) in the next century. Dickinson ultimately

found fame as the Carys, Larcom, Thaxter, and scores of other well-accepted female poets vanished from the annals of American literary history after World War I. On the surface these two phenomena—the rise of Dickinson and the fall of the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter—might seem coincidental and unrelated, but close inspection reveals that the same set of circumstances contributed equally and simultaneously to the ascent of Emily Dickinson and the critical decline of others.

One might be surprised to learn that the work of these latter poets was much more likely to appear in an anthology of the 1920s and 1930s than in any of the "enlightened" profeminist literary textbooks of the last two decades. The four editions of Pattee's *Century Readings* (1919, 1922, 1926, 1932), for example, reprinted Phoebe Cary's poem "Nearer Home" (1843), a short religious meditation asking God for spiritual strength; and all but his fourth edition collected Larcom's "Hannah Binding Shoes" (1863), a rather interesting verse treatment of one woman's endurance of the harshness of New England life, and "A Loyal Woman's No" (1863), which presents a bold and strong feminist voice at one point demanding that he "Who weds me must at least with equal pace / Sometimes move with me at my being's / height" (ll. 37–39). Thaxter clearly fared best among this group of poets in first-phase literary textbooks. All four editions of Pattee's anthology included Thaxter's "Land Locked" (1861), "The Spaniards' Graves at the Isles of Shoals" (1865), and "The Sandpiper" (1873), all of which are set in her native offshore New England environment. *A Book of American Literature* (1927), edited by Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder, held six selections by Thaxter, including the three poems from Pattee's textbook, as well as a selection of Thaxter's much darker, more reflective "Rock Weeds" (1896), "Twilight" (1896), and "Midsummer Midnight" (1896). Despite these early, intermittent showings, not a single selection by Phoebe Cary or Larcom has been collected in a literary textbook since 1933, and Alice Cary's poetry has never appeared in an anthology of American literature designed specifically for the college classroom.[47] Thaxter's verse has only recently resurfaced in the third edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1998).

What makes the neglect of these women more problematic is that as late as 1921 Norman Foerster considered their work conspicuous enough to mention all four poets in his survey article, "Later Poets," for *The*

Cambridge History of American Literature (1917–21). Of the Cary sisters, Foerster remarked that they combined "the sentimental and moralizing tendency of the age along with the sweetness and beauty," adding, "by virtue of which they still have some charm."[48] Equally tactful in his critique of Larcom and Thaxter, Foerster viewed the former's poetry as perhaps "too often sentimental" and referred to the latter's "sympathetic temperament."[49] In light of Foerster's attention, however equivocal, to the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter in the *Cambridge* survey article, why were these four authors and dozens of other mid-nineteenth-century women poets like them overlooked by most literary textbook editors in the years after World War I?

Late-twentieth-century commentators explained the absence of such writers from early anthologies mainly as the result of biased scholar-editors who systematically omitted women authors in order to ensconce an all-white-male literary canon. One recent critic has gone so far as to characterize the scarcity of women in collections of American literature as "that incredible twentieth-century project in suppression."[50] There can be little doubt that conscious or unconscious prejudice played a role in the neglect of certain writers by some historiographical- and New Critical– and, for that matter, multicultural-phase anthology editors. But to account for the absence of these women solely through allegations about a sexist academy is not only simplistic; it also ignores evidence that suggests less-conspiratorial rationales.

The upward direction of Emily Dickinson's academic reputation after World War I stands as a useful and appropriate point of comparison to the critical reception of the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter. Beyond the fact that Dickinson is an American woman poet of roughly the same period, her work, as David S. Reynolds argues in his well-respected 1988 study, *Beneath the American Renaissance,* and Cheryl Walker makes clear in her 1992 anthology, *American Women Poets of the Nineteenth Century,* employs many of the themes and images that run throughout conventional nineteenth-century literature, particularly mid- to late-nineteenth-century American women's poetry. Walker points out, for instance, that Dickinson's verse shares with that of her female contemporaries a marked concern for religious themes, objects of affection and "a woman's secret sorrow," nature and the seasons, and "metaphorical possibilities . . . of natural phenomena."[51] From this perspective Dick-

inson obviously has much in common with the writers of her day. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that neither the selection of subject matter by the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter for their poetry, per se, nor their gender automatically excluded them from post–World War I literary textbooks, especially given the fact that Dickinson, a woman whose verse incorporates fundamentally similar materials, had entered the initial phase of her ascent to major-author status at about the same time that the names of these other women were receding from the critical landscape.

Dickinson's long-term fame was initially generated by modernist poets of the 1910s and 1920s who admired the radically innovative design of her poetry. As mentioned earlier, academic critics and scholar-editors alike eventually joined these early advocates by the mid-1930s in their celebration of Whitman and Dickinson as American originals. Conversely, the verse produced by Alice and Phoebe Cary, Lucy Larcom, and Celia Thaxter—which found fewer and fewer emulators—was exceedingly conventional, conforming to nineteenth-century genteel poetic expectations about meter, rhyme, mood, and form. Consider, for example, the first few lines of Phoebe Cary's "Nearer Home":

> One sweetly solemn thought
> Comes to me o'er and o'er;
> I am nearer home to-day
> than I ever have been before. (ll. 1–4)[52]

Phrases such as "sweetly solemn thought" and "o'er and o'er" stand out as dated, and the entire poem is marked by the bathetic temper conveyed by its opening stanza. Even Larcom's more thematically daring "A Loyal Woman's No" is hindered at times by similarly breathless poetic sentiment and abstract exclamations:

> You lure me to the valley: men should call
> Up to the mountains, where air is clear.
> Win me and help me climbing, if at all!
> Beyond these peaks rich harmonies I hear—
> The morning chant of Liberty and Law!

The dawn pours in, to wash out Slavery's
blot:
Fairer than aught the bright sun ever saw
Rises a nation without stain or spot. (ll. 38–44)[53]

Given the role that early modern authors played in shaping critical tastes in the 1920s and 1930s, then, it ought not come as any surprise that the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter would have been neglected by literary commentators whose critical allegiances reflected the modernist spirit.

Another aspect of Dickinson's work that separates it from the poetry of such contemporaries as the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter is its *apparent* lack of historiographical appeal. In other words, very little about Dickinson's poetry expressly identifies it as the product of late-nineteenth-century American culture. Her poems rarely if ever seem to allude to actual historical moments, for example. And even when Dickinson treats topics found in the conventional poetry of her day (such as the desire for or loss of a lover), they are usually dealt with in language completely devoid of sociohistorical implication. Her body of work, in other words, offers readers little in the way of illustrating what life in mid-nineteenth-century America might have been like—just a few cryptic allusions to railroad locomotives, churches, and war. That is not to say that Dickinson's work was not shaped by her culture but rather that the traces of topical influence do not reside at the surface of her poetry.[54]

By contrast, Alice and Phoebe Cary, Lucy Larcom, and Celia Thaxter wrote verse steeped in the contextual milieux of their day. Referring to the "historical accuracy" of the poetry written by women in the mid to late nineteenth century, Cheryl Walker observes that this literature "had strong representational value for nineteenth-century readers who bought their books by the thousands."[55] The Carys (Alice in particular), for instance, are credited by modern scholarship with pioneering an authentic portrayal of midwestern life in American literature in prose works such as *Colvernook* (1852) and poems such as "The Washerwoman," "The West Country," and "Was He Henpecked"; Larcom was typically praised by critics in her day for her sympathetic depictions of the working classes in *An Idyl of Work* (1875), which bears the largely

self-descriptive dedication: "To Working Women by One of Their Sisterhood." Much of Thaxter's poetry is characterized by its vivid sketches of life on New England's Isles of Shoals, and all four women were involved in and wrote about the late-nineteenth-century suffrage movement. Certainly these authors produced some poetry less influenced by their immediate surroundings, but the majority of their work, nearly polemical in nature, furnishes distinct impressions of nineteenth-century American culture that would primarily have appealed to academic literary historiographers of the early twentieth century.

The class of literary textbook that offered selections from Phoebe Cary, Lucy Larcom, and Celia Thaxter in the 1920s and early 1930s confirms that their work had attractions for the genteel practitioners of literary historiography within the American academy. As discussed in chapter 1, Fred Lewis Pattee, whose four editions of *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* featured the work of Phoebe Cary, Larcom, and Thaxter, was among the most ardent practitioners of historiography in the 1920s. His anthologies, he himself declares, were designed with special attention paid to illuminating "the period of the author and the growth of the American spirit."[56] Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder's 1927 anthology, which included work by Thaxter, was also basically historiographical in design and content. Franklyn Snyder's ardent defense of literary historiography as the appropriate methodology for the study of American literature is well documented, particularly his vigorous debates in print with literary humanists such as Henry Seidel Canby.

Ultimately, the waning of genteel attitudes within the academy, along with the decline of historiographic considerations in American literary scholarship in the early decades of the twentieth century, guaranteed the eventual critical demise of such conventional late-nineteenth-century poets as Alice and Phoebe Cary, Lucy Larcom, and Celia Thaxter. When the critical tastes of first-phase academic literary scholars shifted away from nineteenth-century traditional notions of poetic art, these poets and their verse disappeared from accounts of literary history. Hardly coincidental is the fact that the status of decidedly modern-spirited poets, Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson in particular, rose in the 1920s and 1930s just as editors quietly erased the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter from literary histories and anthologies of American literature. The factors

that help to explain Dickinson's critical ascension—namely, the originality of her poetic forms and her ability to recognize timeless themes—are the very qualities absent from the work of the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter, which in the end virtually assured that their more time-bound and conformist verse would be ignored by commentators of the 1920s and beyond.

Several late-nineteenth-century male poets suffered similar fates in the decades following World War I. Sidney Lanier and John Banister Tabb are only two of the most prominent post–Civil War writers whose reputations among American critics have faded into obscurity over the last eighty-plus years. The explanations for the disappearance of female writers such as the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter from the pages of classroom anthologies and literary histories also account for the dwindling coverage of Lanier and Tabb since the 1920s. However, these writers, unlike their female counterparts, were able to sustain the recognition of academic scholars, in the case of Tabb long into the 1940s and in the case of Lanier into the 1970s. What, then, accounts for the discrepancy between these two groups of poets?

Editors of anthologies of American literature since 1919 provided several convincing rationales for the inclusion of Lanier's and Tabb's poetry. Some early textbook editors, for example, presented Lanier and Tabb as two talented representatives of writers to emerge from the post–Civil War reconstructed South. As such, anthologies from the 1920s and 1930s, particularly those exhibiting historiographical tendencies, included the poetry of Lanier and Tabb in an effort to provide coverage of all major regions of the country. Anthology editors had relatively few choices when looking to provide selections of Southern poetry—especially post–Civil War Southern poetry—in their collections. To some degree, then, Lanier and Tabb probably survived editorial cuts because they were among the only options available to anthologies looking to include a sampling of late-nineteenth-century Southern poetry.

Fred Lewis Pattee identified Lanier in his 1919 textbook as "the leader" of a generation of Southern poets whose careers began after the Civil War.[57] Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder called Lanier "a genius" and asserted that "the only poet of the South worthy to be compared with him is Poe."[58] Even Norman Foerster's more aesthetically oriented 1934 anthology attached regional significance to Lanier's legacy by describing

his verse as "the first poetic work of high promise to emerge from the desolate South of the Reconstruction days."[59] Tabb is less frequently identified expressly as a poet of the "New South" than is Lanier in historiographical-phase collections. Nevertheless, the implication of such an association was clear as early scholar-editors routinely portrayed Tabb as Lanier's close associate and many placed his section in their anthologies immediately following Lanier's.

Lanier and Tabb were also included in first-phase literary textbooks because most early editors actually regarded their poetry as rather technically innovative. This factor, in particular, accounts for Lanier's and Tabb's ability to sustain critical interest long after many of their contemporaries, the Carys, Larcom, and Thaxter included, had disappeared from anthologies and literary histories. Foerster, for instance, labeled Lanier's experimentation with verse form as a kind of "musical poetry" and lauded his achievement as "remarkable" in that respect. Four years later the editors of *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938) explained Lanier's importance similarly. "Sidney Lanier's perception that verse is a phenomenon of sound, and his attempts to write poetical harmony instead of mere melody make him one of the most important figures of American poetry in the nineteenth century."[60] There was little disagreement among historiographical-phase anthologies that Lanier's work was influenced by his love of music. Indeed, *The Oxford Anthology* remarked that "Lanier's emphasis [on the sound of poetry] foreshadowed the modern poets' reliance on the ear."[61] With the distinction of seeming to be a precursor to modernist poetry, Lanier, like Whitman and Dickinson, remained a writer whose work maintained critical interest as methods of analysis shifted from literary historiography to aesthetic concerns in the 1920s and 1930s.

In 1913 John Macy's highly regarded study *The Spirit of American Literature* ranked Lanier among the triumvirate of great poetic talents America had yet produced: "Three volumes of unimpeachable poetry have been written in America: *Leaves of Grass,* the thin volume of Poe, and the poetry of Sidney Lanier."[62] Responding to Macy's judgment in 1936, Jay B. Hubbell essentially agreed with the high estimate of Lanier but with one qualification: "If [Macy's] estimate seems too high, it is clear that Lanier was at least the most important American poet to

emerge between the Civil War and the end of the century."[63] By decade's end even Hubbell's remarks would seem overstated. In 1939, for example, *A College Book of American Literature* delivered a more sober estimate of Lanier's standing, reflecting most historiographical-phase appraisals: "[Lanier] takes a leading rank among the distinguished writers of the South after the Civil War, and next to Whitman and Emily Dickinson, is the most important poet of the seventies."[64]

Tabb, however, was consistently portrayed as a "minor" poet by first-phase editors. Yet despite modest appraisals of his career, some critics considered Tabb's talents superior to Lanier's. Robert Shafer, for example, reported in his 1926 anthology, "It has been claimed, not without reason, that Tabb achieved beauties beyond the reach of his friend Lanier, and certainly he was the finer workman of the two, and had the deeper insight. He was not a great poet, but he was a true one, and he deserves to be read and remembered."[65] Tabb's "workmanship" in fact endeared him to many literary scholars between the wars who compared his experiments in poetry to none other than Emily Dickinson's. The Snyders' 1927 anthology, *A Book of American Literature,* was the first such collection to make a connection between Tabb and Dickinson, noting especially that Tabb lacked Dickinson's "ironic bitterness."[66] Hubbell also suggested that Tabb's poems "should be compared with those of Emily Dickinson."[67] In the end, though, detailed discussions of Tabb's career as a poet in historiographical-phase textbooks were scarce.

Lanier's work appeared in all anthologies of American literature designed specifically for the college classroom published between 1919 and 1946. These collections reprinted an average of just over nine of his pieces. A few textbooks offered a prose selection such as "Cain Smallin," from his 1867 quasi-realistic novel of Southern life, *Tiger-Lilies,* or an excerpt from one of Lanier's scholarly works, but the majority of collections showed only Lanier's verse. Not surprisingly, "Song of the Chattahoochee," "The Marshes of Glynn," and "The Symphony" were the most often anthologized of Lanier's poems in first-generation textbooks, appearing in fourteen, fourteen, and thirteen collections, respectively. Tabb's poetry fared less favorably in historiographical-phase anthologies, with only nine of seventeen collections including his work. When editors did incorporate Tabb's verse into their textbooks, they

offered an average of nine poems. But because of the typically short length of his poems, Tabb's section in an early anthology rarely exceeded two pages.

By the end of the 1940s the reputations of both Lanier and Tabb had begun to show signs of anemia. Even the efforts of the Fugitive movement in the 1920s and 1930s could not permanently shore up the receding popularity of Southern regional poets. The first edition of *The Literature of the United States* (1947), edited by Walter Blair, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart, minimized Lanier's significance as an American poet. The third edition of Foerster's anthology revised its judgment of 1934 that Lanier's "achievement" was "remarkable" and in 1947 described it as merely "noteworthy."[68] Hubbell's 1949 second edition stood by its earlier estimation of Lanier, calling him "the most important American poet, except Emily Dickinson, to emerge between the Civil War and the end of the century."[69] Hubbell's reference to Dickinson in the headnote to Lanier's work was inserted in the second edition and is virtually the only change to this introductory essay.

Other New Critical–phase scholar-editors were more explicit in their judgment of Lanier's shortcomings. Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy repeated in 1952 their contention that Lanier's work "shares some of the glaring defects of romantic and sentimental poetry," an observation they had originally made in their 1935 first edition of *Major American Writers.*[70] Wilbur Scott and Raymond Short, editors of the 1954 anthology *The Main Lines of American Literature,* were even more frank in their critique of Lanier: "The metrics of many of his poems are interesting as musical experiments in verse but his sentimentality and the vagueness of much of his imagery have led to a decline in his reputation."[71] As Scott and Short's remarks make clear, the qualities in Lanier's body of work that had seemed experimental to historiographical-phase critics no longer appeared so innovative given the emergence of Whitman and Dickinson as major poets since the 1920s. Henry Seidel Canby observed as much in 1947 when he proposed that Lanier "is often less characteristic of new principles in verse than of its reluctance to renounce old traditions. In the emergence of the new poetry Lanier typifies its uneasiness rather than its rebirth. Like Emily Dickinson and like Whitman, he felt the trammels of established verse, but, unlike them, he never truly initiated new forms."[72] With the passing of time the funda-

mental conventionality of Lanier's verse, which was overlooked by an earlier generation of commentators because of a desire for historical continuity, became all too obvious to post–World War II scholars. The defects to which Scott and Short refer were in the end virtually the same defects that had damned the Carys, Larcom, Thaxter, and scores of writers like them a generation earlier. And as Lanier fell from prominence in New Critical–phase anthologies, Tabb, whose fate had for so long really depended on Lanier's fame, slipped away as well.

Though Lanier managed to retain a place in all but five second-generation literary textbooks, space accorded to his work shrank substantially. During the late 1940s and early 1950s most anthologies reprinted six to eight selections by Lanier (only a few presented more than ten). In contrast, merely one second-phase textbook after 1957 included more than three pieces by Lanier (the 1961 edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* represented Lanier's body of work with seven poems). Tabb's presence in anthologies of American literature published after World War II was unusual. Only three of twenty-three New Critical–phase collections included Tabb's poetry, and not a single textbook to appear after 1965 has considered his work significant enough to merit a place in an American literary anthology.

Lanier's reputation among textbook editors continued to dwindle in the multicultural phase of the anthology of American literature. His work has appeared in only about half of the textbooks published since 1967. Considering just these anthologies alone, the average number of selections by Lanier reprinted fell to four. When *The Norton Anthology* premiered in 1979 it became the first major anthology of American literature to neglect Lanier altogether. Several other anthologies, namely *The Harper American Literature* (1987, 1994) and the massive *Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990, 1994), have since followed suit. Macmillan's *Anthology of American Literature* dropped Lanier's work in 1997 for its sixth edition, leaving the 1999 ninth edition of *The American Tradition of American Literature* as the sole multiple-edition anthology still providing coverage of Lanier's career.

Commentary on Lanier's work by third-generation textbook editors, though generally severe, has basically followed lines established in the 1940s. Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren in their 1973 anthology acknowledged Lanier's experiments in the application of

musical principles to poetic verse yet concluded that his work rarely avoids the trappings of conventional nineteenth-century literature. "His poetry," they went on to explain, "tends not to be a true synthesis of thought and emotion, but an uneasy mixture with the two ingredients always threatening to separate out into preachiness and sentimentality, didacticism and undisciplined emotion."[73] Most other multicultural-phase anthologies that included Lanier's work likewise interpreted it as valiantly experimental but stylistically flawed because it too often exhibits traditional nineteenth-century poetic tendencies.

There is, however, one notable exception to this general appraisal of Lanier in anthologies since 1967. Resembling third-phase approval of Washington Irving's and James Fenimore Cooper's critiques of his early-nineteenth-century culture, the first edition of George McMichael's Macmillan *Anthology of American Literature* (1974) characterized Lanier's work partly as "poetic attacks on the materialism of post–Civil War America."[74] In *America in Literature* Alan Trachtenberg and Benjamin DeMott also noted a "strain of social criticism that runs through his work" and suggested that Lanier's poems "remain valuable expressions of both a regional and a cosmopolitan sensibility in Southern writing in this period."[75] Lanier's hostility toward certain aspects of the "New South" is particularly evident, for example, in poems such as "The Symphony," which attacks the ruthlessness of "trade" ("'Tis only war grown miserly" [l. 60]), and "Corn" (1875), a selection that appears in both McMichael's and DeMott's textbooks:

> Deeply thy mild content rebukes the land
> Whose flimsy homes, built on the shifting sand
> Of trade, for ever rise and fall
> With alternation whimsical,
> Enduring scarce a day,
> Then swept away
> By swift engulfments of incalculable tides
> Whereon capricious Commerce rides. (ll. 114–21)

Both anthologies illustrated, on the one hand, interest on the part of many multicultural-phase collections to applaud writers for their social activism and, on the other hand, their resemblance to first-generation

textbooks in their engagement with any historiographical significance of a writer's work.

The courage of certain poets to broaden their subject matter and undertake technical and experimental innovations in the nineteenth century insured that their work would be read throughout the twentieth century. Not to put too fine a point on it, to the extent that a poet could demonstrate dissatisfaction with the conventional poetic tastes then current, he or she enjoyed the admiration of later scholar-editors. Walt Whitman and Emily Dickinson obviously stand as the two most successful American poetic artists of the nineteenth century, and they illustrate this principle to perfection. Sidney Lanier made efforts along these lines but was far less effective. Alice and Phoebe Cary, Lucy Larcom, Celia Thaxter, John Banister Tabb, and scores of their contemporaries deserve at least passing attention, but their disappearance from literary histories and textbooks in the twentieth century resulted from the inexorable evolution of literary academic tastes after 1919.

4

Post–Civil War Prose

Twain, Harte, Howells, James

The favored early- and mid-nineteenth-century American poets and fiction writers possessed two traits in particular that accounted for their frequent appearances in anthologies of American literature. The first and perhaps more obvious characteristic common among writers who enjoyed editorial embracement in the twentieth century was a modernist spirit of innovation. Melville, Whitman, Dickinson, and even Lanier demonstrated either experimental forms or thematic quests that distinguished their work as not just unconventional by nineteenth-century standards but anticipatory of twentieth-century literary trends. Those writers who disappeared from the pages of literary textbooks tended to have highly conventional bodies of work.

A second trait shared among better-represented writers was a range of versatility within a sizable body of work. Poe and Whitman, for instance, either produced work in several different genres or employed several distinct literary styles in the same genre over the course of a career. Thus as literary tastes shifted, these writers' oeuvres, being sufficiently large and diverse, were able to appeal to ever-changing critical tests. Irving and Cooper to some extent also retained a foothold in collections of American literature because of the volume and diversity of their writings.

The cases of Mark Twain, Bret Harte, William Dean Howells, and Henry James further illustrate these two major trends in the anthologizing of American writers. On the one hand, Twain and James produced work that subsequent generations of readers and critics appreciated as thematically relevant and technically modern. Additionally, Twain and James left behind bodies of work sufficiently large and varied to satisfy tastes that shifted throughout the twentieth century; their writings could offer something appealing to multiple generations of critics. Howells's reputation, too, has benefited from this latter phenomenon. As a result, all three, despite recent cutbacks, have generally enjoyed broad coverage in anthologies throughout the twentieth century. On the other hand, Harte's writings, most would agree, appear to lack fundamentally these crucial qualities of modernity and diversity. As such, his reputation, like those of scores of other American fiction writers and poets, has unfortunately diminished since World War I.

From 1919 until the late 1940s, anthologies of American literature concentrated almost exclusively on the early phase of Mark Twain's writing career. Typically representing his work with selections from *Roughing It* (1872), *The Gilded Age* (1874), and *Life on the Mississippi* (1883), editors of these collections, with a few notable exceptions, presented what seems at first a curiously truncated portrait of Mark Twain. But if one considers the general status of American literary studies during the *historiographical phase* of the modern classroom anthology, this phenomenon of the editors' excerpting material only from Mark Twain's early works reveals itself as entirely a consequence of converging critical outlooks and scholarly trends.

Although *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) today rank unquestionably as Mark Twain's most recognized works, they received little attention in early anthologies. Indeed, in the case of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* this banishment proved permanent. Not even so much as a single episode from *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* has *ever* been excerpted for a major collection of American literature marketed specifically for college students. While *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* has fared considerably better in recent times, becoming a set standard in most contemporary literary textbooks, selections from Mark Twain's masterpiece appeared in only five

of the seventeen collections of American literature published before 1947.

With its enormous popularity among several generations of younger readers, and in spite of Mark Twain's assertions that it was intended for adults and children alike, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* has long suffered, explains Gary Scharnhorst, from being first "marketed as a book for boys."[1] As such, it was overlooked by most academics during this early period and thus would not be a likely candidate to appear in academic collections of American literature, especially those designed for college instruction. In the last thirty years, however, Hamlin Hill, Tom H. Towers, Judith Fetterley, and other scholar-critics have reassessed the novel's structure and atmosphere, showing it to be a more serious piece of fiction than had previously been thought. Nevertheless, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer,* initially stigmatized as a work of juvenile fiction, remains largely neglected by scholar-editors and their college textbooks.

From another perspective, of course, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* has always been critically overshadowed by its better-praised companion, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* with which it is inevitably connected and compared. In some ways this inescapable pairing is probably most directly responsible for the exclusion of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* from American literature anthologies. Considering that both novels are representative of roughly the same phase of Mark Twain's career, that both involve many of the same characters, and that both evoke a similar sense of antebellum nostalgia, the use of material from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* clearly becomes more economical in terms of space for anthology editors and more illustrative for literature instructors who are typically faced with the time constraints of a term schedule, for not only does *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* introduce students to Mark Twain's best-known work of fiction, but it also unquestionably exposes them to an acclaimed literary masterpiece displaying strengths that most would argue *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* lacks.

The infrequent appearance of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* during this initial phase of the American literature anthology, on the other hand, is a more complex issue. As discussed earlier, the state of bookbinding technology before the 1950s (particularly the reliance on heavier, thicker papers) made the inclusion of full-length narratives nearly im-

possible. All but a few first-generation anthology editors sought to provide as inclusive and expansive a portrait of American literature as possible. Therefore, unless producers of anthologies had been content to present the work of only a few writers, the inclusion of a several-hundred-page novel such as *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* simply would have been out of the question. Additionally, a number of editors of aesthetically inclined first- and early-second-generation anthologies, including those of Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy, Norman Foerster, and Gay Wilson Allen and Henry Pochmann, refused on principle to excerpt chapters from novels for their collections.

In spite of these rationales for the conspicuous absence of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* one must also consider the reigning approaches to the study of American literature between the wars. This was the period in which historical considerations pervasively affected the selecting of material for inclusion in college textbooks. Accordingly, the frequent appearance of Mark Twain's depictions of the far West and the antebellum Mississippi Valley during this initial phase becomes less of an enigma. Most editors probably chose selections from *Roughing It, The Gilded Age,* and *Life on the Mississippi* because these particular works, better than anything else Mark Twain had written, provided a general sense of both the spirit and intellectual environment of nineteenth-century America.

Most academic literary critics today would agree that one of the most prominent aspects of Mark Twain's writings, though certainly less important than the intrinsic artistic elements of technique and theme, is their ability to evoke the atmosphere of the age in which they are set. In the few decades following World War I Mark Twain's ability to conjure the atmosphere of a given age in his writings was the skill for which he was most highly praised. Characterizing this early historical approach to Mark Twain's works, Stuart Sherman, in his chapter on Mark Twain in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21), writes, "Mark Twain is one of our great representative men. He is a fulfilled promise of American life. He proves the virtues of the land and the society in which he was born and fostered. He incarnates the spirit of an epoch of American history when the nation, territorially and spiritually enlarged, entered lustily upon new adventures."[2] Words and phrases like *representative, American life, he incarnates the spirit of an epoch, American his-*

tory all underscore the notion that early scholars celebrated Mark Twain's work primarily because it afforded historical and sociological insight to the periods in our nation's past portrayed in his writings. Early literary textbooks similarly viewed Mark Twain's works as vignettes of American cultural and intellectual history. And in this first generation of anthologies of American literature, *Life on the Mississippi* was by far the most excerpted of Mark Twain's works, appearing in thirteen of seventeen historiographical-phase collections.[3]

The choice is justifiable, for *Life on the Mississippi* embodies a rich variety of literary elements and gratifies a wide range of scholarly requirements while also providing an excellent degree of historical access to the antebellum Mississippi River steamboat age. *Life on the Mississippi* is perhaps more a cultural and historical account of a bygone era than a fictional treatment of Twain's earlier years, especially when compared to works such as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* Horst Kruse in his *Mark Twain and "Life on the Mississippi"* (1981)—the only book-length study of this travel narrative—argues that Mark Twain intended the book to be a " 'standard work' . . . particularly in its reportage of historical and sociological aspects" of the region.[4] Mark Twain's book title, which underscores the depiction of "life" along the Mississippi River corroborates Kruse's point. Particularly revealing, too, is the fact that many literary historiographers in the first few decades of the twentieth century, in fact, ranked *Life on the Mississippi* among Mark Twain's two or three finest works. In *A History of American Literature since 1870* (1915), for example, Fred Lewis Pattee, one of the most outspoken supporters of literary historiography in the American academy during the 1910s and 1920s, praised *Life on the Mississippi* along with *Roughing It,* another of Mark Twain's narratives that blurs the boundaries between fiction and historical report, as Mark Twain's two masterpieces, superior even to *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.*

The most commonly excerpted selection from *Life on the Mississippi* in these early anthologies, predictably, consists of chapters 4 through 7, the heart of the cub-pilot episode. While the entire cub-pilot section (chapters 4 through 17) is universally lauded as the richest portion of *Life on the Mississippi* and is, as Everett Emerson has argued, "among Mark Twain's masterpieces,"[5] chapters 4 through 7 are most frequently

reprinted during this period primarily because they are especially successful at capturing the essence of early-day Mississippi River culture. Here in these panoramic chapters Mark Twain introduces his readers to the sleepy river towns suddenly brought to life by the sight of billowing black smoke rising from still-distant boats, describing in detail the men, women, and children of this already-vanished nineteenth-century American society. Mark Twain well knew that the first few chapters of the cub-pilot episode serve as an introduction to the entire social milieux of the Mississippi River Valley, stating, "I now come to the phase of the Mississippi River life of the flush times of steamboating, which seems to me to warrant full examination—the marvelous science of piloting, as displayed there. I believe there has been nothing like it elsewhere in the world"[6] (chapter 3). Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder's *A Book of American Literature* (1927), Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936), Harry Warfel, Ralph Gabriel, and Stanley Williams's *The American Mind* (1937), and Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn's *A College Book of American Literature* (1939), to name just a few, all include at least two chapters from this part of the cub-pilot episode (a majority excerpt three or four chapters), and all express an intention to highlight the American experience.

Even the few anthologies devoted more to illuminating the belles-lettres aspects of American literature during this phase either included a single chapter from the core of the cub-pilot episode or looked to another part of *Life on the Mississippi* for an excerpt. Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy included chapter 4 and chapter 17, the first and last chapters of the cub-pilot episode, in their *Major American Writers* (1935). Similarly, William Rose Benet and Norman H. Pearson, whom Evelyn Bibb describes as having taken "a strictly literary approach" in the compiling of their textbook,[7] chose to excerpt chapter 3, "Frescoes from the Past," better known as "The Raftsmen's Passage" (the borrowed chapter from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*) for their *Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938).[8]

Although *Life on the Mississippi* largely answered the needs of this early trend in literary textbook production, the inclusion of several other works also demonstrates the historical approach to anthologizing Mark Twain during the early phase of the modern collections of American literature. Selections from *The Gilded Age,* a novel that has received

relatively little critical attention compared to Mark Twain's other works, appear in seven collections, two more than does *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* Just as in the case of *Life on the Mississippi,* the frequent appearance of *The Gilded Age* can be attributed largely to its evocations of social history. Assessing *The Gilded Age,* David R. Sewell points out, "Most modern criticism has focused on the novel as a social document, a critical portrait of a United States suffering in the early 1870s from . . . land-grabbing railroad companies, unethical lobbyists, shady 'wildcat' banks and promoters of get-rich-quick schemes, and a greedy, socially pretentious middle class."[9] The subject matter itself of one of the most commonly reprinted chapters from *The Gilded Age* during this early phase suggests that editors had historical motives for including them in their textbooks. All but one of the anthologies in which a selection from *The Gilded Age* appears excerpt chapters 7 and 8, "Colonel Sellers at Home" and "Colonel Sellers Makes Known His Magnificent Speculation Schemes and Astonishes Washington Hawkins." Chapter 7 quaintly describes items of historical interest, including midcentury stagecoach travel and the living conditions of small-town frontier Americans. Continuing the local-color tenor of the narrative, chapter 8 provides a detailed report of an evening meal and then delves into a comical treatment of the speculative get-rich-quick schemes that characterized the age. Like *Life on the Mississippi, The Gilded Age* offers its readers dollops of Mark Twain's writing style, namely humor, satire, and memorable characters, but in the end it is the social and historical elements of this work that account for its inclusion in historiographical-phase anthologies.

At the same time it should be remembered, as Philip Beidler, Alan Gribben, and others have pointed out, that Mark Twain's travel narratives such as *Roughing It* (which is excerpted in four first-phase anthologies) and *Life on the Mississippi* are basically episodic in form. Extracting one of these smaller "self-sustaining narratives"[10] for a collection of literature is certainly much more feasible than drawing material from *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* or *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), which rely on relatively complex narratives. Therefore, during this early period of the anthology, editors repeatedly returned to *Life on the Mississippi, Roughing It,* and *The Gilded Age* for their excerpts.

Other scholarly trends between the wars also served to heighten in-

terest in the frontier writings of Mark Twain. By the early 1930s, for example, Mark Twain had become the icon of the frontier studies movement and was venerated as the first thoroughly "American" literary figure. In a monumental three-volume study of American literature, *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927–30), Vernon L. Parrington praised Mark Twain for uniting various literary strains of the American West and for creating a recognizable national literature:

> As Whitman contemplated the feeble literature purveyed by the worshipers of the genteel he asked with some irritation: "What is the reason in our time, our lands, that we see no fresh local courage, sanity, of our own—the Mississippi, stalwart Western men, real mental and physical facts, Southerners, etc., in the body of our literature?" That was in 1870 and the answer was at hand in the person of Mark Twain. Here at last was an authentic American—a native writer thinking his own thoughts, using his own eyes, speaking his own dialect—everything European fallen away, the last shred of feudal culture gone, local and western yet continental.[11]

Concisely identifying the major influences in Mark Twain's writings—the South, the Mississippi, the West—Parrington's observations illustrate how the frontier studies movement played an ancillary role to literary historiography in the anthologizing of Mark Twain during this initial phase. *Roughing It, The Gilded Age,* and *Life on the Mississippi* reflect facets of the American frontier and are also thoroughly American in form and content. Consequently, anthology editors sensitive to the emerging independence of American literature would naturally be more inclined to include in their collections the works "representative" of American letters.

While literary historiography and frontier studies certainly created interest in Mark Twain's writings before 1885, another source of their resiliency was Van Wyck Brooks's controversial book, *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* (1920). In this indictment of the American frontier for having thwarted Mark Twain's literary genius, Brooks disparagingly characterized the West as sterile and materialistic. Brooks's *Ordeal* sparked a firestorm of rebuttal that defended not only Mark Twain's artistic integrity but the cultural history and traditions of the American West as well.

According to Thomas Tenney's *Mark Twain: A Reference Guide* (1977), more than sixty articles and books were published between 1920 and 1940 dealing specifically with the subject of Mark Twain and the frontier, and of these nearly two-thirds were directly responding to Brooks's thesis.

During the 1920s some of the most influential scholars of American literature, including Carl Van Doren, Henry Seidel Canby, William Lyon Phelps, Lewis Mumford, and Ernest Leisy, published essays or chapters on the American frontier and Mark Twain. The most famous of the responses to Brooks's argument, however, was Bernard DeVoto's *Mark Twain's America* (1932). A native westerner himself, DeVoto painted a virile and robust portrait of the American frontier, arguing that it provided both Mark Twain and American literature as a whole with myriad themes and techniques. Other studies in the 1930s that grew out of and further stimulated this mounting interest in the frontier writings of Mark Twain include Victor Royce West's *Folklore in the Works of Mark Twain* (1930), Minnie Bradshear's *Mark Twain: Son of Missouri* (1934), Ivan Benson's *Mark Twain in the West* (1936), and Walter Blair's classic study, *Native American Humor* (1937), to name a few. Such fervent activity among academic literary scholars on the subject of the American West understandably encouraged anthology editors to push forward Mark Twain's frontier literature.

Despite heavy emphasis on the earlier frontier writings of Mark Twain during the historiographical-phase of the anthology of American literature, a few editors did deviate from standard practices and included works from Mark Twain's later years in their collections. Possibly the most uncharacteristic selection during this period was the final chapter from *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916), included in Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936). But as Hubbell explains in his introduction, the excerpt from *The Mysterious Stranger* is part of his dispute with Van Wyck Brooks's analysis of Mark Twain's final years as a writer.

> In the later years Mark Twain's pessimism, of which there are traces in his earlier books, grew more pronounced. Van Wyck Brooks's doubtful thesis is that this pessimism was due, not to debts, recurring illness, the deaths of his wife and three children, but to his failure to follow his natural bent, that is, to become a great artist. As a matter of history, however, hu-

> morists are often pessimists. Moliere put as much of himself into *The Misanthrope* as Mark Twain did into the posthumous *The Mysterious Stranger* or Jonathan Swift into *Gulliver's Travels.*[12]

In challenging Brooks's thesis and praising Mark Twain as a world-class literary artist, Hubbell signaled a growing acceptance of *belles-lettres* criticism in his approach to American literary studies. Hubbell's incorporation in his anthology of a broad range of Mark Twain's writings, including nine of his letters, "The Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech," and various maxims from both *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) and *Following the Equator* (1897), caused it to resemble later, more aesthetically based collections far more than the historically and socially engaged literary anthology it purported to represent.

In another instance of departure from the norm Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers* (1935) became the first major anthology to include "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" (1899). Hardly by coincidence, Jones and Leisy were among the first anthology editors to apply belles-lettres criticism in the compilation of their textbook. As part of their aesthetic approach, these editors stated that they included selections "representative of the various important phases of the authors chosen."[13] Thus, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," along with "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" (1865) and excerpts from *The Gilded Age* and *Life on the Mississippi,* completed a survey of the stages of Mark Twain's writing career.

"The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" made its second appearance in *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938), whose editors, again, like Jones and Leisy, took a wholly literary approach in the compilation of their textbook. And even though critics as early as the 1920s had begun to read "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" as criticism of American village life, it received almost no notice from anthologies of American literature concerned with historical inquiry. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" was more popular with editors who sought selections to reflect the belles-lettres qualities of Mark Twain's writing. Indeed, the story itself typifies some of the most fundamental traits valued among the later New Critics: irony, complex unity, philosophical weight, and social criticism. Scholars from Albert Bigelow Paine to James D. Wilson have generally agreed that the story is "a tightly written,

polished work of art,"[14] and, as such, it was more frequently anthologized as literary historiography began to wane, suppressed by aesthetically based scholarship.

Between 1947 and the mid-1960s, Mark Twain, along with other writers deemed "major" or "important" by second-generation academic scholars, was allotted considerably more space in nearly all anthologies of American literature. Yet the manner in which editors filled the extra pages allocated to Mark Twain's writings during these years progressed, interestingly, in two very distinct and completely opposite directions. And as in the case of Edgar Allan Poe and Walt Whitman, critical judgment of what constituted Mark Twain's "best" writing shifted in the twenty years following World War II.

The most common (and predictable) editorial method of representing Mark Twain in *New Critical–phase* literary textbooks, given this extra available space, was simply to provide a broader sampling of his work. Editors of the earlier anthologies usually included extracts from four to six works by Mark Twain, which when broken down into chapters and individual stories amounted to about ten individual selections. The widest assortment of Mark Twain's work before 1950 was found in Hubbell's 1936 textbook; it displayed nineteen separate items, including nine letters, by Mark Twain. During this second phase, however, collections routinely drew from seven or eight different works and averaged almost double the number of individual pieces reprinted in the earlier anthologies, in several cases offering as many as twenty to twenty-five selections. Unquestionably the most extensive survey of Mark Twain's writings in any period is Falk and Foerster's 1963 anthology. Gladys Bellamy, who edited the section on Mark Twain in this collection, included thirty individual pieces, which actually totals closer to fifty when counting the eighteen letters by Twain also reprinted here. In a similarly thorough presentation, Henry Nash Smith collected twenty-five of Mark Twain's tales, sketches, and essays (but no letters) as editor of Mark Twain's works in Perry Miller's *Major Writers of America* (1962).

Both Gladys Bellamy's and Henry Nash Smith's contributions outside the textbook industry to establishing Mark Twain's reputation as a consummate artist were also indeed considerable. Bellamy was among the first to detail Mark Twain's qualifications as a master of prose forms. Her vastly influential book, *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist* (1950), argued

that Twain was a conscious craftsman, quite in control and aware of his aesthetic abilities. Noting in a review of Bellamy's study that "she has done Clemens and students of Clemens a real service by offering convincing proof that he was a painstaking artist,"[15] Walter Blair correctly prophesied the import of Bellamy's findings on future assessments of Mark Twain, particularly during the 1950s and 1960s. Smith's seminal work, *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer* (1962), likewise documented Twain's achievements (and occasional failures) as a bona fide artist. Together with scores of other, slightly less momentous, studies during the New Critical phase, Bellamy and Smith validated the artistic recognition of Mark Twain's work and firmly fixed his reputation among the very best writers of American fiction.

Though occasionally anthologized in first-generation collections, excerpts from *The Innocents Abroad* (1869), *A Tramp Abroad* (1880), *Following the Equator* (1897), and several of Mark Twain's essays made considerably stronger showings in this second phase. Because these editors allowed themselves more freedom in showing Mark Twain's non-Western material, their later anthologies presented a more comprehensive overview of Mark Twain's career. This expanded coverage in turn afforded college instructors of American literature a greater degree of flexibility. That is to say, New Critical–phase textbooks accommodated those instructors who still favored historical methods in addition to those who had adopted current aesthetic theories of literary analysis into their teaching style. (However, in some anthologies this newfound pedagogical freedom in the 1950s and early 1960s came at the expense of temporarily dropping other worthy writers from the pages of literary textbooks.)

Many of the Mark Twain items popular in the early anthologies were also represented between the late 1940s and mid-1960s. *Life on the Mississippi* once again appeared more often than any other work by Mark Twain. During the 1950s and 1960s many editors built around and added to a core of standard selections carried over from the first collections. Also, intellectual history was not completely devalued during the New Critical phase. Kermit Vanderbilt points out that in the 1950s "American literature was most important of the integrated disciplines" of the American Studies Movement,[16] a field of study that evolved out of the Vernon L. Parrington–type examinations of the American frontier and blended

literary analysis with culture- and history-based modes of scholarship. An extract such as the cub-pilot episode provides much more than just historical and cultural insight concerning the nineteenth century, and critics retained their respect for the opening chapters of *Life on the Mississippi* as ranking among Mark Twain's highest artistic achievements.

Another perennial favorite that became very popular during this second phase, appearing in nine collections of American literature, was "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn" from Mark Twain's travel book *A Tramp Abroad* (1880). Walter Blair, who enthusiastically praised "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn,"[17] first anthologized the tale in 1947. Thereafter, Norman Foerster, Henry Nash Smith, Gladys Bellamy, and several others included the story in their anthologies. Scholars in general have always assessed "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn" as a highly accomplished piece of fiction. Delancey Ferguson argued that among Mark Twain's works it is "the most perfect example of the genuine Western tall story,"[18] and James D. Wilson cited various scholars who agreed that it is "one of the author's most successful stories."[19] Also responsible for its success during this period is the fact that like the excerpts from *Roughing It* and other travel books, "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn" is a self-sustained narrative easily detachable for a literary anthology.

A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court (1889) made its sole appearance in an anthology of American literature during the New Critical phase when it was excerpted in 1965. While many Mark Twain scholars, including Henry Nash Smith, Howard Baetzhold, and Lawrence Berkove, have placed it among Twain's finest three or four works, *A Connecticut Yankee* has been excluded from academic literary collections for two rather obvious reasons. Set in Arthurian England, the novel is quite removed from the backdrops of the Mississippi Valley and the American frontier. It was therefore overlooked by literary historians and frontier studies scholars, as well as those editors who sought to identify Mark Twain's hallmark fiction in historiographical-phase anthologies. Also, as with *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* some editors found it difficult to extract small selections from *A Connecticut Yankee* because of its interlocking narrative structure.

Not surprisingly, "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg," which had appeared in only four first-generation anthologies, experienced a booming popularity during the New Critical phase. In fact, between 1947

and 1966 only *Life on the Mississippi* was anthologized more often. The success of "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" after World War II might simply have been the result of the larger page allotments to Mark Twain, but substantial evidence suggests otherwise. Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers* (1935, 1945), *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938), and the second volume ("The Literary Record") of *American Issues* (1941), the only anthologies that took a strictly literary approach to American letters before 1947, were the three textbooks to include "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" during the historiographical phase. After belles-lettres became a paramount criterion in editorial decision making in the late 1940s, this short story at once became a standard work. It is extremely significant, too, that Foerster reprints "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" for the first time in his 1947 textbook, as does Hubbell in his 1949 collection, which again hints strongly that the theoretical shift in American literature anthologies occurred in the late 1940s. "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" illustrates many of the fundamental qualities—originality, unity, symbolism, irony, moral skepticism—extolled by modern belles-lettres criticism, and for this reason more than any other it was championed during this second phase.

Another notable result of this shift from literary historiography to aesthetic criticism in the late 1940s was the appearance of several essays and stories from Mark Twain's later period. Because editors were no longer restricting themselves to illuminating American frontier history through Mark Twain's literature, a few of these dark, philosophic works found their way into second-generation collections. "Corn-Pone Opinions" (1923), an essay written in 1901, and "The War Prayer" (1923), composed in 1905, both made their debut in *Masters of American Literature* (1959). The editors of this anthology believed "that the student is better introduced to [American literature] through a close familiarity with a few writers than through superficial acquaintance with many."[20] Articulating the popular trend in literary anthologies between the late 1940s and mid-1960s, these editors explained that their aim was to provide as deep and complete a portrait of "major" American authors as space in their textbook allowed.

While the majority of anthologies of American literature incorporated additional shorter pieces by Mark Twain during the New Critical

phase, a few collections utilized the extra pages allotted to his work to insert unabridged full-length narratives. Jones and Leisy's *Major American Writers* (1952) was the first literary anthology to include a complete book by Mark Twain. They did not, however, reprint *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* as one might expect, but instead included Mark Twain's posthumously published *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916). Given their outspoken commitment to belles-lettres criticism and their refusal to represent the most highly regarded American novels with excerpted passages, Jones and Leisy's decision to include an entire longer fictional work by Mark Twain is logical in those regards; at the same time their reprinting of *The Mysterious Stranger* rather than *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* seems odd. But in 1952, almost a decade before the inclusion of novels in classroom anthologies had become customary practice, at nearly three times the length of *The Mysterious Stranger, Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* still posed problems of size.

Notable, too, is the fact that just six years before the publication of the 1952 edition of *Major American Writers,* Bernard DeVoto had edited *The Portable Mark Twain* (1946), in which he reprinted *The Mysterious Stranger* in its entirety. Explaining this decision in the introduction to *The Portable Mark Twain,* DeVoto wrote, "The highest reach of his last period is *The Mysterious Stranger.* It is an almost perfect book—perfect in expression of his final drive, in imaginative projection of himself, in tone and tune, in final judgement on the nature of man and the experience of Mark Twain. . . . It is not, finally, a major work; but in its small way it is a masterpiece. Those who know and love Mark Twain will always find it as revealing as *Huckleberry Finn.*"[21] DeVoto saw in *The Mysterious Stranger* the resurrection of Mark Twain's literary artistry, arguing that in writing the novella Twain "came back from the edge of insanity, and found as much peace as any man may find in his last years, and brought his talent into fruition and made it whole again."[22] As the literary editor of *The Mark Twain Papers* from 1937 to 1946, DeVoto was in a position to be very influential in Mark Twain scholarship, and Jones and Leisy, who cite *Mark Twain at Work* among several of DeVoto's writings on Mark Twain recommended in the 1952 edition of *Major American Writers,* were assuredly aware of the enormous stir created by *The Portable Mark Twain.*

In 1963 Gladys Bellamy also included *The Mysterious Stranger* in its

entirety for Falk and Foerster's *Eight American Writers.* This, however, would be the last unabridged appearance of Twain's posthumous novel, and two years later C. Hugh Holman became the last editor to excerpt it for an anthology of American literature.[23] The sudden disappearance of *The Mysterious Stranger* from literary textbooks after 1965 undoubtedly resulted from John S. Tuckey's unsettling discovery of how Albert Bigelow Paine and Frederick Duneka had editorially manipulated Mark Twain's original manuscripts. Tuckey published his findings in *Mark Twain and Little Satan: The Writing of* The Mysterious Stranger (1963), where he demonstrated by carefully dating the composition of several manuscript fragments that Paine and Duneka had drastically tampered with and combined versions of Twain's novel before they published the work in 1916. Soon afterward corroborating scholars branded Paine's text of *The Mysterious Stranger* as entirely unreliable, and since then American literature anthology editors have abandoned it altogether. In like manner, anthologies of American literature have ignored William Gibson's set of corrected texts, including *No. 44, The Mysterious Stranger* (1969), no doubt intimidated by their complicated editorial problems and not wishing to summarize their interlocking textual history.

After Jones and Leisy pioneered the inclusion of complete longer narratives by Mark Twain, others followed suit. In 1957 Norman Foerster added to the fourth edition of *American Poetry and Prose* what he referred to as the "complete . . . 'Old Times on the Mississippi [1875].'"[24] Foerster reprinted chapters 4 through 20 of *Life on the Mississippi* but also carried this rendition of "Old Times on the Mississippi" well beyond Mark Twain's original ending, adding chapters 18, 19, and 20 from *Life on the Mississippi,* which Twain wrote subsequently in the early 1880s.

The "unabridged" anthologizing of *The Mysterious Stranger* and "Old Times on the Mississippi" in the 1950s ultimately served as preludes to the inevitable appearance of a complete version of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* which finally made its debut in the second edition of Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long's *The American Tradition in Literature* (1961).[25] *The American Tradition in Literature,* the original "Norton anthology," had been introduced in 1956 and was the first college-level literary textbook packaged in the now-familiar two-

volume, eight-by-five-inch, several-thousand-page design. Besides the physical difference between the 1956 and 1961 editions (the editors note in the 1961 textbook that they were "able to add 512 pages to the two volumes without appreciable increase in their bulkiness"),[26] the absence of Mark Twain's masterpiece from the earlier collection and its inclusion five years later implies that profound developments occurred during the latter years of the New Critical phase in literary anthologies.

Ironically, the two major anthologies published in 1965, Holman's *Odyssey Surveys of American Writing* and Anderson's *American Literary Masters,* represent diametrically opposed trends of the New Critical phase of the literary textbook. The former incorporates selections from nine of Mark Twain's works, ranging from "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" to *The Mysterious Stranger,* totaling fifteen different short pieces and providing a varied and informed profile of Twain's career. The latter includes only *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in its attempt to present nothing but the "best" of both Mark Twain and American literature.

In the wake of the cultural and social turbulence of the 1960s, students and academics alike began to question the seemingly constricted canon of "classic" American authors and texts. As they had in the past, literary textbooks responded to social, political, and academic pressures —this time by including theretofore "marginalized" women and minority writers. By the early 1970s scholar-editors had opened the pages of literary textbooks to dozens of authors who had never been anthologized before and had expanded their coverage of writers they believed had received insufficient attention in the past. In adding previously "ignored" authors and texts, they naturally reduced their coverage of already established writers. Mark Twain was among those authors who received less representation during the *multicultural phase* of the anthology of American literature.

Between the late 1960s and 1999, literary textbook editors generally worked in an average of ten to twelve individual pieces by Mark Twain, which was a return to about the same number of Twain's selections that had appeared in a typical historiographical-phase anthology. But unlike the earliest editors, who extracted their dozen or so samples from the same four or five of Mark Twain's works, multicultural-phase anthologists, because they usually reprinted more of his late-period short stories

and essays, were able to feature a wider variety of Twain's writing. More surprisingly, however, when excerpting Mark Twain's full-length narratives, third-generation editors returned also to the practice of extracting chapters from *Roughing It* (1872) and *Life on the Mississippi* (1883) almost exclusively, which had been common among anthologies of American literature published between 1919 and the mid-1940s, especially in those oriented toward literary historiography.

Among the most noticeable developments in the anthologizing of Mark Twain's writings during the multicultural phase has been the regular appearance of several somber sketches and philosophical tracts that Twain wrote in the last decade of his life. Whereas a few literary textbooks between the late 1940s and mid-1960s included these later works in an attempt to provide students with a broader image of Mark Twain's literary career, anthologies of American literature published since 1967 have routinely reprinted works such as "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" (1901) and "The War Prayer" (1905) for very different reasons. Hunt Hawkins, explaining the sudden interest in this type of selection in the late 1960s and early 1970s, notes that " 'To the Person Sitting in Darkness' has been reprinted often when it seemed to have an almost uncanny relevance to more recent political events; for example, in Frederick Anderson's *A Pen Warmed-Up in Hell* which appeared in 1972 during the Vietnam War."[27] Indeed, in "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," which Mark Twain wrote in condemnation of the imperialist military actions that were taking place at the turn of the century, Twain bitterly denounces England, Germany, Russia, and the United States for their invasions of smaller underdeveloped countries, all of them land-grabs, as Twain sarcastically observes, supposedly "in the interest of Progress and Civilization."[28] The relevance of this work to the Vietnam War era seemed obvious to anthology editors during the early part of this third phase. Interestingly, "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" appeared in eight anthologies between 1969 and 1980 but has not been included in a major collection of American literature since. Other works by Mark Twain with overt antiwar sentiments such as "The War Prayer" and "The Private History of the Campaign That Failed" (1885) likewise made frequent abrupt appearances in the 1970s.

Despite the overall editorial trimming of page allotments set aside for Mark Twain's work between the late 1960s and 1999, the unabridged re-

printing of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* nevertheless became a standard selection in most multicultural-phase college-level collections of American literature. The way that anthology editors have dealt with Mark Twain's masterpiece over the last three decades reveals much about the progression of historical trends in academic scholarship and its effect on the teaching of Mark Twain.

In the process of incorporating such a wide selection of writers, the editors of *The Harper American Literature* decided to deviate from the standard practice of its competitors and did not reprint *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in their 1987 textbook. Instead they shrink-wrapped with the second volume a separate paperback copy of the novel, a facsimile reproduction of the 1885 American first edition (reduced in size) that they titled "A Centennial Edition." Cleverly, these editors listed *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in the table of contents along with the other selections by Mark Twain. The 1994 revised edition of *The Harper American Literature* continued this innovation with slight modification. Again its editors offered free of charge the separate facsimile edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* with volume two, but "to enhance the teaching options of *The Harper American Literature,*"[29] the revised edition allowed instructors to choose as an alternative to Mark Twain's novel a paperback edition of either Zora Neal Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God* or Richard Wright's *Native Son* (both at a list price discount of 60 percent). More recently, *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* dropped *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* from its 1998 third edition and offered Twain's novel as a supplementary text available to instructors and students at "minimal cost."

While editors of both *The Harper American Literature* and the latest edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* have been alone in their decision to stop reprinting *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in college-level anthologies of American literature, the latter literary textbook has experimented with the presentation of Mark Twain's famous novel in other ways. The second edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1994), reflecting recent trends in multicultural scholarship, constructed its section on Mark Twain's writings around Shelley Fisher Fishkin's much-debated study *Was Huck Black? Mark Twain and Afro-American Voices* (1993). The *Heath* editors complemented their inclusion of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* by reprinting Twain's "So-

ciable Jimmy" (1874)—the 1994 *Heath* thus became the first anthology of American literature to include that piece—and his "A True Story" (1874).

In *Was Huck Black?* Fishkin argued that "Sociable Jimmy," a sketch of a personable and talkative young black youth whom Mark Twain had met, became the seed that eventually flowered almost a decade later into *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.* She believes, as Everett Emerson explains in his introduction to Mark Twain's works in the second edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* that because Mark Twain characterized the energetically charismatic boy of "Sociable Jimmy" as speaking in a dialect that "resembles" Huck's, Twain in effect appropriated what became the narrating voice of his masterpiece directly from African American culture. To support Fishkin's theory, *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* also includes "A True Story," which likewise recounts the real-life travails of an African American woman whom Mark Twain transformed, dialect and all, into the principal speaker in a successful fictional sketch. In this literary textbook, then, Twain's works mainly illustrate the interethnic blending of American literature with American society in the nineteenth century.

This preoccupation with Mark Twain and questions regarding race, class, and gender results not only from general trends in academic literary studies but also from specific developments in Mark Twain criticism over the last fifteen years. Most notable, and the *only* work listed in the Mark Twain bibliography in the supplemental instructor's guide for the second edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* is Forrest Robinson's *In Bad Faith: The Dynamics of Deception in Mark Twain's America* (1986). Robinson's study examined the influence of nineteenth-century status-quo prejudices on Mark Twain's writings, a theme further explored by Susan Gillman's *Dark Twins: Imposture and Identity in Mark Twain's America* (1989) and Guy Cardwell's *The Man Who Was Mark Twain: Images and Ideologies* (1991). These three books collectively posit the idea that Mark Twain suffered psychological debilitation, a notion originating with Van Wyck Brooks's *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* (1920), which regained momentum and received a timely spin in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the appearances of Justin Kaplan's Pulitzer Prize–winning *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain: A Biography* (1966), James M. Cox's *Mark Twain: The Fate of Humor* (1966), and Hamlin Hill's

Mark Twain: God's Fool (1973). Ultimately these and dozens of other studies examining the connection between Mark Twain's writings and his culture-induced neuroses have shaped a decidedly somber presentation of Mark Twain in third-phase anthologies and have called into question the iconic image of America's most popular literary figure.

While *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and several of Mark Twain's later works made strong showings in the multicultural phase, it was the ever-popular "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" (1865) that actually became the most anthologized of Twain's writings between the mid 1960s and 1999. In fact, "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" (under its several titles) was reprinted in more college-level textbooks between 1919 and 1999 than any other short story by Mark Twain, including even "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg." And when considering all of Mark Twain's writings, only the cub-pilot episode from *Life on the Mississippi* appeared in more collections between 1919 and 1999.

Bret Harte is an American author whose treatment in twentieth-century anthologies of American literature has received more than passing scholarly notice. Gary Scharnhorst's 1994 essay "Whatever Happened to Bret Harte?"[30] is an astute discussion of how certain critical forces have effected the near-complete removal of Harte from literary textbooks in the decades since World War II. Scharnhorst accurately identifies mid-twentieth-century critical tendencies (particularly those of formalist commentators) to deplore sentimentality in fiction and poetry as *the* cause of Harte's eventual disappearance from the American literary landscape. While it is true, as Scharnhorst notes, that Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren's devastating New Critical analysis of "The Outcasts of Poker Flat" and "Tennessee's Partner" in *Understanding Fiction* (1943) probably delivered irreversible harm to Harte's critical reputation, Brooks and Warren were by no means the first to condemn the melodramatic qualities of Harte's work. Instead, Brooks and Warren might be said to have merely finished up a project that several post–World War I literary scholars had begun nearly twenty years before.

During the first decades of the twentieth century a clear majority of academic literary critics considered Harte to rank among the few authentic pioneers of an *American* literature. Indeed, several literary histories from the 1910s likened Harte's impact on the direction of American letters to that of the country's first literary trailblazer, Washington Ir-

ving. Fred Lewis Pattee's article "The Short Story" in volume two of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1918) makes just such a comparison, calling Harte "the most influential writer of short stories in a generation."[31] Pattee's praise of Harte in the *Cambridge* article goes even further by claiming for Harte's "The Luck of Roaring Camp," the sentimental if morbid tale of a western town whose inhabitants are transformed by the birth of a prostitute's child, the grand title of "the most influential story ever written in America," leading as it did to a host of imitators.[32] Today Pattee's remarks probably strike many as far too generous; to most critics of the 1920s and early 1930s, however, Harte seemed nothing less than a world-class literary original.

In the wake of such applause, and in many ways recalling the long and varied list of distinctions accorded Irving by early scholar-editors, historiographical-phase anthologies credited Harte with multitudinous artistic achievements. Pattee's textbook in 1919 recognized Harte as the originator of "that 'local color' school which for several decades has dominated American fiction."[33] Numerous first-generation literary textbooks echoed and in some cases amplified Pattee's assertion that Harte stood as the originator of the late-nineteenth-century regionalist movement in American literature. Other textbooks, including Robert Shafer's 1926 anthology, introduced Harte as "the creator of the modern American short story,"[34] and Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder's 1927 collection declared that several of Harte's tales "must be included in any catalogue of the world's greatest short stories."[35] In addition to support from authors of academic textbooks, Harte received commensurately high praise from such 1920s critical authorities as Henry Seidel Canby, who in 1926 commented in the *Saturday Review of Literature:* "The whole school of the local-color short story sprang from his loins."[36] All the same, evidence of critical uncertainty about Harte's legacy began to surface just a few years after the end of World War I.

Surprisingly, one of the earliest expressions of academic discontent with Harte's work came from none other than Fred Lewis Pattee. Even though Pattee had thoroughly lauded Harte and his literary accomplishments in several different forums throughout the 1910s, including his enormously influential study *A History of American Literature since 1870* (1915), the previously discussed *Cambridge History* chapter, and his popular anthology of American literature, he would be among the first highly

visible, early-twentieth-century scholars to fault the romantic tendencies of Harte's style. By 1923, the year he published *The Development of the American Short Story: A Historical Survey,* Pattee appears to have modified his assessment of Harte considerably. Even though Pattee's discussion of Harte in *The Development of the Short Story* is generally complimentary, his overall conclusions indicate a shift of attitude. He insists as he had in earlier discussions that Harte influenced the direction of the American short story more than any writer save Irving but adds that Harte is not "a permanently commanding figure in American fiction" primarily because his stories lack "the ultimate basis of all great fiction," an air of Truth.[37]

Ernest E. Leisy also registered discontent with Harte's writings very early on in his *American Literature: An Interpretive Survey* (1929). Like Pattee's 1923 assessment of Harte's impact on American letters, Leisy's analysis acknowledged Harte as a "pioneer" in the growth of the American short story but criticized his work for being too sentimental and "shot through with moral idealism."[38] A leading academic critic and soon-to-be anthology editor, Leisy was in a position in the late 1920s and 1930s to wield substantial influence in American literary studies. In the year following the publication of Leisy's study two other highly regarded book-length examinations of American literature also noted stylistic flaws in Harte's body of work. William Cairns revised his *A History of American Literature* in 1930, indicating that he believed many of Harte's tales "copy some of the less admirable traits of Dickens," though they ultimately demonstrate "truth to the ultimate facts of human nature" (a disagreement with Pattee's 1923 judgment).[39] Vernon L. Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927–30), arguably the most significant work of American literary criticism to appear between the wars, claimed that Harte merely wrote sentimental stories of the American West that failed to depict the region "in its stark grotesque reality."[40] These mixed evaluations of Harte's writings in the 1920s and early 1930s by Pattee, Leisy, Cairns, and Parrington paved the way for less-approving treatments of Harte in the literary textbooks of the 1930s and beyond.

The first substantive indication that Harte's critical reputation among scholar-editors had begun to waiver came, not unexpectedly, from Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy's 1935 anthology *Major American Writers.* Though the fact that Harte appeared in a literary textbook de-

voted to the work of "major" American authors suggests his high standing among most historiographical-phase critics, Jones and Leisy were quick to voice uneasiness about Harte's presence. Discussing their dilemma over the inclusion of certain writers from the second half of the nineteenth century, Jones and Leisy state frankly that "the most doubtful case is that of Harte," explaining that he was chosen simply "to illustrate the local-color movement."[41] Jones and Leisy would remove Harte altogether from the second edition of *Major American Writers* in 1945, thus becoming the first in a long line of college-level anthologies of American literature to dismiss Harte's writings.

Several other historiographical-phase literary textbooks similarly pointed out flaws in Harte's tales and poems between the publications of the first and second editions of *Major American Writers.* Jay B. Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936), for example, distinguishing between the "historical and the intrinsic value of his work," recognized Harte for his impact on the direction of American short fiction but also noted flaws in Harte's writings: "Californians long questioned the accuracy of his picture of the miners. Josiah Royce condemned 'the perverse romanticism' of Harte's stories."[42] In the 1937 anthology *The American Mind,* editors Henry Warfel, Ralph Gabriel, and Stanley Williams likewise simultaneously praised and criticized Harte's work, and theirs would prove to be the harshest analysis of Harte's career to appear in a textbook before 1950. "Lacking insight into human nature, and uninterested in contemporary social problems, Harte merely skimmed the surface of life; he failed to give reality to scene or character. Except for a few extremely successful pieces, a half-dozen stories and two or three lyrics, Harte's writings are more valuable for their pioneering character than their belletristic worth."[43] The timing of Harte's removal from the second edition of Jones and Leisy's anthology (two years after the publication of *Understanding Fiction*)[44] clearly suggests that Brooks and Warren's devaluation of Harte's stories probably factored into the first editorial censure of Harte's work. But at the same time, the motivation for such demotion had existed among critics and editors alike for at least two decades before Brooks and Warren's volume made its impression on American literary criticism.

Literary textbooks published between 1919 and 1946 included on average three or four selections from Harte's writings. The five-volume Mac-

millan anthology (1933), edited by Robert Spiller, Tremaine McDowell, Louis Wann, Oscar Cargill, and J. H. Nelson, presented eleven pieces of fiction and poetry by Harte, the most of any first-phase collection, and Shafer's *American Literature* represented Harte with just his early short story of an orphaned girl, "Mliss" (1870). (As I have already mentioned, *Major American Writers* [1945] neglected Harte altogether.) Predictably, "The Luck of Roaring Camp" (1868) was the most often anthologized piece by Harte during the historiographical phase, appearing in twelve of the sixteen collections from this period that used Harte's work. The only other Harte story to make an unusually strong showing between the wars was "The Outcasts of Poker Flat" (1869), Harte's tale of a band of "undesirables" banished from a hypocritical and morally self-righteous frontier town; this story was featured in eight collections. "Plain Language from Truthful James" (1870), a dialect poem about a group of card-cheating gamblers, and "The Society upon the Stanislaus" (1871), another short poetic work narrated by the western slang–wielding "Truthful James," stand as Harte's most popular poems in first-generation anthologies and were reprinted in eight and seven textbooks, respectively.

Between 1947 and 1966, anthologies of American literature tended to feature Harte as an author of primarily historical significance. One or two New Critical–phase editors indicated that they were reprinting Harte's tales and poems in their collections of American literature on the basis of intrinsic merit; however, a majority of second-generation textbooks included Harte's tales and poems specifically to illustrate his influence on later, more skilled, American "local color" writers or more broadly to mark a transition from romance to realism in American literature. Consequently, it was Harte's perceived influence on the direction of American letters after the Civil War and not his status as an author of world-class tales and poems that sustained his place in New Critical–phase anthologies. Several anthologies from this period (especially those published after 1955) that made "artistic excellence" the principal criteria for selection ignored Harte's writings altogether.

Wallace Stegner's essay for the *Literary History of the United States* (1948), "Western Record and Romance," embodied a typical early-second-phase attitude toward Harte in recognizing "The Luck of Roaring Camp" as "the father of all Western local color stories" but pointing out that

Harte himself "was finished as a writer by the time 'The Luck' appeared." [45] In the end Stegner acknowledged that Harte had "talent" and that "he was destined to have an influence as great as that of the greatest"; nevertheless, wrote Stegner, "through it all, even his best work, runs a thread of something theatrical and false."[46] Walter Blair's introduction to Harte's writings in his 1947 anthology, though not as overtly critical of Harte's sentimentality as Stegner's article, concluded that Harte's ultimate legacy as a writer was manifest not in his own art per se but through his influence on other literary artists: "Harte's great success is important in American literary history because of the impetus it gave to local color writing."[47]

By the mid-1950s, textbook editors were less likely to adopt a tolerant attitude toward Harte's romanticism than they had in previous decades. In 1956, for example, the editors of *The American Tradition in Literature* scoffed at Harte's work, characterizing it as "sentimental, melodramatic, and mawkish."[48] Other editors argued that Harte's romantic bent ultimately undermined his artistic greatness. The third edition of *American Poetry and Prose* (1947), for example, decided that Harte's sentimental drift, which Foerster described as "a leaning toward the theatrical," frustrated "a full aesthetic effect" in Harte's stories and poems. Although such damaging reviews of Harte's literary style were commonplace in New Critical–phase textbooks, at least one collection, *America's Literature* (1955), edited by Clarence Gohdes and James D. Hart, painted a more affirmative portrait of Bret Harte's career. Delivering as close to an outright endorsement of Harte's talents as had been seen in an anthology of American literature since the 1920s, Gohdes and Hart declared that "although Harte dwindled through thirty years into little more than a hack writer, his place in American literature remains secure. Greatest of the local-color school, he helped to shape the modern American short story; he created the legend of the Wild West; and he used his slight talent with the dexterity of a finished craftsman."[49] The most telling indication of Harte's critical decline after World War II was that more than one-third of all textbooks published between 1947 and 1966 omitted his work altogether. True, a majority of the collections that overlooked Harte's writings were designed as "major" author anthologies and only contained the work of anywhere from eight to thirty American authors. However, at least one second-generation liter-

ary textbook, *American Literature: A College Survey* (1961), edited by Clarence A. Brown and John T. Flanagan, completely neglected Harte despite announcing expressly that "minor writers whose works contain genuine merit either as literature or as criticism have been included."[50] Collections of American literature that did find space for Harte's tales and poems included an average of about three selections per textbook, a slight drop from the previous period. As in the previous phase, the pieces by Harte were those that one might expect to find. "The Luck of Roaring Camp," "The Outcasts of Poker Flat," and "Plain Language from Truthful James" each appeared in seven second-generation literary textbooks. Other selections by Harte such as "Tennessee's Partner," "Mrs. Judge Jenkins" (1867), "The Society upon the Stanislaus," "Muck-a-Muck" (an excerpt from *Condensed Novels* [1867]), and "The Angelus" (1868) made less frequent showings but were occasionally added between 1947 and 1966.

Discussions of Harte's career in anthologies of American literature published since the late 1960s have introduced two fresh lines of inquiry concerning Harte's legacy as a writer. The first new topic concerned the degree to which Harte was actually responsible for initiating the "local color" movement in American letters. Textbook editors and literary critics alike since at least the turn of the century had perceived Harte's tales and poems of the West as the earliest articulations of regionalist literature in America. Some first- and second-phase collections located Harte's greatest literary influence specifically in western literature, but none had really quarreled with the long-held scholarly assertion that the origins of American "local color" writing could be traced back to Harte's writings. As late as 1970 at least one anthology still considered Harte "the first . . . of the local colorists."[51] By the mid-1970s, though, most textbook editors challenged outright in one way or another the accuracy of that assertion.

In 1973, for instance, Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren maintained emphatically in *American Literature: The Makers and the Making* that "local color and regionalism were not invented by Bret Harte."[52] Later in the same piece, Brooks, Lewis, and Warren concede that Harte "had the first great success in that [local color] school, and thus defined it,"[53] but they did so only after identifying several other American writers who exploited regional materials in their

writings (James Russell Lowell, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and George Washington Harris) long before Harte had. Expressing similar sentiments, Seymour Gross and Milton Stern's 1975 anthology pointed out that the popularity of Harte's early tales "gave to the beginnings of local-color writing a drive and intensification that led some critics erroneously to see Harte as the father of American regional writing."[54] Since the mid-1970s textbook editors have generally been careful to explain that Harte's writings were merely seminal examples of *western* regionalist literature and that while his work may have "provided impetus" to the post–Civil War "local color" movement in America, Harte was not its literary *pioneer* in the truest sense of that term.

A second issue introduced by multicultural-phase anthologies is the realization that Harte's work was exceptional for its frank treatments of love and sexuality according to mid- and late-nineteenth-century standards. A few textbook editors from the 1940s and 1950s had mentioned the "unconventional morality" of Harte's writings,[55] but by the mid-1970s college-level collections of American literature regularly pointed out that Harte dealt with matters such as poverty and sexuality in surprisingly candid fashion. George McMichael's *Anthology of American Literature* (1974) was the first textbook to recognize Harte's relatively open experimentation with daring subject matter and modern themes. Since the first edition of McMichael's anthology, nearly all third-generation textbooks that include Harte mention (again, briefly) his realistic handling of sexual matters at a time when genteel "decorum" dictated much tamer literary topics.

Despite the proliferation of expanded and more inclusive textbook formats over the last thirty years, Harte's favor among textbook editors has continued to decline. A little more than one-quarter of textbooks published since the mid-1960s have entirely eliminated Harte's writings. In fact, just nine of eighteen anthologies to appear since 1986 have chosen to include a story or poem by Harte. Among the recent collections to neglect Harte are *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990, 1994, 1998), *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology* (1991), *The Harper American Literature* (1987, 1994), the shorter-edition *The Harper American Literature* (1987), and the shorter-edition *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1986, 1989). Multicultural-phase collections that have reprinted Harte's work include on average just two selections, typi-

cally consisting of one of the several standard short stories, such as "The Outcasts of Poker Flat" or "Tennessee's Partner," and a poem such as "Plain Language from Truthful James."

Recent work by nineteenth-century American literature specialists suggests that numerous American writers like Bret Harte who have been ignored because of the sentimental quality of their work may soon experience a critical recovery. Several anthologies of American literature published in the 1990s have already expressed a commitment to rediscovering and better understanding such authors (many for the first time in the college-level format). And while Harte himself has yet to be taken up and revalued by these literary scholars, there is the prospect that his tales and poetry of the West will not be forgotten by readers nor continue to suffer the neglect of critics.

William Dean Howells, on the other hand, is one of a few American writers whose work has maintained about the same level of robust popularity throughout all three phases of the modern-day anthology of American literature. And this is all the more remarkable in light of his drastic decline in terms of public recognition. The fact that Howells wrote so much, of course, practically guaranteed that literary textbook editors, regardless of critical tendencies or personal quirks, would be able to locate something of appeal among dozens of volumes of poetry, fiction, autobiography, biography, and criticism that constitute his extensive canon. But more than that, Howells has remained a respected literary figure in academic circles since the end of World War I in large part because he managed to distinguish himself as an author in several different literary styles. As critical attitudes evolved from decade to decade, Howells's reputation was able to accommodate the shifting critical fault lines.

Since the appearance of the earliest historiographical-phase anthology, editors have presented Howells as an acclaimed literary jack-of-all-trades whose legacy as a writer was tied to the rise of realism in American literature. And while there exists a consensus among twentieth-century literary textbooks that Howells played a key role in the development and promotion of American realism, opinion concerning Howells's contribution to the realistic movement of the late nineteenth century has shifted with time. Today Howells is, arguably, esteemed by scholars in largest part for his critical acumen. Indeed, his theories of literary real-

ism were central to the growth of the movement in the United States, and he is routinely credited with having recognized the talent of young, new writers such as Mark Twain, Henry James, Mary Wilkins Freeman, Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, and Paul Laurence Dunbar long before others of the literary establishment admired their work. Yet prior to 1950—judging by editorial commentary in historiographical- and early New Critical–phase anthologies—literary criticism was not considered Howells's chief talent. Between the wars many notable academics celebrated Howells first as *the* great novelist of nineteenth-century American realism and only secondarily as a distinguished critic.

Carl Van Doren's 1921 *Cambridge History of American Literature* chapter "The Later Novel" recorded one of the earliest historiographical-phase opinions concerning Howells's contribution to American letters. Reflecting on the entirety of Howells's career, Van Doren judged that "important as Howells is as critic and memoir-writer, he must be considered first of all a novelist."[56] Six years later the editors of *A Book of American Literature* (1927) practically paraphrased Van Doren's statement for their introduction to Howells's writings: "Yet despite the many fields of life and letters in which Howells made himself loved and admired, he will be looked on by posterity chiefly as a novelist."[57] A handful of other early academic anthologists, including Norman Foerster, who claimed in 1934 that it was "as a novelist and a force for realism Howells will probably be remembered,"[58] agreed that Howells had done his most significant work in fiction. Even the editors of the post–World War II textbook *American Literature: An Anthology and Critical Survey* argued as late as 1948 that "Howells' place in our literature is not, however, dependent on his achievement as an editor and critic. It rests firmly on his own work as a creative writer."[59]

That pre-1950s scholars saw Howells principally as a great novelist (as opposed to a perspicacious critic) is notable not only because their appraisals differ markedly from current opinion but also because the selections from Howells's body of work that first- and early-second-phase textbook editors chose to include in their literary anthologies suggest these same editors knew and venerated Howells's criticism as well. Extracts from Howells's critical works outnumber extracts from his creative work by nearly two to one in anthologies published between 1919 and 1946. Moreover, even collections of American literature edited by schol-

ars who argued for the superiority of Howells's fiction reprinted a comparatively scant selection of the author's creative work. Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder, for example, who in their 1927 anthology wrote that Howells "will be looked on by posterity chiefly as a novelist," offered nothing in the way of his fiction and instead reprinted chapters 9 through 11 from Howells's critical reminiscence *Literary Boston as I Knew It* (1900). Foerster is also guilty of contradicting himself by representing Howells with just four chapters from *Criticism and Fiction* (1891) in the 1925 first edition of *American Poetry and Prose,* and the same four selections from *Criticism and Fiction* plus chapter 13 from *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885), the Corey's dinner party episode, in the 1934 second edition of his anthology.

Historiographical-phase anthologies typically included between five and six selections from Howells's body of work.[60] Various chapters from *Criticism and Fiction* appeared in thirteen of seventeen collections from the period, qualifying the 1891 critical volume as the most anthologized of Howells's books between 1919 and 1946. Among the more popular selections from *Criticism and Fiction* between the wars were chapter 2 ("Criticism and Realism"), chapter 15 ("The English Novel since Jane Austen"), chapter 18 ("The Mental and Moral Means of Fiction"), chapter 22 ("Democracy and the American Novel"), and chapter 23 ("Decency and the American Novel"). *A Modern Instance* also made abridged appearances in first-generation collections of American literature, since six anthologies reprinted chapters from Howells's 1882 classic. Surprisingly, six first-phase literary textbooks decided to illustrate Howells's playwriting skills. The four editions of Fred Lewis Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919, 1922, 1926, 1932) reprinted *The Mouse-Trap* (1886), a very brief comedy of manners; and *The Literature of America* (1929), edited by Arthur Hobson Quinn, Albert Croll Baugh, and Will David Howe, as well as the five-volume Macmillan anthology (1933), included "The Unexpected Guests" (1893), another short parlor drama involving basically the same characters in which a dinner party is thrown into confusion but is eventually returned to order in the closing scene.

A College Book of American Literature, edited by Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn in 1939, was the first anthology to state explicitly that Howells's principal talent lay in the field of literary criticism.

Suggesting that scholarly assessments of Howells's career had begun to shift in the late 1930s, these editors wrote: "Many present-day literary historians think that he [Howells] did his finest work as a critic, and that his best and most lasting book is *Criticism and Fiction.*"[61] Statistical data concerning the appearance of Howells's writings in historiographical-phase collections confirm Ellis, Pound, and Spohn's speculation, for, as mentioned above, *Criticism and Fiction* stood as the most often anthologized work by Howells in literary textbooks between 1919 and 1946.

Criticism and Fiction, in point of fact, remained a popular selection in New Critical–phase collections, appearing in all but one anthology of American literature published between 1947 and 1966. And scholars' recognition of Howells chiefly as a literary critic became more pronounced in the 1950s and 1960s. Gay Wilson Allen and Henry Pochmann's 1949 textbook reflected the shift in attitude concerning Howells's major contribution to American literature. In their introduction to Howells's writings for *Masters of American Literature,* Allen and Pochmann wrote: "It is doubtful that he [Howells] ever really appreciated the importance of criticism . . . and his critical influence finally surpassed his other literary achievements."[62] Yet despite the markedly increased scholarly notice of Howells as a literary commentator in the 1950s and 1960s, second-generation textbooks paradoxically expanded their coverage of Howells's creative writing.

Anthologies published between the late 1940s and mid-1960s brought together an average of seven selections by Howells, an increase of a little more than one piece per textbook over collections published between the wars. But whereas first-phase anthologies collected approximately twice as much of Howells's criticism as they did his creative writing, second-phase collections featured an even number of critical compositions and selections from Howells's fictional works. Although this increase in the number of selections from Howells's creative writings seemed to run counter to the trend of growing scholarly admiration of Howells as a literary critic in the 1950s and 1960s, it was, nevertheless, an explicable consequence of the much broader New Critical–phase tendency among academic literature specialists to promote American writers as accomplished literary artists. That is to say, anthology editors, regardless of the growing trend among Howells scholars to see their subject principally as a superb commentator, still provided literature in-

structors the necessary materials for elucidating a distinctly aesthetic portrait of American letters.

Another notable development during the New Critical phase of the anthology of American literature was the initial appearance of "Editha" (1905), Howells's oft-collected story of a naive young woman who pushes her skeptical beau to fight in a war from which he does not return. Raymond Short and Wilbur Scott's *The Main Lines of American Literature,* published in 1954, was the first literary textbook to include the Howells short story. Three years later the fourth edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1957) added the tale to its selection of Howells's work. Since then "Editha" has emerged as *the* standard offering in college-level textbooks of American literature, the sole representation of Howells's writing in many recent collections. This short story, of course, would have been an understandably attractive pick for the aesthetically moded anthologies of the 1950s and early 1960s simply because these textbooks shunned excerpts from novels and looked for uncut representative shorter works that could be easily anthologized without taking up as much space as a full-length novel.

Still, the choice of "Editha" over Howells's other short works and the fact that it alone has endured long into the 2000s as the only short story by Howells to be repeatedly anthologized is, for several reasons, a revealing phenomenon. First, "Editha" was never even mentioned in an anthology of American literature before 1954. And in collections published since the mid-1950s, including those that contain the story, "Editha" was so infrequently discussed as to appear an unimportant work. At the same time, scholarly studies of Howells, especially those published before 1980, have generally overlooked the story, too. Moreover, not one of the three major histories of American literature published in the twentieth century, *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21), *Literary History of American Literature* (1948), and *Columbia History of American Literature* (1988), so much as lists "Editha" in its index.

What, then, might account for the impressive popularity of "Editha" given its distinctly unspectacular critical history? When "Editha" was introduced into the anthology format in 1954, the editors chose the piece from Howells's body of work primarily to illustrate the themes and the basic technique of Howells's full-length works. Scott and Short intimate

something of the sort in their introduction to Howells, explaining that the story, like his major novels, "well illustrates his objection to romanticism."[63] Foerster may have included the story three years later as a result of Scott and Short's example, or he may have been aware that Everett Carter's acclaimed 1954 study, *Howells and the Age of Realism,* praised "Editha," calling the piece "one of his best short stories."[64] (It should be noted, however, that Carter devotes little more than a sentence to "Editha" in his rather large book.)

The enormously popular *The American Tradition in Literature,* edited by Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, added "Editha" to its 1961 revised edition, very likely as a result of its appearance in Foerster's 1957 anthology. According to James Woodress's 1969 annotated bibliography of Howells criticism, just one article on "Editha" had appeared in print before 1965.[65] Harold Kehler published a brief interpretation of the tale in *Explicator* in 1961, and it, along with the endorsement of *American Poetry and Prose* and *The American Tradition in Literature,* launched the story in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Considering the United States' costly involvement in the Korean War and calamitous dedication to the Vietnam conflict during the period between the early 1950s and the mid-1970s, the story's antiwar theme must also be considered a likely explanation for its high regard among academics. But regardless of precisely how or why collections of American literature began to feature Howells's "Editha," the story has become a preferred selection from Howells's body of work in anthologies since the mid-1960s, appearing in no fewer than thirty of thirty-nine anthologies published in the multicultural phase.

Literary textbooks published since 1967 have utilized roughly the same number of excerpts from Howells's body of work that previous anthologies did. On average, third-generation collections have represented Howells with a little more than five selections. But just as the ratio of Howells's critical writings to his fictional pieces shifted between first- and second-phase anthologies, so, too, did that proportion change in the third period. In literary textbooks published between 1919 and 1946, selections from Howells's critical work outnumbered selections from his creative writings two to one; between 1947 and 1966 collections of American literature reprinted about an even number of each; between 1967 and 1999, however, textbook editors featured more than three times

the number of excerpts from Howells's nonfiction prose (typically *Criticism and Fiction*) as they did selections from his fiction.

The tendency to highlight Howells's nonfiction prose in multicultural-phase anthologies is, of course, a result of the scholarly emphasis on Howells's reputation as a literary critic. Donald McQuade and the editors of *The Harper American Literature* (1987) articulated this contemporary position succinctly if brusquely in 1987 when they declared that "William Dean Howells is best remembered for his ability to recognize how good other writers were, not for his own merits."[66] McQuade's assessment of Howells's chief contribution to American letters represented a complete departure from Carl Van Doren's 1921 appraisal of Howells's career. That is not to say, however, that multicultural-phase editors have entirely forgotten Howells's accomplishment in fiction: *A Modern Instance, The Rise of Silas Lapham,* and *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890) are regularly praised as important novels in collections of American literature published since 1967. Recent anthologists have concurred with American literature specialists in assessing that Howells's place in literary history is due principally to his generosity toward fellow authors and his editorial oversight of literary realism as an artistic movement in the United States.

Scholarly appreciation for Howells's critical expertise in the last thirty years was also attributable in large part to the burgeoning interest in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century American women writers. Since World War I, scholars consistently praised Howells for recognizing talent in numerous male writers. Multicultural-phase anthologies, however, typically make a point of applauding Howells for his promotion of women authors and writers of color. The several editions of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature,* for example, reported that Howells early on advocated the work of Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary Wilkins Freeman, Edith Wharton, and Emily Dickinson. *The Harper American Literature* and several others added Paul Laurence Dunbar and Charles Chesnutt to the gallery of talents that Howells promoted vigorously and earnestly during his reign as "the dean of American letters."

Third-phase collections of American literature have in addition defended Howells against the early-twentieth-century attacks of nonacademic critics such as Theodore Dreiser, Van Wyck Brooks, H. L. Mencken, and Sinclair Lewis. Academic scholars, particularly those who have ed-

ited literary anthologies, have taken up the case for Howells against the charge that he was an apologist for the late-nineteenth-century culture of gentility. Fred Lewis Pattee's 1932 textbook was the first to mention the controversy and defend Howells by placing him in the context of his day, showing that he reacted against the "proprieties" of early- to mid-nineteenth-century literature much in the same way that later, more rebellious writers reacted to Howells. In the decades following World War II more anthologies discussed the one-sided condemnation of Howells in the 1920s and attempted to exculpate his queasiness about the explicit sexual content of literary naturalism. Textbooks since 1967 have continued to depict Howells not just as a writer of his times but also as a writer who despite all appearances actually breached many of the literary conventions of his day while he encouraged others (Stephen Crane and Frank Norris, for example) to go much further than he himself was willing to go.

The history of the presentation of Henry James's canon in the modern-day anthology of American literature epitomizes trends distinguishable in the cases of previously discussed American writers. Along with the work of Herman Melville and Emily Dickinson, James's writings were generally misunderstood and underappreciated by most critics of the 1920s and 1930s and thus were meagerly represented in some historiographical-phase anthologies. Yet like the cases of Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, and William Dean Howells, James's critical reputation evolved dramatically over the next eighty years as scholarly opinion altered concerning his most significant contribution to American letters.

At least as far back as the turn of the century, literary critics differentiated among the various styles that characterized certain phases of James's fifty-year career as an author. Today scholars generally divide James's fiction into three periods.[67] By contrast, commentators of the first decades of the twentieth century typically recognized just two groups of writings in James's vast body of work, the "early" and the "later" James. Few literary critics of the 1910s and 1920s praised anything James wrote in the last fifteen to twenty years of his life, especially his intricate novels *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904).

That James failed to attract a large popular following for his work af-

ter the moderate success of "Daisy Miller" (1878), James's novella-length treatment of the New World woman, is well documented. Nevertheless, James did receive considerable critical attention in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century from fellow literary artists and certain academic scholars. Much of the commentary from this period was laudatory in tone toward James's "early" novels and stories. Beginning in the 1910s, critics began to take particular issue with James's "later" style. Harvard professor John Macy recorded one of the earliest rejections of James's later fiction. In *The Spirit of American Literature* (1913), a book Kermit Vanderbilt compares to Van Wyck Brooks's more famous *America's Coming-of-Age* (1915) for its similar progressivist vision and "pre-1920s [spirit of] rebellion,"[68] Macy condemned the content and form of James's post-1900 novels as unconnected to American culture. Three years later novelist Rebecca West voiced similar dissatisfaction with James's most mature work, suggesting in her critical study *Henry James* (1916) that the later style betrayed an aging, declining artistic imagination.

This trend in James criticism culminated in the 1920s in the controversial work of both Van Wyck Brooks and Vernon L. Parrington. With a series of articles published in the *Dial* in 1923 and then in his 1925 study *The Pilgrimage of Henry James,* Brooks argued his now-famous thesis of "flight, frustration and decline."[69] Parrington virtually repeated verbatim Brooks's assessment of James's career in the final volume of *Main Currents in American Thought,* which appeared five years later in 1930. Brooks's and Parrington's highly critical portraits of James's art (especially the later novels) have been credited by various historians of James studies for leading the "kicking" period against James.[70] Yet Brooks's and Parrington's analyses were articulating a nebulous attitude toward James's work that dated as far back as the first journalistic reviews of such novels as *The Wings of the Dove, The Ambassadors,* and *The Golden Bowl.* That is to say that rather than inaugurating the attack against James's later style (as is sometimes mistakenly assumed by scholars), Brooks and Parrington, more accurately, absorbed and disseminated it.

Plenty of explicit evidence in historiographical-phase anthologies of American literature indicates that academic dissatisfaction with the later James existed long before Brooks and Parrington possibly influenced editorial attitudes. Fred Lewis Pattee's introduction to James's

writings in the first edition of *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919), for instance, embodied the same sentiment attributed to Brooks and Parrington years before either published their better-remembered treatments of James. "In his later novels he grew more and more individual in his style and treatment until many who had enjoyed his early work ceased to read him. A lifetime of analysis, of introspection, of self-conscious concentration, of eternal contemplation of manners, led to over refinement, to mannerism, to eccentricities. One may safely say that the later James is delightful to only a few."[71] Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder's 1927 literary textbook echoed Pattee's appraisal of James's artistic career. "To say that his later style is involved almost to the point of being ridiculous," stated the Snyders, "is hardly to overstate the case."[72] These editors of *A Book of American Literature* added, "The fact of course is that James became so concerned with the minute and subtle shades, gradations, and differentiations in his analysis of human conduct, that he failed to hold himself to the major task of telling the story, or even the relatively simple one of writing so that the ordinary reader could understand him. . . . Had he been able to make this one concession to the frailty of his readers, he would have found few novelists, the world over, entitled to stand beside him."[73] In 1929, anthology editors Arthur Hobson Quinn, Albert Croll Baugh, and Will David Howe joined in expressing disappointment with the later style (which they dated as from 1896 forward), a body of writing that they argued is marked by James's "besetting fault of indirectness."[74] The viewpoint of these latter two collections admittedly could have been affected by Brooks's arguments. But earlier precedents for taking James's late work to task for its apparent "eccentricities" had existed for decades.

Less direct indication of widespread academic distaste for James's late fiction in historiographical-phase anthologies of American literature survives in the record of precisely which works from James's canon editors chose to include in their collections. First, all but two textbooks select nothing James published after 1894. "The Art of Fiction" (1884), James's classic essay that argues for the legitimacy of prose fiction as a serious art form, appeared in seven textbooks and was the most often anthologized selection between 1919 and 1946. "Greville Fane" (1893), a story whose central character is the sort of vulgar novel writer James despised, was reprinted in five historiographical-phase collections and

was, furthermore, the only other selection from James's body of work to appear in more than two first-period literary textbooks. "The Real Thing" (1893) and "The Death of the Lion" (1894), two additional tales that portray artists frustrated with the quality or reception of their work, and "Daisy Miller" were each anthologized twice between the wars, and a handful of other less notable tales appeared sporadically. Anthologies of the historiographical phase lacked consensus about a standard Jamesian selection. Early textbooks published on average just two pieces by James, and no fewer than sixteen different selections circulated among the seventeen collections.

Another peculiarity in first-phase presentations of James was the virtual absence of any excerpts from his novels. In fact, only two literary textbooks, the 1933 five-volume Macmillan anthology and the 1938 *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature,* have ever featured an extract from any of James's full-length fiction. Despite the fact that a majority of twentieth-century scholars considered James among the greatest novelists in world literature, the reasons for this conspicuous absence of excerpts are obvious. James, of course, left a considerable body of shorter, more manageable stories and novellas that illustrate satisfactorily the techniques and themes of his book-length works. Moreover, with their extraordinary size, density, and complexity (the very hallmarks of a Jamesian novel) the longer-length books posed problems for even the most ambitious anthology editor. At least one anthology from the 1930s, however, offered another explanation. Harry Warfel, Ralph Gabriel, and Stanley Williams theorized that "James's best work was done, possibly, in the short story and novelette, forms which suited his unique genius."[75]

In choosing to feature only James's shorter fiction, historiographical-phase anthologies would in some cases recommend a few of James's novels as supplemental reading. These early editorial recommendations further prove first-generation partiality for James's early fiction. *The American* (1877) was the only novel by James to make the list of "Recommended Readings from the Novel" in Norman Foerster's 1925 edition of *American Poetry and Prose.* In 1927 *A Book of American Literature* included *The American,* "Daisy Miller," *The Europeans* (1878), and *The Portrait of a Lady* (1881) in its catalog of suggested further readings. *The Literature of America* (1929) endorsed *The American* and *The Portrait of*

a Lady as James's most significant full-length works. Jay B. Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936) was unique among historiographical-phase anthologies in that it specifically recommended a work published later than 1881. The first edition of Hubbell's anthology, in an appendix titled "Some Important Novels," specified James's *The American,* "Daisy Miller," *The Portrait of a Lady, The Spoils of Poynton* (1897), *What Maisie Knew* (1897), and *The Ambassadors* (1903).

Despite the prevailing critical fondness for James's early writings between the wars, a few maverick voices within academia attempted to present James's later style in a sympathetic light. In 1918 Joseph Warren Beach published *The Method of Henry James,* perhaps the most important study of James's technique to appear before World War II. Attesting to its enormous impact on James scholarship in the first half of the twentieth century, Robert Spiller professed in 1956 that "all subsequent criticism of James has been built on the findings of this book."[76] Beach also wrote the chapter on James for *The Cambridge History of American Literature* in 1921, essentially a summarized version of *The Method of Henry James.* In 1921 Percy Lubbock published his oft-quoted *The Craft of Fiction,* which, according to James scholar Richard Hocks, "codified 'point of view' and the dramatic method in fiction, setting the stage for the great revival of James, and of formalist work on him, many years later."[77] Together, in fact, Beach and Lubbock played key roles in gradually fostering in the 1920s and 1930s an academic recognition of James as an accomplished literary artist, particularly in his later fiction.

Interestingly, two historiographical-phase anthologies (both of which, not coincidentally, advocated a strictly belles-lettres approach to American literature) broke from the standard "Brooksian" depiction of James in literary textbooks between the wars, possibly as a result of having been persuaded by scholars such as Beach and Lubbock. Robert Shafer's 1926 collection, *American Literature,* was the first modern-day college-level anthology of American literature to challenge directly the then-conventional notion that James had gradually over the course of his career descended into "unintelligibility." "This unfortunate, and on the whole not really justified, reputation helped to prevent adequate appreciation of the greatness of his achievement in many of his later tales and in three of his later novels, *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), *The Ambassadors* (1903), and *The Golden Bowl* (1904)."[78] Shafer's praise of James's

later fiction, particularly the three novels (which in the next sentence he calls "these three perfect books")[79] is notable both for its explicit dispute with the standard pre–World War II academic interpretation of James's "flight, frustration and decline" and for its enthusiastic endorsement of James's "major phase" nearly twenty years before F. O. Matthiessen coined that term.

The Oxford Anthology of American Literature in 1938 likewise rejected the conventional historiographical-phase view of James and assembled what can quite likely be called the most unusual selection of James's writings ever to appear in a college-level literary textbook. Editors William Rose Benet and Norman H. Pearson began by reprinting excerpts from two of James's novel-length works. Remarkably, no anthology before (or since) extracted a selection from any novel by James. Equally noteworthy, Benet and Pearson culled their excerpts not from *The American* or even *The Portrait of a Lady* (as one might expect, given the lists of suggested novels in textbook collections of the 1920s and 1930s) but from *The Wings of the Dove* and *The Golden Bowl.* In addition, these editors supplemented their excerpts with two very late short works, "The Sense of Newport" (1907), an autobiographical reflective sketch extracted from *The American Scene* (1907), and "Crapy Cornelia" (1909), a story that employs narrative techniques James perfected in the major-phase novels, as well as "The Art of Fiction." Benet and Pearson thus provided half a dozen selections from James's body of work at a time when most other textbooks were reprinting only two.

Beach's *The Method of Henry James* and Lubbock's *The Letters of Henry James* (1920) are two of just six scholarly books listed in Benet and Pearson's selected bibliography on James (neither Brooks nor Parrington appeared there). A third critical work included in their bibliography, and that clearly contributed to the unusual portrait of James in *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature,* was Richard Blackmur's edition of *The Art of the Novel* (1934).[80] Richard Hocks rightly points out that Blackmur's introductory essay to his collection of James's prefaces to the New York Edition "extend[ed] the approaches taken by Beach and Lubbock" by "isolating and, in a fluid way codifying, James's aesthetic tenets."[81] Benet and Pearson's introduction relied heavily on Blackmur's essay, with the result being a highly belles-lettres interpretation of James's artistic vision. In doing so, they inaugurated trends in the an-

thologizing of James's writings that would dominate literary textbooks for the next forty years.

The decade of the 1940s was an enormously fruitful and important period in James studies. Scholars often refer to it as "The Jamesian Revival" because of the high concentration of first-rate critical work done on James in the several years just before, during, and immediately following World War II. Unquestionably, the critical centerpiece of the "revival" was F. O. Matthiessen's *Henry James: The Major Phase* (1944). Matthiessen's study did more than any other piece of scholarship to reverse the Brooksian view of James's mature work through a painstaking study of James's calculated use of theme, character, form, and symbol. Matthiessen's book celebrated the artistic achievement of James's late style and the novels he produced during the final sixteen years of his life. After 1944 it became literally impossible for commentators to discount James's later work without first coming to grips with Matthiessen's analysis. In fact, following the appearance of *Henry James: The Major Phase* few scholars would disagree with the assertion that James would be remembered chiefly for *The Wings of the Dove, The Ambassadors,* and *The Golden Bowl.* At the same time, Matthiessen owed much to earlier scholars given that his study in some ways built on lines of argument established by Beach and Lubbock in the 1910s and 1920s.

The year before Matthiessen's book appeared, the *Kenyon Review* published a special number devoted exclusively to James. Edited by Robert Penn Warren and including essays by Katherine Anne Porter, Richard Blackmur, Matthiessen, and several others, the volume contributed to the rising critical interest in James's fiction in the 1940s. In 1948 Blackmur wrote an important chapter on James for the *Literary History of the United States,* and F. R. Levis published *The Great Tradition,* a monumental study of the English novel that placed James among such figures as Jane Austen, George Eliot, Joseph Conrad, and D. H. Lawrence. In addition to this collection of seminal criticism, several scholarly editions of James's writings appeared in the 1940s, including two volumes edited by Matthiessen and two by preeminent James scholar Leon Edel.

The scholarship of the 1940s "Jamesian Revival" affected the presentation of James's work in New Critical–phase anthologies of American literature almost immediately. In the first edition of *The Literature of the United States* (1947), for instance, editor Randall Stewart asserted quite

confidently of James that "the books which show the full maturity of his art are *The Wings of the Dove, The Ambassadors,* and *The Golden Bowl* and it is probably upon these works that his fame will ultimately rest."[82] Two years later Henry Pochmann and Gay Wilson Allen made an even more explicit defense of James's major phase, pointing to the scholarship of "recent critics" as having "revised" the picture of frustration and decline passed along by previous generations of commentators.[83]

By the mid-1950s anthology editors voiced a virtual consensus that "recent critics" had reversed earlier scholarly opinions of James and, more specifically, that the late novels clearly stood as James's major accomplishment. *America's Literature* (1955) noted, for example, that "during this [late] period James, according to most critics, developed his art to its highest achievement."[84] *American Heritage: An Anthology and Interpretive Survey of American Literature* (1955) likewise reported that "the third [period] is that of his great novels."[85] And Leon Edel's 1959 textbook, *Masters of American Literature,* informed its readers that *The Wings of the Dove, The Ambassadors,* and *The Golden Bowl* were "regarded by most critics as the summit of his art."[86] An amazing reversal of critical opinion by any measure, scholarly estimation of the later phase as producing James's best work seemed securely fixed by midcentury. Indeed, little more than a decade after the appearance of the first full-scale vindication of James's late writings by William Rose Benet and Norman H. Pearson in their 1938 *Oxford Anthology of American Literature,* second-generation textbook editors, en masse, exhibited little hesitation in extolling James's post-1900 fiction.

As a group, anthologies of American literature published between 1947 and 1966 offered a wide variety of selections from James's canon. "The Art of Fiction" still dominated New Critical–phase collections, just as it had first-generation textbooks, appearing in nineteen of twenty-two anthologies between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s. "The Real Thing" and "Daisy Miller," featured in eleven and six collections, respectively, also made respectable showings in the second phase. Yet most notable about the presentation of James's work in New Critical–phase textbooks was, of course, the editorial incorporation of fiction from the late phase. The first edition of *The Literature of America* (1947) featured for the first time "The Middle Years" (1893), a story reminiscent of the style of the major novels from the early 1900s and one of James's earliest

exhibitions of his mature handling of "point of view." In 1948 *American Literature: An Anthology and Critical Survey* introduced "Flickerbridge" (1902) and added the now-standard selection "The Beast in the Jungle" (1903), the tale of a man who wastes much of his life waiting for something spectacular to happen to him. Editors Allen and Pochmann in their 1949 textbook collected for the first time "The Figure in the Carpet" (1896), the portrait of an artist whose work incorporates a secret pattern that no amount of study will reveal, and "The Jolly Corner" (1909), the story of an individual who returns home after years of travel only to meet the ghost of the man he would have become had he never lived abroad.

The earliest New Critical–phase textbooks, those published between 1947 and 1956, featured on average three to four selections by James. From about 1957 to the mid-1960s, however, second-generation anthologies of American literature expanded (in many cases doubled) their coverage of James's canon. To take one example, the 1947 third edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (an early-second-phase anthology) featured four works by James—"Four Meetings" (1877), "The Real Thing," "The Death of the Lion," and "The Art of Fiction." In the fourth edition of *American Poetry and Prose* (a later second-phase anthology), which Foerster published in 1957, he enlarged the James section from four pieces to nine by adding a chapter from *Hawthorne* (1879), three selections from *Partial Portraits* (1888), and the story "Maud-Evelyn" (1900), the unsettling tale of a man who willingly plays the imaginary role of widowed son-in-law to a couple who had lost their only daughter some time before. Two years later *Masters of American Literature* reprinted seven pieces by James, and throughout the early 1960s (when "major author" textbooks were at their peak of popularity) several anthologies featured in excess of ten James stories and essays. In fact, with only a handful of exceptions, literary textbooks published since the mid-1950s have consistently provided what could be termed a lavish coverage of James's writings.

Two additional phenomena help to explain the Jamesian "boom" of the late 1950s. First, several landmark formalist studies of the novel appeared in the 1950s that not only distinguished James as a world-class innovator of full-length fictional techniques but also classified him as an early figure in the modernist movement. In particular, Dorothy Van

Ghent's *The English Novel* (1953) and Richard Chase's *The American Novel and Its Tradition* helped to solidify James's worldwide reputation as an ingenious master of the novel form. Second, Leon Edel published in 1953 to near-unanimous acclaim the first volume of his monumental biography of James. As Robert Spiller noted approvingly in 1956, Edel's definitive life was the first "based on a thorough study of the unpublished letters, journals, and other sources, as well as upon materials published but not previously used by a major biographer."[87] Perhaps more than any other prior study save Matthiessen's, the inaugural volume of Edel's biography legitimized James's claim once and for all to the title of an authentic literary genius and a serious artist of the first order.

This new respect for James especially during the 1950s meshed with the acceptance of critical formalism as the regnant analytical methodology throughout the American academy in the decades after World War II. In F. W. Dupee's thorough introduction to James's writings in Perry Miller's 1962 anthology *Major Writers of America,* Dupee expressed generally this New Critical view of James's artistry: "Henry James tried as hard as any writer ever has to make his stories and novels self-contained and self-explanatory. Ideally, they require no special knowledge of his life and times, no research into his literary sources, no analysis of his ideas as such."[88] The artistic qualities for which James's work was most esteemed during the second phase—formal precision, technical innovation, penetrating symbolism, narrative subtlety, thematic unity—corresponded completely with the prevailing critical tastes of the times.

Since the mid-1960s James has maintained his reputation as a preeminent novelist of America and the world and, therefore, his privileged status in college-level literary textbooks. Anthologies of American literature published between 1966 and 1999 generally reprinted five to seven selections by James. But unlike earlier textbook editors, multicultural-phase anthologists have relied on basically the same cluster of selections. Typically, multicultural-phase collections have featured one or two of James's critical essays (usually "The Art of Fiction" or an excerpt from one of the prefaces) and three to five of his stories and novellas. Among the fictional pieces that appear with particular frequency in third-generation collections are "The Real Thing" (twenty-four textbooks), "The Beast in the Jungle" (thirty-three textbooks), "The Jolly

Corner" (twenty-four textbooks), and "Daisy Miller" (twenty-seven textbooks).

Curiously, *The Turn of the Screw,* a selection one might expect to find in anthology after anthology, was relatively neglected by textbook editors in the past century. Charles Anderson's *American Literary Masters* (1965) was the first anthology to include James's classic novella. Since then, only eight collections of American literature (all of which appeared after 1984) have reprinted *The Turn of the Screw.* The absence of this story from the modern-day anthology format is made more curious by the fact that it has received enormous critical attention. Indeed, Richard Hocks estimates (surely overstating) that criticism on *The Turn of the Screw* "is so extensive that it probably competes with the printed work on *Hamlet.*"[89] In the end, however, one of the problems with the story, from the perspective of an anthology editor, remains its length. Nearly twice as long as "Daisy Miller," *The Turn of the Screw* apparently occupies too much space for a single piece of fiction when there are plenty of other shorter James stories from which an editor might select.

Another problematic trend concerning the representation of James in literary textbooks has emerged in the last thirty years. Although most introductions to James's writings in multicultural-phase collections have continued to portray James as consummate artist and world-class novelist, a few editors since the mid-1980s have reintroduced questions about his status in American literary history. Whereas literary textbooks published between 1950 and 1980 automatically accorded James a place among the greatest writers of American (and, indeed, Western) fiction, today that sweeping, once-unassailable judgment seems less secure. The first edition of *The Harper American Literature,* for instance, opined that the "value of James's influence on the art of fiction remains controversial" but added that "whether pernicious or inspiring, his influence has been immense and lasting."[90] Other collections have expressed similar doubts about James's legacy, and at least two major anthologies of American literature that appeared in the 1990s cut back their presentation of James's writings to pre-1930s levels.[91]

The cases of Mark Twain, Bret Harte, William Dean Howells, and Henry James further exemplify the two most common tendencies in the treatment of American writers by twentieth-century classroom litera-

ture anthologies. Twain and James, who demonstrate the first trend, produced work that several generations of readers considered thematically relevant and technically modern. Moreover, Twain and James left behind bodies of work sufficiently large and varied to satisfy shifting literary values throughout the twentieth century. Howells's standing has also benefited from the considerable quantity and variety of his writing. As a result, all three, despite slight reductions in recent textbooks, have generally received broad coverage in classroom collections of the last eighty-plus years. The second trend is typified by Harte's career. His writings, many would contend, seem to lack crucial qualities of modernity and diversity. As such, his reputation and the coverage it has received in college-level anthologies, like that of scores of other American fiction writers and poets, has gradually diminished since World War I.

5

Latter-Nineteenth-Century Prose

Stowe, Jewett, Freeman, Chopin

Over the last thirty years few critical debates have matched the energy of discussions concerning the purported historical exclusion of late-nineteenth-century women writers of fiction from twentieth-century college-level literary textbooks. Scholars have increasingly expressed indignation that since the 1920s the works of authors such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary Wilkins Freeman, and Kate Chopin were allegedly (depending on the commenting scholar) gradually excluded, systematically minimized or omitted, or suppressed outright by generations of prejudiced male anthology editors.[1] These are serious charges, to be sure, and certainly irrefutable evidence of a misogynistic American academy—were it not for the fact that academic collections of American literature designed specifically for the college classroom have, since their inception, regularly included the fiction of numerous nineteenth-century American female writers.

Even the allegation that early-twentieth-century textbook editors deliberately marginalized literature by women authors appears more complicated than that charge in light of statistical evidence. While it is true that the space accorded to individual female writers of fiction in *historiographical-* and *New Critical–phase* anthologies of American literature was limited usually to a single short story, it is also a fact that few literary textbooks published in the last thirty years have represented

these women with more than one selection apiece themselves (including such specialized collections as *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* [1985, 1996]). There is no question, then, that writers such as Stowe, Jewett, Freeman, and Chopin have historically received much less attention in anthologies of American literature than, say, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Edgar Allan Poe, or Mark Twain. However, for critics of the last thirty years to single out pre-1970 literary textbook editors and charge them with wholesale sexism when contemporary literature anthologies are in most cases providing virtually the same coverage seems misleading.

To illustrate the fuller picture: in the years directly preceding and following World War I, Harriet Beecher Stowe was the subject of considerable critical attention from many of the country's most respected academic scholars. John Erskine's *Leading American Novelists* (1910), for example, ranked Stowe as one of the country's six significant writers (along with Charles Brockden Brown, James Fenimore Cooper, William Gilmore Simms, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Bret Harte). Erskine confidently announced in his preface that the conclusions of his study reflected "the opinion of the best critics of to-day, rather than my own impressions."[2] Two years later Erskine again placed Stowe among America's literary elites by devoting substantial space to her career in his and William Trent's commendable history, *Great Writers in America.* And in 1919 Percy Boynton's *History of American Literature* likewise listed Stowe among the "major" American writers.

Despite such endorsements from many of the country's leading academic commentators in the first few decades of the twentieth century, Stowe and her academic reputation were subject to less enthusiastic critiques. Much of this early criticism of Stowe's work examined the nature of her impact as a novelist, specifically questioning whether Stowe should be regarded as a literary artist or a masterful propagandist. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) served as the focus of historiographical-phase scholarly debates concerning Stowe's legacy as a writer. C. Alphonso Smith's 1918 chapter "Dialect Writers" in the second volume of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21) articulated this second of the two dominant early views of Stowe and her famous novel, asserting that "the scenes in the book are so skillfully arranged to excite public indig-

nation, that one can hardly call it a great work of art or even a work of art at all."[3]

Carl Van Doren's chapter "The Later Novel," which appeared in the 1921 third volume of the *Cambridge History,* expressed very much the same unflattering sentiment; Van Doren prefaced his discussion of Stowe, slightly impatiently, with a critical disclaimer: "That *Uncle Tom's Cabin* stands higher in the history of reform than in the history of the art of fiction no one needs to say again."[4] Even so, Van Doren proceeded to praise "the ringing voice, the swiftness, the fullness, the humour, the authentic passion" of *Uncle Tom's Cabin;* concerning Stowe's New England sketches, he added, "she can be direct, accurate, and convincing."[5] Van Doren concluded by judging Stowe one of the two eminent prose writers in mid-nineteenth-century America: "Hawthorne and Mrs. Stowe, romance and sentiment, had divided first honors in American fiction during the twenty years 1850–1870."[6]

Van Doren's remarks in the 1921 *Cambridge* piece are significant for at least two reasons beyond what he says specifically about Stowe and her writings. First, Van Doren's essay clearly implies that at least by the end of World War I, Stowe's famous novel had assumed controversial status. Recent criticism has tended to accuse scholars of the 1940s and 1950s, especially practitioners of New Criticism, of having initiated the devaluation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*[7] But the fact that Van Doren alludes to a well-established and apparently somewhat tired argument that Stowe's book "stands higher in the history of reform than in the history of the art of fiction" hints that the devaluation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had actually begun long before World War I. Second, Van Doren's praise of Stowe's writing demonstrates that she still enjoyed strong support from many others within the academy in the first few decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, her work received serious attention from many renowned academic commentators of the first half of the twentieth century. Again, scholars in the 1980s and 1990s anachronistically speak often of Stowe's former critical neglect and credit only recent evaluators with properly appreciating her vision and techniques. In light of Van Doren's treatment, as well as Erskine's, Boynton's, and others', it is difficult to make a case for the supposed widespread critical neglect and censure of Stowe's work by early-twentieth-century scholars.

Also contrary to conventional assumptions, Stowe and her writings received considerable praise and notice from early anthology editors. A number of first-generation textbooks, typically those guided by historiographical aims and methodologies, regularly complimented Stowe for the profound achievement of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Fred Lewis Pattee, for instance, delivered a careful though favorable assessment of the novel in each of his four anthologies. "As we read it today it seems in many ways crude and unbalanced, but even today one may feel its power. It has movement: it has what American prose . . . had greatly lacked—dramatic force."[8] However, in the 1932 fourth edition of *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* Pattee, presumably inspired by unspecified critical developments in the late 1920s, appended an even stronger defense of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to basically the same introduction to Stowe's writing that had appeared in the previous three editions of his anthology. "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* has been severely criticized. Its pictures of slave life, its literary technique, its over-emotionalism, its sentimentality, its frequent melodrama, its narrow, partisan atmosphere have all been pointed out in anger. The book, however, has held its place. It must be rated as one of the most important of American novels."[9] The apparent deficiencies Pattee alludes to here in 1932 seem all too familiar as they, again, resemble the criticisms that late-twentieth-century commentators attributed wholly to the New Critics. Obviously, then, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had its detractors at least as far back as the 1910s. In addition, it is noteworthy that Pattee's robust defense of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* rivals the most ardent of today's arguments regarding its place in the American literary tradition.

Other historiographical-phase editors in fact lauded Stowe precisely for her *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder's 1927 collection insisted that "it is written so well that the narrative still retains its compelling interest."[10] They concluded their evaluation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with something of the agitation found in Van Doren's and Pattee's analyses: "All in all, it is a unique document in the history of civilization, and cannot be pooh-poohed by even the most sophisticated of critics."[11] Stowe's novel also found a sympathetic audience among late-1930s scholar-editors. The compilers of *A College Book of American Literature* (1939) made a case for the merit of *Uncle Tom's Cabin:* "That

it has elements of greatness is shown by its success in countries little interested in American slavery."[12] They were rebutting the contention that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* lacked elements of universal appeal and thus could not qualify as a great novel.

A handful of historiographical-phase textbook editors additionally took note of the excellence of Stowe's New England sketches. Pattee, for example, claimed that the regional stories found in volumes such as *Oldtown Folks* (1869) and *Poganuc People* (1878) "undoubtedly are her best creations."[13] Pattee was recognized throughout the 1920s and 1930s as *the* academic expert in the field of American short fiction, particularly regional American fiction; thus, between the wars esteem for Stowe's short fiction could hardly have come from a higher authority. In 1939 Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn also recognized the quality of Stowe's New England short fiction. Though they lament the fact that "her latest tales . . . have attracted little interest," Ellis, Pound, and Spohn hold out hope that "since they prove to be after Hawthorne's, our best picture of the ways of old New England and its intellectual and spiritual life, as time passes they may well come into the foreground."[14]

Given the unparalleled popularity of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* textbooks of American literature published between 1919 and 1946 offered an expectedly limited variety of writings from Stowe's other body of work. In nine of the ten first-phase collections that contained Stowe's writings, excerpts from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were, not surprisingly, the selection of choice among early editors. The most often anthologized chapter from the novel between the wars, featured in six collections, was chapter 20, better known as "Topsy," during which the proper northerner Miss Ophelia encounters for the first time the slightly defiant eight-year-old slave girl named Topsy. Pattee's textbooks arguably offered the most diverse selection of writings from Stowe's canon before the 1980s, providing chapter 20 from *Uncle Tom's Cabin;* two of Stowe's poems, "When Winds Are Raging" (1852) and "Still, Still with Thee" (1853); and her essay "Views of the Divine Government" (1859). A total of seven historiographical-phase anthologies featured multiple selections by Stowe. But only two literary textbooks, the 1933 five-volume Macmillan collection —edited by Robert Spiller, Tremaine McDowell, Louis Wann, Oscar Cargill, and J. H. Nelson—and *American Issues* (1941), edited by Carlos Baker,

Merele Curti, and Willard Thorp, included an example of her New England sketches ("The Ghost in the Mill [1871]" and "The Old Meetinghouse" [1869], respectively).

In addition to appearing in ten of seventeen first-generation anthologies Stowe's writings are listed as recommended reading in at least two other textbooks of the period. *The Literature of America,* edited by Arthur Hobson Quinn, Albert Croll Baugh, and Will David Howe in 1929, placed *Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Minister's Wooing* (1859), and *Oldtown Folks* among its suggested readings. Jay B. Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936) mentioned *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on its list "Some Important Novels." The remaining five historiographical-phase anthologies (which neglected Stowe completely) share the trait of having adopted a highly belles-lettres approach to American literature. Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1925), Robert Shafer's *American Literature* (1926), Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy's *Major American Writers* (1935, 1945), and William Rose Benet and Norman H. Pearson's *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938) were easily the most selective textbooks of their era, each having established essentially aesthetic criteria for the inclusion of materials in their collections.

In the years following World War II, American literary scholarship began to take increasing notice of Stowe's regional short fiction. Eclipsed by the gargantuan reputation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* both in Stowe's lifetime and throughout the first few decades of the twentieth century, Stowe's sketches and short stories set in the small villages of the New England countryside unfortunately (as the editors of the 1939 *A College Book of American Literature* point out) had attracted relatively meager attention. However, following the lead of such trailblazing scholars as Vernon L. Parrington, great numbers of academics during the 1930s sought to uncover distinctly American examples of literary art. One of the results of this collective endeavor was a newfound appreciation among literary critics for the regional fiction produced by American writers throughout the country during the latter half of the nineteenth century. As an innovative and prodigious practitioner of regional writing, Stowe was gradually receiving due respect as an author of short fiction by the end of World War II.

George Whicher, for example, prefaced his treatment of Stowe in the *Literary History of the United States* (1948) by reminding readers that

"*Uncle Tom's Cabin* was great in its social effects rather than its artistic qualities."[15] He then proceeded to applaud enthusiastically what he judged to be Stowe's genuine literary talent: "In *The Minister's Wooing* (1859) she returned to the subject most suited to her capabilities, the delineation of the mind and manners of New England village folk."[16] Detecting flaws in Stowe's regional fiction, Whicher nevertheless commended her "control of background and character" and "penetrating insights" and concluded that "the merits of her New England novels should be rediscovered."[17] In a separate article for the *Literary History of the United States* Carlos Baker, too, claimed that Stowe's "true literary ground [is] the delineation of New England life and character," explaining that "without visible effort, Mrs. Stowe showed that she was capable of sharp genre painting."[18]

This post-1930s approach to Stowe's career was reflected in Walter Blair's introductory essay to Stowe's writings for the first edition of the successful literary textbook *The Literature of the United States* (1947), which paralleled the sentiments of critics like Whicher and Baker. "Less sensational, but probably of more lasting value than [*Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Dred* (1856)]," wrote Blair, "was a series of books dealing with life in prewar New England, important contributions to the local color movement."[19] Blair ended his essay by calling the New England sketches "the mature creations of a great author."[20]

By the 1950s critical opinion concerning Stowe's legacy had shifted so completely in the direction signaled by Whicher, Baker, and Blair that a few literary textbook editors felt compelled to justify their anthologizing of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* instead of a selection from *Oldtown Folks* or *Oldtown Fireside Stories* (1871). For example, Wilbur Scott and Raymond Short, editors of *The Main Lines of American Literature* (1954), announced in their introduction to Stowe, "Her work in regional literature links her with Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary E. W. Freeman and others, and has brought her favorable attention from contemporary critics. In choosing from her work, however, we have preferred to present a selection from her one piece of writing that aroused the entire nation."[21] Despite the steadily mounting admiration for Stowe's regional writings, remarkably few New Critical–phase classroom collections of American literature, in the end, opted to reprint these sketches of antebellum New England life. In fact, between 1947 and 1966 just four college-level

American literature anthologies featured selections from Stowe's body of work at all. The first and second editions of Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart's *The Literature of the United States* (1947, 1953) showcased the short sketch "Captain Kidd's Money" (1871), a tall tale involving pirates and buried treasure narrated to the village children by Stowe's amiable do-nothing, Sam Lawson. Scott and Short's *The Main Lines of American Literature* excerpted chapter 30 from *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* And the 1955 *American Heritage,* edited by Carl Bode, Leon Howard, and Louis Wright, presented both chapters 20 and 30 from *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* In addition to these collections four more second-generation anthologies of American literature mentioned *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a significant novel on their lists of suggested readings.

Because Stowe's reputation had for so long been thoroughly tied to the unprecedented fame of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* her declining status within the American academy in the years following World War II must be viewed in large part as a function of the waning critical admiration for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the first half of this century. Whether, on the one hand, the direct result of the waxing prominence of formalist methodologies in post–World War II American literary scholarship less sympathetic to sentimental or overtly political literature or, on the other hand, the indirect consequence of scholarly attempts to highlight Stowe's New England writings, critical appreciation for *Uncle Tom's Cabin* diminished during the New Critical phase, and, therefore, so too did Stowe's status decline, in nearly direct proportion.

At the same time it is easily possible to overstate the degree to which Stowe's reputation and that of her famous novel diminished among scholars in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Jay B. Hubbell's *Who Are the Major American Writers?* (1972), a valuable history of rankings and polls of American authors, mentions no fewer than five surveys taken between 1949 and 1970 that listed either Stowe as a significant writer or *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as an important book. The first and arguably most relevant survey is the now-dismissed UNESCO poll of 1949, which ranked Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* twenty-eighth among all American books. The remaining four lists, "Books That Changed America" (1953), "Books That Changed the World" (1956), "Molders of the Modern Mind: 111 Books That Shaped Western Civilization" (1961), and "Books That Changed America" (1970), all included *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

In addition to the evolving critical opinions concerning the basis of Stowe's enduring reputation, several other factors affected the presentation of her work in New Critical–phase anthologies. For one, by the late 1940s a majority of anthology editors had concluded that the practice of presenting excerpts from book-length works of fiction was no longer acceptable. To take one example, in the 1934 second edition of his *American Poetry and Prose* Norman Foerster represented Stowe's body of work with chapters 29 through 32 of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* In the 1947 third edition of *American Poetry and Prose* Foerster provided no selections from Stowe's writings. The preface to the 1947 textbook provides a rationale. "I have dropped all selections from novels. As American literature has accumulated, it has become evident that the novel, long omitted from similar texts in English literature, no longer has a place in American anthologies—if indeed it ever had a place, since excerpts from novels are never satisfying. It is now assumed that novels will be 'parallel reading.'"[22] Foerster's sentiments were shared by most second-generation literary textbook editors. As such, the scarcity of excerpts from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (uncut novel-length texts would not again appear regularly in anthologies until the 1960s) in classroom collections of American literature published between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s was in part a matter of editorial judgment rooted in pedagogical theory.

Another factor that played a role in the shifting reputation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* after World War II was an essay by novelist James Baldwin. Published in 1949 in *Partisan Review* and later collected in *Notes of a Native Son* (1955), Baldwin's essay titled "Everybody's Protest Novel" savaged *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* labeling it "self-righteous, virtuous sentimentality" and attacking the entire genre of "social protest fiction" for unwittingly demeaning the people that this type of literature appears to be concerned about.[23] Baldwin believed that Stowe effectively trivialized human suffering by dwelling on the fleeting nature of "categorization" at the expense of exploring the authentic experiences of oppression and injustice attending slavery. He also criticized the artistry of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* arguing that Stowe "was not so much a novelist as an impassioned pamphleteer; her book was not intended to do anything more than prove that slavery was wrong; was, in fact, perfectly horrible. This makes material for a pamphlet but it is hardly enough for a novel."[24] "Everybody's Protest Novel" ranks as one of the most outspoken and

deprecating reviews of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* to date and has been cited as an important modern perspective on Stowe and her famous novel in several classroom anthologies published during the last thirty years.

In 1962 Edmund Wilson published his acclaimed study of Civil War literature *Patriotic Gore,* and with it he initiated a small critical revival of sorts for the reputation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Calling Stowe's book a novel of "eruptive force," Wilson set out to defend *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as a carefully controlled and politically engaging work of fiction. By 1970 *multicultural-phase* anthologies had begun providing excerpts from the novel again. But many of the early-third-generation literary textbooks that offered selections from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did so with some reservation. *American Literature: The Makers and the Making* (1973) included chapters 28 and 45 from *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* but editors Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren expressed outright their reluctance to regard Stowe "as a writer of major stature."[25] Still, they acknowledged the merit of Stowe's technique in *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* "Even so," Brooks, Lewis, and Warren continued, "Mrs. Stowe had certain virtues as a novelist. Her work has narrative drive and often displays a talent for fresh and vivid presentation of theme."[26] The 1978 anthology *America in Literature* delivered a similarly mixed evaluation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* asserting that "its moral passion carries the reader along, even when he knows that the plot and style of the book seem preposterously sentimental."[27]

Throughout the first twenty years of the third phase, roughly 1967 to 1987, literary textbook editors emphasized Stowe's regional sketches over *Uncle Tom's Cabin* both in their discussions of her career and in their presentation of her writings. Brooks, Lewis, and Warren, for instance, cautiously noted in their review of Stowe's legacy that "it is perhaps in this area [local color writing] that Harriet Beecher Stowe comes closest to achieving serious literary art."[28] The first edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1979) reported that "many critics" believe the New England tales "constitute the true basis of her claim to our attention."[29] George McMichael's 1980 *Anthology of American Literature* delivered the most thorough and celebratory analysis of any third-phase discussion of Stowe's short fiction. "Little that she wrote ever surpassed the literary quality of her descriptions of humble lives in New England. She was one of the first American writers to render the locale

and speech of a region with fidelity, but unlike most local colorists, who looked back to the past through a nostalgic haze, she presented the descendants of the Puritans with a merciless realism that often showed them willful, self-righteous, and leading lives of aesthetic and emotional starvation." [30]

Third-generation assessments of Stowe's critical reputation have generally regarded collections such as *The Minister's Wooing* and *Oldtown Folks* along with the writings of Bret Harte as seminal works of the regionalist movement in American fiction during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Stowe's writings have accordingly enjoyed a comparatively secure place in recent anthologies, appearing in better than two-thirds of all multicultural-phase literary textbooks. Her New England sketches were an especially popular choice among anthology editors between 1967 and the mid-1980s. All but three classroom collections published during this twenty-year stretch that included Stowe's work featured a sample of her regional short fiction. The most popular selection for early-third-phase textbook editors was "Miss Asphyxia" (1869), Stowe's tale of a stern, hardworking New England Spinster who takes in a pair of recently orphaned children, but other sketches like "The Minister's Housekeeper" (1871) and "The Village Do-Nothing" (1869), two more stories involving the good-hearted Sam Lawson and his audience of village children, made multiple showings, too.

Since the mid-1980s, however, most anthologies have returned to the practice of representing Stowe's body of work with chapters from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and have relied less on her short fiction. The last anthology of American literature not to include at least a chapter from Stowe's 1852 novel was the 1985 third edition of George McMichael's *Anthology of American Literature;* it showcased "Miss Asphyxia." Interestingly, the 1993 fifth edition of McMichael's collection became the first college-level anthology of American literature finally to offer a complete text of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* The 1997 sixth edition also reprinted Stowe's novel in full. Although no other anthology has yet followed the lead of McMichael's latest collections, each of the three editions of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990, 1994, 1998) has contained eight chapters from the novel and virtually all literary textbooks published since the late 1980s have also featured multiple chapters from *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Heightened interest in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* since the late 1980s is traceable in large degree to Jane Tompkins's *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction* (1985). While Tompkins's study incorrectly asserts that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* "has not until very recently drawn the attention of modern critics,"[31] her analysis of Stowe's novel is nonetheless penetrating. Unquestionably providing one of the best interpretations of its kind, Tompkins argues convincingly that "*Uncle Tom's Cabin* retells the [American] culture's central religious myth—the story of the crucifixion—in terms of the nation's greatest political conflict—slavery—and of its most cherished social beliefs—the sanctity of motherhood and the family."[32] As coverage of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in recent literary textbooks indicates, the work of Tompkins and other scholars did much to restore the critical prominence of Stowe's most acclaimed work of fiction to a level not encountered since the 1920s.

Despite current assertions to the contrary, Sarah Orne Jewett has enjoyed one of the most enduring and enviable critical reputations of all late-nineteenth-century American writers of fiction. Widespread academic recognition of the excellence of her work came early in the twentieth century, and college-level anthologies of American literature have regularly featured a well-chosen variety of her writings. Nonetheless, a few contemporary commentators have inexplicably endeavored to portray critical interest in Jewett's fiction as an exclusively "recent" development. Elizabeth Ammons, for example, contended in 1994 that "Jewett was widely read and admired in the late nineteenth century, but until recently she has been dismissed in the academy as minor, regional, slight. Her recent revival reflects in large part the increasing number and strength of women in the profession of professor and scholar."[33] Echoing such sentiments and speaking specifically to Jewett's inclusion in textbook literary anthologies, Marjorie Pryse, in her "Introduction" to the 1981 Norton edition of *The Country of the Pointed Firs, and Other Stories* writes: "The major anthologies of American literature have not, until their 1979 editions, included selections from Jewett's stories."[34]

Pryse makes this claim despite the fact that Jewett's writings had appeared in numerous "major" anthologies of American literature long before 1979, including (ironically enough) at least one published by Norton in 1967. Feminist critics have indeed taken special notice of Jewett's career in the last twenty to thirty years, but scholarly regard for Jewett and

her writings was both constant and considerable throughout the twentieth century. In fact, a review of college-level anthologies of American literature indicates that any suggestion of a "recent revival" in Jewett studies requires substantial qualification, for very rarely have any academic critics "dismissed" Jewett, particularly when the sampling involves historiographical- and New Critical–phase literary textbook editors.

In the decade following Jewett's death in 1909, a number of seminal histories of American literature delivered highly favorable judgments of her body of work.[35] John Macy's landmark study *The Spirit of American Literature* (1913) considered Jewett superior even to Bret Harte at a time when most regarded the latter among the country's five or six finest writers of all time. Bliss Perry's *The American Spirit in Literature* (1918) surpassed even Macy's high praise and compared Jewett to the European masters, arguing that she wrote "as perfect short stories as France and Russia can produce."[36] Posthumous praise also came from Jewett's literary peers. Willa Cather, a lifelong devotee of Jewett's fiction, dedicated *O Pioneers!* to her memory in 1913, and Henry James called her work "a beautiful quantum of achievement" in the years following her death.[37]

Fred Lewis Pattee, too, registered one of the earliest twentieth-century academic endorsements of Jewett's fiction in his 1918 essay "The Short Story," for *The Cambridge History of American Literature.* Pattee especially admired "A Native of Winby" (1891), which he described as "a quivering bit of human life . . . a tale as true as a soul's record of yesterday."[38] He considered her "one of the few creators of the short story after the seventies who put into her work anything like distinction."[39] Stylistically, he placed Jewett in the tradition of Irving, Hawthorne, and Poe, and he reminded readers that "her style has often been likened to Hawthorne's."[40] And Pattee urged that Jewett not be mistakenly associated with authors who wrote in the intervening generation before her, pointing out that "she came late enough to avoid the mid-century gush of sentiment."[41] Scholars of the 1980s and 1990s alleged that earlier commentators criticized Jewett's fiction for verging on sentimentality,[42] but historiographical- and New Critical–phase scholars, as Pattee's remarks suggest, generally agreed that Jewett's work possessed the superior characteristics of late-nineteenth-century realistic writing.

Two other studies from the 1920s had an especially positive impact on early-century critical perceptions of Jewett's writings. In 1925 Cather ed-

ited *The Best Stories of Sarah Orne Jewett.* That collection remained popular for several decades, but the most striking feature about Cather's edition of Jewett's short fiction was not so much the selections she chose but the then-audacious claim in her preface that along with *The Scarlet Letter* and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, The Country of the Pointed Firs* (1896) stood as one of the three enduring works of American fiction. F. O. Matthiessen's study *Sarah Orne Jewett* (1929) also stimulated Jewett studies in the 1920s and served as the authoritative biography long into the 1960s. Although Matthiessen perversely concluded that Jewett's writings "are not works of art,"[43] he nevertheless placed Jewett alongside Emily Dickinson, naming them America's two principal women writers. Matthiessen's judgment concerning Jewett's literary rank carried unquestionable weight during the late 1930s and 1940s as his own reputation spiraled upward after the success of his *American Renaissance* (1941).

Historiographical-phase anthology editors largely echoed the sentiments of early academic endorsements of Jewett's writings. Pattee's textbooks noted, for instance, that "at her best, her style is delightfully artless and limpid."[44] Pattee expanded his introduction to Jewett's work for the 1932 fourth edition of his anthology. In the appended statement he reemphasized his 1919 judgment concerning the style of Jewett's fiction: "With her there was no dallying with the mid-century sentiment and sensationalism."[45] The bulk of editorial commentary between the wars focused squarely on Jewett's preeminence among her contemporaries and the high order of her artistic achievement.

Reflecting early-century critical opinion, *The Literature of America* (1929) concluded that "*The Country of the Pointed Firs* (1896) was perhaps the most distinguished of her longer fiction, but her art is seen at its best in her short stories."[46] Less than a decade later, possibly as the result of Cather's enthusiastic recommendation in 1925,[47] anthologies of American literature singled out *The Country of the Pointed Firs* as a vibrant work of American literature. The 1937 collection *The American Mind,* edited by Harry Warfel, Ralph Gabriel, and Stanley Williams, lauded *The Country of the Pointed Firs* as "one of America's minor prose classics."[48] The following year *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* opined that "the finest local color writing of this period is to be found in Sarah Orne Jewett's *The Country of the Pointed Firs.*"[49] Jay B.

Hubbell expressed the spirit of these and other first-phase evaluations when he wrote in 1936: "Miss Jewett was a better artist than almost any of her American contemporaries."[50]

Richard Cary observed as early as 1973 that "in the 30s and 40s Miss Jewett becomes a fixture in academic anthologies,"[51] but evidence demonstrates that Jewett had actually established a fixed presence in college-level classroom collections of American literature as early as the 1920s. No fewer than five of the seven anthologies of American literature published between 1919 and 1929 featured stories by Jewett. In point of fact, a total of thirteen historiographical-phase literary textbooks included Jewett's writings. The 1919 edition of Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* was the first literary collection to introduce Jewett's fiction when it reprinted "A Native of Winby" (1891), the evocative story of Joseph Laneway, an elderly, wealthy senator who returns to the small New England town in which he grew up and spends an evening reminiscing with Abby Hender, a woman he knew from his childhood and who had never left their native town. All three subsequent editions of Pattee's textbook represented Jewett with the same story. Three other first-generation anthologies presented "The Dulham Ladies" (1886), the lighthearted sketch of the Dobin sisters and their quest to keep up with the latest fashions of the day; and two collections excerpted chapter 8 from *The Country of the Pointed Firs* (which Jewett titled "Green Island"), an account of the narrator and Mrs. Todd's day-long visit with Mrs. Blackett and William, who reside on an island just off the coast of Dunnet Landing. In addition to the presentation of her work, two first-phase literary textbooks singled out Jewett's writings as recommended readings.

A handful of early-twentieth-century literary commentators, including Vernon L. Parrington and Ludwig Lewisohn, delivered less laudatory critiques of Jewett's career in the years following World War I. Nevertheless, Jewett's critical reputation continued to climb, reaching unprecedented levels of esteem by the mid-1940s. In the years following World War II Howard Mumford Jones (whose three editions of *Major American Writers* [1935, 1945, 1952] coincidentally neglected Jewett's writings) rated *The Country of the Pointed Firs* as "the finest imaginative presentation of the values of New England life" and ranked the book twenty-seventh out of "fifty titles which would form the basis for a study of

American civilization."[52] Jones's high assessment of Jewett in the 1940s was apparently shared by other academic commentators as her fiction placed thirtieth (just behind Stowe's and Sherwood Anderson's) in the 1949 UNESCO poll of American fiction.

Continuing the tenor of post–World War II reflections on Jewett's legacy, Carlos Baker delivered an unalloyed endorsement of Jewett's canon in *Literary History of the United States* (1948). Characterizing Jewett's as "the most distinguished career among all writers of regional fiction," Baker explained that Jewett "developed her gifts more rapidly, maintained them at a higher level and employed them with greater dexterity and control than did any of her predecessors in the field."[53] He labeled *The Country of the Pointed Firs* "her masterpiece," and pronounced it "the best piece of regional fiction to have come out of nineteenth-century America."[54] But Baker's praise did not stop at Jewett's 1896 novel. "Nearly all the stories she wrote after 1880," he continued, "show the distinctive quality of her work," affirming that "her stories were works of art, and of a high order."[55]

New Critical–phase anthology editors likewise focused on the fine artistry of Jewett's fiction. Randall Stewart, for example, noted in his introduction to Jewett's writings for the 1947 edition of *The Literature of the United States* that "her work shows the knowledge that comes only with long saturation, and the fine selective process of the artist. Her stories are the best that have been written since Hawthorne."[56] Pattee's first-generation anthologies had mentioned comparisons of style between Hawthorne and Jewett, but Stewart's essay goes further. In his collection Stewart suggests specific parallels between Hawthorne's and Jewett's artistic achievements. Stewart did set limits to his comparison, asserting that Jewett's stories "are not as great as Hawthorne's . . . because Miss Jewett lacks Hawthorne's grasp, his tragic power." All the same, Stewart maintained that "her work is authentic literary art."[57]

For the most part second-generation literary textbooks echoed the critical perspectives of the 1940s, reminding readers either that Jewett's body of work offered a wide selection of first-rate stories or that Jewett stood as a master of regional fiction. Amid mounting critical support for Jewett from the academy in the years following World War II, her standing among second-generation scholar-editors proceeded in two very different directions. On the one hand, established and better-known

anthology editors between 1947 and 1966 not only continued to feature Jewett's writings but also afforded her space in the ultraselective "shorter" editions of their anthologies. Both Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* and Walter Blair, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart's *The Literature of the United States* were marketed during the New Critical phase in the standard two-volume design and also in an abridged single-volume format. The shorter editions of *The Literature of the United States* (1957) and *American Poetry and Prose* (1957) each included a story by Jewett.[58]

On the other hand, and countering the trends of more popular anthologies, several then-recent competitors in the literary textbook market started to neglect Jewett's writings. Of the college-level anthologies published between 1947 and 1966 that overlooked Jewett's fiction altogether, better than half entered the textbook market after World War II and disappeared after a first edition. In total, Jewett appeared in ten of twenty-three New Critical–phase classroom collections of American literature, and two additional anthologies recognized certain of her writings as significant works. By virtue of its repeated appearances in *The Literature of the United States,* "The Courting of Sister Wisby" (1888) made a particularly strong showing between the late 1940s and the mid-1960s. "Miss Tempy's Watchers" (1888), the moving description of an all-night vigil by two enemies who gradually thaw toward each other, and several lesser-known tales such as "The Guests of Mrs. Timms," the account of two women who make an unscheduled (and unwelcomed) visit to an acquaintance in a neighboring town, and "The Hiltons' Holiday" (1892), relating a farmer's trip into the nearby village with his daughters, were also anthologized during this period.

The most noteworthy inclusion of a selection by Jewett during the New Critical phase, however, was the inaugural anthologizing of the tale for which she is today best remembered. Jewett's classic story "A White Heron" (1886) made its first appearance in a college-level textbook of American literature in the 1965 *Odyssey Surveys of American Literature,* edited by C. Hugh Holman. Given its current status in literary textbooks, the discovery that "A White Heron" had not been reprinted in an academic anthology of American literature before 1965 is surprising. Somewhat inaccurately, in 1973 the editors of *American Literature: The Makers and the Making* reported that " 'A White Heron' is much the best-

known of Sarah Orne Jewett's short stories, partly because it has been the most often anthologized."[59] Yet a quick scan of the more popular short-story anthologies published in this century reveals that prior to the mid-1960s "A White Heron" had rarely been chosen by textbook editors.

"A White Heron," the now-familiar tale of young Sylvia's choice between an elusive denizen of her beloved forest and a handsome interloper-ornithologist, began to appear in college-level anthologies of American literature with some frequency in the 1970s, but it only became a standard selection after 1980. Without question editorial interest in "A White Heron" after 1970 was due in large part to feminist and poststructuralist readings of Jewett's work, which have tended to view the story in terms of a masculine "threat posed to same-sex female bonding . . . affirming women's love, despite divisions of region, nationality, and culture." [60] Twenty-five multicultural-phase anthologies of American literature included Jewett's "A White Heron." Twenty-one of these third-generation appearances have occurred since 1980.

While recent multicultural-phase anthologies have universally heralded Jewett as a significant American writer, a cluster of two or three literary textbooks published in the early 1970s collectively recorded the severest critique of Jewett's talent to appear in classroom collections of American literature. Contradicting more than sixty years of critical consensus, the 1969 *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation* assailed Jewett as a genteel elitist whose fiction sentimentalized the past and ignored the sordid present: "Very much a gentlewoman living on an assured income and associating with the leading literati and editors of Boston, she reveals some of the negativism toward crude experience and uninhibited emotion characteristic of the genteel tradition at its most limited. She tended to idealize the past and to search for its worthwhile residue in the dross and decay of her contemporary world."[61] Even more surprising, given its outstanding record concerning Jewett's work throughout the historiographical and New Critical phases, Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* in the 1970 fifth edition also harshly criticized Jewett. Though the editors of the 1970 *American Poetry and Prose* referred to Jewett as "superb," they felt her talent lay only "within the narrow range of region she knew and so accurately described."[62]

They concluded that "Miss Jewett's skill was of a lesser kind" and that "she has earned a lasting if minor place in the nation's literature."[63]

Other multicultural-phase scholar-editors seemed to respond very quickly and directly to these harsh indictments. For example, *The Literature of America* (1971) held that "it has been customary to speak of Miss Jewett's work as 'minor,' but it is time that this misapprehension came to an end," declaring that "Sarah Orne Jewett was one of the finest writers this country has ever had."[64] In 1973 Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren also defended Jewett. Their introductory essay to Jewett's writings asserted that "she is markedly superior" to any of the women writers with whom she is often associated.[65] Brooks, Lewis, and Warren followed up with a reasoned endorsement: "Miss Jewett is a 'minor' writer only in the European sense of the serious and important literary artist whose accomplishment, however enduring, is somehow below that of the undeniably great."[66] Subsequent literary textbooks have tended to consider Jewett among America's best writers of fiction.

Since the late 1960s Jewett has received abundant attention in college-level anthologies of American literature. All but four multicultural-phase collections have featured her work. What is most intriguing about the coverage of Jewett's career in recent times, especially during the last ten years, has been the relatively small variety of works with which editors have represented her output. "A White Heron" has appeared in five of seven third-generation anthologies. Surprisingly, just two third-generation literary textbooks (the 1973 and 1974 editions of Brooks, Lewis, and Warren's anthology) reprinted selected chapters from *The Country of the Pointed Firs.* "The Foreigner," a ghost story of sorts about a French-born, twice-widowed woman named Mrs. Captain Tollard that is related to *The Country of the Pointed Firs* by its (unnamed) narrator, the character of Mrs. Todd, and the setting of Dunnet Landing, has become a popular choice among literary textbook editors as of late, appearing in seven third-phase collections and all since 1979. Two of the most popular anthologies in the 1990s, *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* and *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* have each represented Jewett's canon over their last several editions with the same two selections, "A White Heron" and "The Foreigner."

The twentieth-century critical reputation of Mary Wilkins Freeman parallels that of Sarah Orne Jewett in several suggestive ways. Current scholarship, for instance, seemingly takes for granted that Freeman is among the dozens of worthy American authors who have been rescued from obscurity. To cite one example, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, editors of *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* (1985), claim that Freeman's writings "have not, until recently, received the critical attention they deserve."[67] Similarly, Paul Lauter has argued that recognition of "the power" of Freeman's writing only "became apparent in the seventies."[68] Despite such assumptions that her work had been neglected by pre-1970 commentators, Freeman has, in fact, like Jewett, enjoyed continuous critical attention dating from at least as far back as the 1910s.

In three separate scholarly forums between 1915 and 1923 Fred Lewis Pattee, arguably the most respected early-twentieth-century academic authority on American short fiction, registered great admiration for Freeman's writings. In his highly regarded *A History of American Literature since 1870* (1915) Pattee described her fiction as "the perfection of art."[69] A few years later Pattee's *Cambridge History of American Literature* chapter (1918) characterized Freeman as an author "so firmly in control that her pictures are as sharp and cold as engravings on steel."[70] He later added in the same piece his belief that "with the nineties came the full perfection of short story art. *A New England Nun* [1891] and *Main Travelled Roads* [1891] may not be surpassed."[71] Finally, in his 1923 book-length study of American short fiction Pattee delivered his most enthusiastic endorsement of Freeman's canon. "More than any other American short-story writer," he insisted, "she may be compared to Hawthorne."[72] Pattee then concluded his 1923 treatment of Freeman by declaring that "*A New England Nun and Other Stories* must be placed upon the all too slowly growing list of modern American classics."[73]

Pattee's judgments were corroborated by numerous other first-phase critical luminaries, including John Macy and F. O. Matthiessen. Shortly after Freeman's death in 1930, Macy wrote "The Passing of a Yankee," an assessment of Freeman's career for *The Bookman.* Sympathetic and adulatory, Macy's essay rated Freeman's pre-1900s fiction among the foremost fictional treatments of post–Civil War New England. F. O. Matthiessen contributed a chapter titled "New England Stories" to Macy's 1931

collection *American Writers on American Fiction* in which Matthiessen complimented Freeman as "unsurpassed . . . in her ability to give the breathless intensity of the moment."[74] Noteworthy, too, is the ability of early-twentieth-century commentators to recognize Freeman's work for more than its "local color" qualities. Indeed, concerning the history of critical evaluation of Freeman's artistry (academic or otherwise), Perry Westbrook has observed that "there has been general agreement since 1890 onward that, though she presents an ample canvas of the New England village in all its detail, she also bathes her subject in tints of universality and eternity."[75] Westbrook's assertion seems especially relevant because it identifies a consistency among analyses of Freeman's writings by first- and second-generation literary critics, and it also challenges current assumptions that Freeman has in the past been marginalized as simply a local colorist.[76]

Pattee applauded Freeman's contribution to American letters in all four editions of his literary textbook, *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature,* and delivered what still seems today a singularly thoughtful and critically astute evaluation of her career. While praising Freeman's early fiction as "spontaneous and artless," he sensed that her later work was typically marred by a deliberate literary style. He concluded, therefore, that Freeman "will hold her place in American literature on account of her earlier tales, rather than the more conscious art of her later period."[77] Robert Shafer, editor of the highly selective classroom anthology *American Literature* (1926), likewise noted in his introductory essay to Freeman's writings the "excellent quality of her tales" and observed that she "had made a distinctive place for herself in American fiction."[78] Echoing Pattee's conclusions, Shafer, too, believed that "she never equaled her early achievement."[79] In nearly every respect typifying two vastly different approaches to academic literary criticism, Pattee and Shafer were nevertheless agreed in their historiographical-phase assessments of Freeman's distinguished status among American writers.

Late-historiographical-phase editors echoed and extended the general estimates of Pattee, Shafer, and other 1920s anthologists. In 1939, for instance, Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn, editors of *A College Book of American Literature,* repeated the assertion that Freeman's chief contribution to American letters was her early short fiction,

which they characterized as being of "solid merit."[80] They also noted, as many commentators had before them, that Freeman's novels were of lesser quality. However, Ellis, Pound, and Spohn offered an interesting theory for Freeman's inability to achieve success in her full-length fictional works, attributing their "uneven merit" to "her insistent experimentation with varying types" including the detective novel, the period novel, the romance, and the sociopolitical protest novel.[81] Noting, too, that recent developments in theories of the novel had begun to modify earlier evaluations of Freeman's longer fiction, these editors established grounds for future appreciation of Freeman's later writings.

Freeman's work appeared in twelve of the seventeen historiographical-phase anthologies of American literature. Even more notable than her regular inclusion in early literary textbooks was the wide selection of stories that circulated among these first collections. "The Revolt of 'Mother' " (1890), the tale of one woman's determination to give her daughter a proper house in which to be courted and married, appeared in four first-generation anthologies; and "A New England Nun" (1891), the narrative about a couple whose wedding was postponed so long that both people seemed to develop new identities, was featured in three. "On the Walpole Road" (1887), an ambling conversation that only inadvertently discloses an inner story, made it into two collections. Two other tales by Freeman were also reprinted between the wars: "A Humble Romance" (1887), the story of a middle-aged tin-peddler who weds a plain-looking house servant only to discover that his first wife, whom he thought dead, has reappeared in the village; and "Louisa" (1891), an account of a poor farm-laboring woman who refuses to marry a more prosperous man. In 1937 *The American Mind* became both the first and last anthology of American literature to represent Freeman's career with an excerpt from one of her novels when it presented chapter 9 from *The Portion of Labor* (1901), a chiefly socioeconomic story tracking the development of an underprivileged young girl from childhood through marriage. Except for the choice of *The American Mind,* historiographical-phase textbooks tended to represent Freeman's body of work with stories that are considered by today's critics her boldest, most controversial, and, indeed, most representative writings.

The contours of post–World War II appraisals of Freeman's critical reputation were prefigured by Van Wyck Brooks's analysis of Freeman's

writings in his 1940 study *New England: Indian Summer.* Brooks's commentary repeated, of course, the conventional critiques of Freeman's later fiction and only briefly commented on her novels. But turning to the stories from the 1880s and 1890s, he brimmed with enthusiasm: "In some of the early tales, perhaps twenty or thirty, she was an eminent artist, as eminent as Miss Jewett, and even more so, because of the depth of feeling that informed her art."[82] Comparisons between Jewett and Freeman in the 1910s and 1920s were routine, but early commentators regularly deemed Jewett the superior writer. Given that fact and considering, additionally, Jewett's high standing among literary critics between the wars, Brooks's assertion that much of Freeman's canon possibly surpasses Jewett's artistic achievement was perhaps pivotal.

Carlos Baker seemed to have picked up the threads of Brooks's thesis in his 1948 discussion of Freeman for the *Literary History of the United States.* Baker's chapter makes the comparison between Freeman and Jewett and concludes, like Brooks's analysis, that in some respects Freeman is the greater writer. "At the top of her form, she was a finer artist than any of her contemporaries except Miss Jewett, and there was a sharpness of line and directness of purpose about her first two collections which even Miss Jewett could not match."[83] Baker further proposed that Freeman's early writings possess "a larger measure of modern realism" than Jewett's, suggesting conceivably a basis for future critical studies of Freeman as a nascent modernist.

Further evidence that Freeman's critical popularity remained secure in the years after World War II emerged from within the academy a short time after the publication of the *Literary History of the United States.* Perry Westbrook, a prominent early figure in the academic study of Freeman, published a groundbreaking analysis of Freeman's fiction in *Acres of Flint: Writers of Rural New England,* his 1951 consideration of late-nineteenth-century American regional fiction writers. By the mid-1950s, Freeman studies acquired its first authentic specialist in the person of Edward Foster. His 1956 critical life, *Mary E. Wilkins Freeman,* was the earliest scholarly biography of Freeman. In addition to providing academic literary scholarship with the most extensive analysis of Freeman's career, Foster's book assembled a useful, near-complete bibliography of Freeman criticism to that time.

Editors of New Critical–phase literary textbooks continued to em-

phasize Freeman's early stories in both their commentaries and their selection of materials. The first edition of *The Literature of the United States* (1947), reflecting, very likely, Brooks's evaluation, identified Freeman as "the most realistic of the New England local colorists" and reminded readers that "her reputation and importance still rest upon the early stories of Massachusetts village and rural life."[84] The following year editors of *American Literature: An Anthology and Critical Survey* (1948) concurred that Freeman's "best stories were those of her early years of authorship," explaining, frankly, that "her powers were not adequate for the successful execution of the more ambitious projects of her later years of writing."[85] These editors did, however, isolate *The Portion of Labor* as an admirable piece of fiction and complimented it as "a carefully detailed criticism of industrial conditions in her time."[86]

Freeman's writings appeared in almost half of the twenty-three anthologies of American literature published between 1947 and 1966. Among the stories that were featured in second-generation literary textbooks were four of the five showcased in earlier classroom collections of American literature. "The Revolt of 'Mother,'" which was reprinted in four New Critical–phase anthologies, remained the most popular editorial selection from Freeman's body of work. "On the Walpole Road," "A New England Nun," and "Louisa" were also included again in anthologies during this middle period. Although excerpts from Freeman's novels and the story "A Humble Romance" disappeared from literary collections after the 1930s, the first edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* introduced in 1956 Freeman's tale "A Village Singer," a seriocomic piece about the decline of a church choir's lead soprano and her public protest against her replacement. Considered together, second-phase literary textbooks presented a varied selection from Freeman's best writings.

Despite the early-second-phase scholarship of Carlos Baker, Edward Foster, and Perry Westbrook, academic interest in Freeman's writings decelerated somewhat between the late 1950s and 1965. Scholarship during those years had shifted its energies to commemorating a relatively small canon of American writers, as evidenced by the major-author anthologies in the first-half of the 1960s. Still, Freeman remained a presence in literary textbooks in those years, appearing in six American literature anthologies between 1955 and 1969. Signs that Freeman's critical

star was again on the rise began to emerge by the mid-1960s. David Hirsh published his oft-collected article "Subdued Meaning in 'A New England Nun'" in the spring 1965 volume of *Studies in Short Fiction.* In 1966 Abigail Ann Hamblen wrote a perceptive monograph titled *The New England Art of Mary E. Wilkins Freeman,* which analyzed numerous of Freeman's short stories and several of her novels. That next year Westbrook issued his book-length study of Freeman for the Twayne Authors series *Mary Wilkins Freeman* (1967). Together, these academic enterprises portended the flurry of scholarly activity on Freeman's life and writings that would begin to materialize by the mid-1970s.

Susan Allen Toth was among the first academic critics to produce readings of Freeman's canon from a post-1960s feminist perspective. Toth's 1971 *American Literature* article, "Mary Wilkins Freeman's Parable of a Wasted Life," and her classic 1973 *New England Quarterly* study, "Defiant Light: A Positive View of Mary Wilkins Freeman," brought to light for the first time numerous sociopolitical themes in Freeman's work. Over the next decade and a half more than twenty scholarly articles, chapters, and books would take up the subject of Freeman's stories and novels. A majority amounted to feminist readings of Freeman. Contemporary feminist critics such as Michele Clark, Judith Fetterly, Sandra Gilbert, Leah Blatt Glasser, Susan Gubar, Marjorie Pryse, and Barbara Solomon did much to construct the currently fashionable portrait of Freeman as a writer chiefly concerned with the experiences of socially subjugated late-nineteenth-century New England women.

Freeman's writings have appeared in twenty-eight of the thirty-nine anthologies of American literature published since 1966. Interestingly, the percentage of multicultural-phase literary textbooks that include Freeman is nearly identical to the percentage of historiographical-phase collections that feature her work. But unlike first-generation anthologies, recent textbooks have presented a curiously constricted selection of Freeman's writings. Multicultural-phase textbook editors have featured almost exclusively "A New England Nun" or "The Revolt of 'Mother'" or both. "A New England Nun," for instance, was reprinted sixteen times between 1966 and 1999, "The Revolt of 'Mother'" thirteen times. In contrast, stories like "A Village Singer" and "A Mistaken Charity" (1887), the masterful tale of two impoverished elderly sisters who refuse their town's misguided philanthropic assistance, have each been anthologized

only once in the last thirty years. Just two other short stories by Freeman have been featured in third-phase collections of American literature. In the 1990s all three editions of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* reprinted "A Church Mouse" (1891) and "Old Woman Magoun" (1909), a morbid tale of a young girl's custodian who must either kill her beloved charge or else watch her cruel father exploit the girl for sexual purposes (though this theme is slightly veiled). In perhaps the most innovative presentation of Freeman's body of work since the 1937 anthologizing of an excerpt from *The Portion of Labor,* the 1998 third edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* exhibited for the first time in a classroom collection a poem by Freeman, "Love and Witches" (1891).

With much frequency the multicultural-phase textbook editors have returned to "A New England Nun" and "The Revolt of 'Mother,'" the most popular stories from Freeman's body of work in twentieth-century classroom collections of American literature. Both "A New England Nun" and "The Revolt of 'Mother'" in the last thirty years have been interpreted as clever illustrations of culturally oppressed women who successfully challenge nineteenth-century hegemony and patriarchy. Given trends in academic studies of Freeman since 1970, it ought to come as no surprise that classroom anthologies of American literature have featured two stories that seem to focus on what *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* has termed Freeman's exploration of "sexual politics."[87]

The history of Kate Chopin's inclusion in twentieth-century anthologies of American literature is very possibly the most puzzling case of any writer. To begin, she was, contrary to current critical assumption, a popular writer among academics in the first few decades after her death. Several prominent scholars of the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s, in fact, delivered exceedingly favorable estimates of Chopin's career. What is more, at least three of these early supporters were editors of major historiographical-phase classroom collections of American literature. Strangely, though, and despite her seemingly advantageous position among certain influential critics early in the century, Chopin was featured in just one college-level literary textbook before 1949, the 1933 five-volume Macmillan anthology, which presented "Desiree's Baby" (1892). And it would be still another two decades after that before she

became an established presence in classroom American literature anthologies.

Recent Chopin specialists routinely characterize Chopin's critical reputation as having been decimated shortly after the publication of *The Awakening* (1899) and not revived until the 1960s (a few commentators, on the other hand, place the commencement of the current Chopin revival in the 1950s). Regarding Chopin's status among academic commentators, Peggy Skaggs, for example, insists that after the "critics buried her in 1899," she was forgotten until Per Seyersted "resurrected" her work in 1969.[88] Others acknowledge Daniel Rankin's work of the 1930s on Chopin but cite it simply as a scholarly anomaly amid sixty years of critical neglect.[89] While it is generally accurate to say that Chopin's reputation declined after reviewers panned *The Awakening,* and although her career may not have received anything approximating sufficient attention in the fifty years following her death, Chopin and her writings were not abandoned by all scholars during the first half of the twentieth century.

Fred Lewis Pattee had been an early outspoken advocate for numerous other late-nineteenth-century women short-fiction writers, and he also praised Chopin's writings in at least three significant works of literary criticism between 1915 and 1923. His *A History of American Literature since 1870* (1915) expressed deep admiration for Chopin's technique as a short-story writer, contending, for example, that "some of [Chopin's] work is equal to the best that has been produced in France or even in America."[90] Later in his discussion of Chopin Pattee declared "Desiree's Baby," the ironic tale of a plantation owner's fatal mistake about his racial heritage, to be a story that is "well-nigh perfect" and offers up "Madame Celestine's Divorce" (1894), a playful vignette of sexual parrying, as an example of "art that is independent of time and place, the art that is indeed universal."[91] In 1918 Pattee slightly expanded his discussion of Chopin's literary art for his chapter "The Short Story" in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21). Relying on his earlier study for the basis of his analysis of Chopin in the 1918 essay, Pattee commends "Desiree's Baby" and "Madame Celestine's Divorce" as "among the few unquestioned masterpieces of American short story art."[92]

For his 1923 book-length study *The Development of the American*

Short Story, Pattee delivered the same sort of compliments for Chopin's work that underlay his 1915 and 1918 appraisals. In addition, however, he expressed disappointment that scholarly familiarity with Chopin's writings was waning. Pattee lamented that Chopin's two collections of short stories, *Bayou Folk* (1894) and *A Night in Arcadie* (1897), remained in their original editions and were "totally unread" and that "her name is forgotten save by a few."[93] To all of this he pessimistically added: "She must be rated as a genius, taut, vibrant, intense of soul, yet a genius in eclipse, one, it is to be feared, that is destined to be total."[94] At the same time, in spite of his regular discussions of her work in World War I–era literary histories, Pattee also contributed to the pushing of Chopin toward the edge of oblivion. Like most other historiographical-phase anthologies of American literature designed for the college classroom, Pattee's four editions of *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1919, 1922, 1926, 1932) omitted Chopin's writings altogether. Considering Pattee's unprecedented endorsements of Chopin's fiction in the 1910s and 1920s and his apparently sincere concern that her work was slipping into obscurity, Chopin's exclusion from Pattee's literary textbooks seems baffling. One would expect that if Chopin's fiction were to be featured in any first-generation classroom collection of American literature, it would certainly be in Pattee's. Pattee did include "Madame Celestine's Divorce" in his 1927 anthology of short fiction, *Century Readings in the American Short Story.*

That Pattee features Chopin in this specialized literary textbook and not in his more comprehensive collection of American literature suggests a plausible rationale for historiographical-phase editorial neglect of Chopin's work. There is little question that during the few decades before and after World War I, American short fiction writers such as Bret Harte, Sarah Orne Jewett, George Washington Cable, Joel Chandler Harris, Hamlin Garland, and Mary Wilkins Freeman were much more familiar to scholars than Chopin. After all, Chopin had published just two slim novels, two small volumes of tales, and a handful of short stories in magazines during a career that only lasted a little more than ten years, ceasing abruptly before her death in 1904. Additionally, she wrote and published at a time in American literary history that seemed to be dominated by an unprecedented number of accomplished short-fiction writers. Thus as post–World War I anthology editors searched for repre-

sentative selections of late-nineteenth-century short fiction for their collections, they were faced with no shortage of materials (or writers) from which to choose. Just as likely, however, the basically sensual and erotic undertow of Chopin's fiction probably troubled early editors sufficiently enough to preclude its inclusion in their first- and second-phase anthologies.

Pattee was not alone in his scholarly promotion of Chopin's career in the decades before World War II. In 1928 Dorothy Anne Dondore wrote a short biographical entry on Chopin for *The Dictionary of American Biography,* which pointedly described *The Awakening* as a novel a generation ahead of its time. Daniel Rankin published his doctoral dissertation, "Kate Chopin and Her Creole Stories," a combined biography and critical collection of eleven stories, as a book for the University of Pennsylvania Press in 1932. That same year, according to Marlene Springer's 1976 annotated bibliography of Kate Chopin, Bradford Fullerton included Chopin in his *Selective Bibliography of American Literature, 1775–1900* and noted that "critical opinion on Chopin is lacking," yet "knowledgeable critics rate her as one of the few great masters of short story art."[95] In 1936 Arthur Hobson Quinn asserted in his *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey* that Chopin took the art of the short story further than any of her contemporaries, and he ranked "Desiree's Baby" as "one of the best stories in the language."[96] Curiously, however, Quinn, like Pattee, edited a historiographical-phase college-level anthology of American literature that excluded Chopin's fiction.

The periodic critical attention Chopin received between the wars maintained sufficient academic interest in her career to warrant discussion of her writings by Carlos Baker (also a first-generation literary anthology editor whose textbook omitted Chopin) in his essay on late-nineteenth-century short fiction for the 1948 *Literary History of the United States.* Though essentially favorable, Baker's commentary on Chopin's fiction notes a combination of strengths and weaknesses in her canon. On the one hand, he observes that "she knew, better than many of her contemporaries among the regionalists, how to begin, develop, and conclude a story without waste of motion or observable self-consciousness."[97] On the other hand Baker believes "many of her stories fell short of excellence because she wrote too swiftly and impulsively, leaned too heavily upon the suggestion of the moment, and impatiently

shrugged off the burden of correction and revision."[98] Baker also challenges the prevailing critical opinion of his day by criticizing "Desiree's Baby" as "contrived" and "not very typical" among her stories.[99] Nevertheless, Baker concludes that "even her failures are readable" and that Chopin "challenges" the artistic accomplishment of Mary Wilkins Freeman.[100]

In 1949 the second edition of Jay B. Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* became the second anthology designed specifically for the college-level survey of American Literature to insert a selection from Chopin's body of work. Hubbell represented Chopin with the melodramatic "Desiree's Baby" but provided no commentary outside a biographical sketch of her life. No other literary textbook published between 1947 and 1966 featured Chopin's fiction. That aside, scholarly interest in Chopin's fiction persevered throughout the 1950s and 1960s as critics in the United States and abroad took fuller notice of the totality of Chopin's achievement as a writer, particularly as it involved a reassessment of *The Awakening*.

By the early 1950s, esteemed American literary scholars such as Clarence Gohdes and Van Wyck Brooks began to shift critical focus away from Chopin's short fiction and to her then-infamous novel by referring to *The Awakening* instead of "Desiree's Baby" or "Madame Celestine's Divorce" in their (brief) discussions of her career. In his 1951 essay for Arthur Hobson Quinn's collection of essays, *The Literature of the American People: An Historical and Critical Survey,* Gohdes chose *The Awakening* as the basis for his survey of Chopin as a regionalist fiction writer. Likewise, Brooks's *The Confident Years: 1885–1915* (1952) included a paragraph-length analysis of *The Awakening,* applauding it as "one small perfect book."[101] Interest in *The Awakening* was given a substantial boost in 1952 when French critic Cyrille Arnavon translated the novel into French and published it under the title *Edna* along with a twenty-two-page introduction that Peggy Skaggs has recently praised as "perceptive and influential."[102]

Arnavon's work probably inspired a pair of scholarly articles in 1956 on *The Awakening* by American critics Robert Cantwell and Kenneth Eble. Cantwell extolled *The Awakening* as nothing short of a masterpiece of world fiction. Eble's title, "A Forgotten Novel: Kate Chopin's

The Awakening," indicated the degree to which Chopin's book had been neglected since its publication. The article itself devoted considerable space to analyzing the themes and imagery of the novel and concluded that "only Stephen Crane, among her contemporaries, had an equal sensitivity to light and shadow, color and texture, had the painter's eye matched with the writer's perception of character and incident."[103]

The 1950s resurgence of scholarly interest in Chopin's career paved the way for a much broader critical reevaluation of her writings in the 1960s. Edmund Wilson's *Patriotic Gore* (1962) devoted a full six pages of analysis to Chopin's work. His reading of *The Awakening* is especially interesting as it maintains that Chopin's novel does not expressly argue for feminine autonomy or present marriage as a potentially oppressive institution. Per Seyersted published the first of his numerous studies of Chopin the following year. "Kate Chopin: An Important St. Louis Writer Reconsidered," which appeared in January 1963, introduced the now conventional interpretation of Chopin's canon, noting that she was among the first American women authors to present passion as a "legitimate, serious theme" in literature.[104] Seyersted's article also introduced four previously unpublished short stories by Chopin. In 1964 Kenneth Eble edited a reissue of *The Awakening*. By the end of the decade Seyersted published his excellent critical biography of Chopin and his two-volume collection, *The Complete Works of Kate Chopin* (1969). Numerous other American academic critics also published work on Chopin's writings in the 1960s, including Larzer Ziff (with a perceptive chapter in *The American 1890s*), George Arms, Lewis Leary, and Joan Zlotnick, making it nearly impossible for scholars to overlook Chopin as a significant American author.

As a result of this critical attention in the 1950s and 1960s, Chopin quickly became a standard author in third-phase anthologies of American literature. Chopin's work was included in all but four classroom collections of American literature published between 1967 and 1999. In fact, the last college-level literary anthology to omit her work, the single-volume fourth edition of *The American Tradition in Literature*, appeared in 1974. In another milestone of sorts, the year before, *American Literature: The Makers and the Making* (1973), edited by Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren, became the first aca-

demic anthology of American literature to feature Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary Wilkins Freeman, and Kate Chopin within the same collection.

In their introductions to Chopin's writings, multicultural-phase anthology editors have typically emphasized the eclipse of Chopin's career after the publication of *The Awakening* and trumpeted her recent critical revival. Since the early 1970s most literary textbooks have designated Chopin's 1899 novel as her greatest literary achievement. Brooks, Lewis, and Warren stated as early as their 1973 collection, for example, that "by common consent her novel *The Awakening* is her masterpiece."[105] Not surprisingly, then, *The Awakening* has been the most popular selection from Chopin's body of work among third-generation textbook editors. Complete versions of the novel have been included in thirteen multicultural-phase anthologies of American literature. The first edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1979) inaugurated this practice of reprinting *The Awakening* in its entirety (the novel has never been excerpted for a classroom literary collection), and *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* is currently the only college-level textbook not offering the novel as part of its selection of Chopin's work.

"Desiree's Baby" made a strong showing in classroom collections of the 1970s and early 1980s, and a variety of other stories by Chopin have been anthologized fairly regularly since the late 1960s. Tales such as "A Pair of Silk Stockings" (1896), "A Respectable Woman" (1894), an ambiguous tale of sexual temptation and marital trust set on the verandas of a Louisiana plantation house, and "Neg Creole" (1897) have circulated among numerous third-phase literary textbooks, especially those of the 1970s and 1980s. Recently, however, anthology editors, reflecting feminist treatments of Chopin of the last twenty-five years, have tended to represent Chopin with stories that explicitly raise issues of desire, sexuality, and independence. Pieces such as "The Story of an Hour" (1894) and "The Storm" (1969), a torrid depiction of a long-deferred sexual affair (unpublished during Chopin's lifetime), have become popular selections in classroom collections, particularly over the last decade. Oftentimes these stories are coupled with *The Awakening* to confront students with an author chiefly concerned with themes involving erotic autonomy and gender-based oppression at the turn of the century.

More than anything else, perhaps, the instances of Harriet Beecher

Stowe, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary Wilkins Freeman, and Kate Chopin provide irrefutable evidence that some of the most current and commonplace perceptions of American literary history are inaccurate and need correction. There can be little question, for example, that the majority of recent characterizations of the treatment of Jewett and Freeman by pre-1970s textbooks and critics were entirely mistaken. Contrary to prevailing assumptions, both of these authors were featured regularly and conspicuously in major anthologies of American literature ever since the end of World War I, and both have been admired and studied throughout the twentieth century by the most prominent names in American literary criticism. Even the contours of Stowe's and Chopin's academic reputations seem to have been grossly misperceived, given the evidence provided by a full survey of college-level American literature anthologies and a review of the critical forces behind them. At the very least, future considerations of these writers and their places in the academic canon will need to reconcile facile accusations of historical mistreatment with the empirical data provided by twenty-first-century scholarship and examinations of textbook evidence.

6

The African American Heritage

Equiano, Jacobs, Douglass, Dunbar, Chesnutt, Harper

There is little question that prior to the early 1970s African American writers were categorically omitted from twentieth-century academic anthologies of American literature. Numerous commentators in the final quarter-century examined this unfortunate reality and generally ascribed the absence of African American authors in classroom collections to a racist mentality—conscious or unconscious—among early- and mid-twentieth-century textbook editors. Paul Lauter, for example, observes in *Canons and Contexts* (1991) that recent "efforts to bring writers of color and white women authors into curricula brought to the surface—in fact, allowed many to discover—the deeply racist, patriarchal, heterosexist assumptions that actually shaped such seemingly innocent documents as reading lists, book order forms, and literary histories."[1] As classroom literary anthologies are subject to the same forces that influenced the construction of reading lists, book order forms, and literary histories, one presumably might add textbooks of American literature to Lauter's list of "seemingly innocent documents" that stand as irrefutable evidence of institutional prejudice against African American authors.

Though perhaps viscerally satisfying, the tendency to blame the absence of African American authors in pre-1970s literary textbooks on

widespread racist editorial attitudes and practices ignores other factors that contributed to the critical neglect of writers of color earlier in this century. Besides that, a few perceptive first- and second-generation anthologies did feature the work of African Americans. Numerous other classroom collections, all very popular anthologies, including Jay B. Hubbell's *American Life in Literature,* Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose,* and Walter Blair, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart's *The Literature of the United States,* encompassed certain African American writings in chapters devoted to the broader categories of folk songs and spirituals. While these instances of limited inclusion hardly stand as evidence of equitable representation of African American literature in early-twentieth-century literary textbooks, they do partly exonerate the constructors of pre-1970s anthologies from the charge of being "deeply racist."

Keneth Kinnamon has analyzed the historical patterns of inclusion of Charles Chesnutt, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and James Weldon Johnson in both high school– and college-level literary collections. Although he agrees with the prevailing critical presumption that "many if not most white scholars" during the first half of the twentieth century believed black writers "could not achieve the requisite eloquence, profundity, beauty, and imaginative power of great literature," Kinnamon offers a more charitable scenario for the compilation of many World War I– and World War II–era literary textbooks.[2] He speculates that the neglect of Chesnutt, Dunbar, and Johnson in pre-1970s anthologies is "attributable perhaps to ignorance as well as prejudice."[3] Kinnamon hypothesizes that early-twentieth-century textbook editors were not familiar with the writings of a particular poet or novelist and that these anthologists probably did not "undertake intensive study to decide whether they merit inclusion."[4] Thus, the habit of relying on the same familiar list of authors and texts, as Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst have likewise observed, no doubt resulted in the omission of numerous deserving writers from academic literary textbooks earlier in the century.[5]

Native American literature scholar Patricia Okker suggests yet another theory for the absence of writers of color from anthologies of American literature published before 1970. Like Kinnamon, Okker indicates that the neglect of certain writers earlier in the century is a more complex affair than simply a matter of racist scholar-editors systemati-

cally excluding nonwhite authors. Okker points out, for instance, that substantial scholarly study of a writer's work customarily preceded "canonization." "Authors were included in anthologies only after critics began debating their relative worth. Now, however, as anthology editors increasingly strive for diversity, authors, like Zitkala-Sa, are anthologized long before they have been studied by critics and scholars."[6] The phenomenon of extensive scholarly inquiry as the customary prerequisite to classroom study continued into the 1980s. Indeed, today's commentators regularly credit the profusion of scholarship on such underappreciated African American writers as Olaudah Equiano, Frederick Douglass, Frances Harper, Charles Chesnutt, and Paul Laurence Dunbar in the late 1960s for reviving these writers' academic reputations and ensuring their subsequent incorporation into college-level literary textbooks beginning in the early 1970s. Conversely, then, the scarcity of scholarly studies of African American writers earlier in the century meant that these critically neglected authors would rarely have been considered for inclusion in literary textbooks. After all, if academic literary scholarship is to be credited with placing writers in classroom literary anthologies, then a deficiency of literary scholarship ought to be considered as a theoretical explanation for their absence.

The absence of slave-narrative authors Equiano, Douglass, and Jacobs from *historiographical-* and *New Critical–phase* anthologies of American literature is clearly due in large degree to this self-perpetuating cycle of critical neglect and editorial ignorance. Douglass may be an exception in that his writings were fairly familiar to at least some early-twentieth-century academic literary commentators. He was mentioned briefly along with Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Dunbar as a black author "of merited eminence" in C. Alphonso Smith's 1918 essay for *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917–21).[7] Still, James Emanuel and Theodore Gross's useful bibliography of more than thirty African American writers in the 1968 anthology *Dark Symphony: Negro Literature in America* records scarcely a handful of scholarly publications on Douglass (who died in 1895) scattered between Chesnutt's *Frederick Douglass* (1899) and Philip Foner's comprehensive *Frederick Douglass: A Biography* (1964). The writings of Equiano and Jacobs fell into an even deeper obscurity in the twentieth century until reprints of their narratives appeared, respectively, in 1967 and 1987. According to

several authoritative bibliographies, Equiano was not treated in a scholarly study before the 1960s, and Jacobs was neglected by academics into the 1980s.

Until recently, authors of slave narratives were also overlooked by academic literary scholars because of the problematic genre (often a product of collaboration with abolitionist transcribers) in which they wrote. Broad recognition of the autobiographical slave narrative as a bona fide literary form came deplorably late in the twentieth century. In 1969 Arna Bontemps edited his groundbreaking collection *Great Slave Narratives,* which for the first time not only offered easy access to forgotten African American texts but also justified the slave narrative as a distinctive literary form. Prior to Bontemps's scholarship slave narratives had basically been treated as historical documents. Editors of the 1970 anthology *The Literature of America* mention, for instance, that throughout the twentieth century Douglass's writings seemed more valuable to historians than to literary scholars. "Frederick Douglass has long been recognized as an important figure in nineteenth-century American history, and the time has now come for recognition of his large gifts as a writer. . . . [T]hough rarely considered in traditional histories of our literature, his work deserves to be honored as a classic of our prose."[8] In 1973 Robert Penn Warren echoed these sentiments, pointing out that "for all of his importance in the history of the antislavery movement, Douglass is now perhaps more important for his role in the development of black literature."[9] Many libraries still house the autobiographical writings of Equiano, Douglass, and other slaves not among the fiction, poems, and prose of American literary figures but in the company of abolitionist writings by the likes of Ralph Waldo Emerson and William Lloyd Garrison.

Writings of chiefly historical and political interest always held a place in twentieth-century anthologies of American literature. But when editors of first- and second-generation literary textbooks included nonbelletristic selections, they typically chose speeches, diaries, and essays that exhibited the same themes found in the belletristic writings that they anthologized. Classroom collections published in the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s presented the works of, say, George Washington, Abigail Adams, Meriwether Lewis, Ulysses Grant, or Woodrow Wilson primarily because these selections possessed the historiographical characteristics

or exhibited certain themes (American exceptionalism, patriotism, and individualism) that editors and academic literary scholars admired in American fiction, poetry, and prose. Today's anthologies are no different. What has changed, however, are the topics that editors look for in the historical or political writings for their collections. Since the late 1960s, commentators have focused on themes of protest and dissent in American literature. More recently, issues of race, class, and gender have received enormous and sympathetic attention in academic literary criticism. American slave narratives illustrate these latter motifs quite explicitly. Thus, increased editorial interest in Equiano, Douglass, and Jacobs (as well as many other African American poets and prose writers) over the last thirty years has in many ways paralleled the critical phenomenon that has guided the compilation of literature anthologies since the 1920s.

Like the authors of autobiographical slave narratives, Frances Harper and her reputation suffered throughout most of the past century because of a scarcity of scholarly studies of her poetry and the difficulty of obtaining her texts. The writings of Charles Chesnutt and Paul Laurence Dunbar, on the other hand, did receive some critical attention in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century, and volumes of many of their stories and poems have been available in collected editions since the 1910s. Yet Chesnutt and Dunbar, similar to other African American authors, received a cold shoulder in college-level anthologies until the 1970s. Among the unusual instances of a writer of color appearing in historiographical- or New Critical–phase literary anthologies, Dunbar's poetry was included in the 1929 textbook *The Literature of America,* the 1933 five-volume Macmillan collection, and in the 1937 classroom collection *The American Mind.* His verse then vanished from textbooks for nearly thirty years; Chesnutt, whose mordant racial allegories often cut both ways, sometimes alienating black readers as well as white ones, would not be anthologized until 1969.

At first glance the historical record of Chesnutt's and Dunbar's appearances in college-level anthologies of American literature would assuredly seem to substantiate the accusations of prejudice leveled against pre-1970 textbook editors. However, evidence indicates that African American literary critics of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s played a key role in the deflating of Chesnutt's and Dunbar's reputations in the middle

decades of the twentieth century. One of the primary reasons today's scholars esteem the work of Chesnutt and Dunbar is because through a masterful use of irony and characterization these writers challenged the nostalgic plantation tradition of Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page. But such appreciative readings of Chesnutt's and Dunbar's writings are solely developments of the last twenty-five to thirty years. Prior to 1970 Chesnutt and Dunbar were routinely denounced as literary "Uncle Toms" by most black scholars because their stories and poems appeared to romanticize slave life and stereotype black speech and situations.[10]

Discussing Dunbar's critical reputation in the decades immediately before and after World War II, Peter Revell reports that black critics of the period grew impatient with the "negative side" of Dunbar's writings. "Their awareness of Dunbar's heavy dependence on the plantation tradition in a large portion of his work and the feeling that this dependence largely vitiated any claim that he was 'the Poet Laureate of the Negro race' produced sharp reaction against Dunbar's work. . . . The reaction was overstated but could not be gainsaid; by the 1950s Dunbar had become for many black critics, in Darwin Turner's phrase, 'a rejected symbol.'"[11] Specifically, Dunbar's legacy suffered two near-fatal blows in the 1940s. In 1941 Victor Lawson published the first comprehensive scholarly study of Dunbar's canon, *Dunbar Critically Examined.* As Revell observes, Lawson's account "is almost entirely hostile."[12] Lawson's relentless condemnation of Dunbar's motives ultimately concludes that "in his poems in dialect Dunbar stood as the conscious or unconscious apologist of the plantation."[13] Seven years later Hugh Gloster's *Negro Voices in American Fiction* (1948), too, condemned Dunbar's stories and novels as contributions to the despised plantation tradition. Probably not coincidentally, the World War II–era criticisms of Lawson and Gloster are extremely reminiscent of James Baldwin's contemporaneous harsh critique of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* another work of literature increasingly criticized after World War II for idealizing aspects of plantation life and slavery.

Commentators in the 1930s and 1940s who condemned what they read as Dunbar's overly conciliatory attitude often pointed to stories such as those in *Old Plantation Days* (1903), which on the surface portray paternalistic, benevolent masters and dutiful, obedient slaves. They

also denigrated much of Dunbar's dialect poetry for the very same reasons. "When De Co'n Pone's Hot" (1896), for example, is a poem for which Dunbar had been praised very early in the twentieth century:

> When de worl' jes' stahts a-spinnin'
> Lak a picaninny's top,
> An' yo' cup o' joy is brimmin'
> 'Twell it seems about to slop,
> An' you feel jes' lak a racah,
> Dat is trainin' fu' to trot—
> When yo' mammy says de blessin'
> An' de co'n pone's hot. (ll. 5–12)

In the 1890s, ironically, Dunbar's dialect verse had been lauded by the likes of William Dean Howells and other influential literati as innovative and experimental. His vernacular cadences seemed fresh and accurate and the detailed descriptions robust and vibrant. By the 1930s, however, Dunbar's poems such as "When De Co'n Pone's Hot" and "A Coquette Conquered" (1896) were often reviled as insufferably minstrel-like and riddled with negative stereotypes.

Chesnutt's reputation also suffered in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century (though arguably to a lesser degree than Dunbar's) because readers failed to catch the irony of his plantation fiction, particularly those stories involving the recurring character of Uncle Julius, the narrator of Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman* (1899). *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*'s editor Ronald Gottesman reports, for example, that

> Chesnutt's Uncle Julius, though superficially like [Joel Chandler] Harris's Uncle Remus, is in reality a wise old slave who has learned not only to survive but to use and defeat his supposed superiors through a mocking mask of ignorance. Chesnutt's contemporaries saw the picturesque stereotype of the old black man as an easy going, shuffling retainer and took pleasure in the authenticity of the language, customs, and setting in these stories; only in recent years, however, have readers had the added satisfaction of perceiving the ironic drama played out between "master" and "slave."[14]

It is not difficult to understand why many African American literary commentators of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s would have bristled at Chesnutt's and Dunbar's work given the unfolding of the Harlem Renaissance in the decade following World War I. Hortense Spillers explains that for those dedicated to the ideals of the "New Negro" Renaissance, the 1920s literary movement represented "the promise and project of political and economic liberation."[15] The cultural liberation of African Americans through dignified literary expression in the 1920s symbolized a break with the past and could hardly have been helped, so it must have seemed, by black writers of the previous generation such as Chesnutt and Dunbar, whose work appeared to embrace the historical legacies of accommodation, inferiority, and self-mockery.

By the 1960s literary scholars had begun to read more deeply into Chesnutt's and Dunbar's works and discovered substantial and courageous irony in their prose and poetry. Darwin Turner's "Paul Laurence Dunbar: The Rejected Symbol" (1967) is a landmark in Dunbar studies as it proposes that Dunbar's writings are "far more bitter and scathing, much more a part of the protest tradition than his reputation suggests."[16] Shortly after, additional commentators including Addison Gayle Jr., Gregory Candela, and Allan Fox, in the words of Doris Lucas Laryea, "pointed to the literary skill displayed in presenting both elements of accommodation and protest" in [Dunbar's work], and Dunbar's standing as a writer rose."[17] The latter-twentieth-century reevaluation of Chesnutt resulted from new readings of Chesnutt's fiction provided by Carol Gartner's "Charles W. Chesnutt: Novelist of a Cause" (1968), D. D. Britt's "Chesnutt's Conjure Tales" (1972), and J. Noel Heermance's impressive *Charles W. Chesnutt: America's First Great Black Novelist* (1974). These and subsequent studies of Chesnutt's canon in the 1970s emphasized the complexity and sophistication of Chesnutt's characterizations and stressed the necessity of reading his work, particularly the Uncle Julius tales, with an appreciation for their clever ironies.

The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, in combination with the profusion of critical studies of African American writers in the 1960s and 1970s, prompted anthologies of American literature to begin featuring African American authors in substantial numbers for the first time. And rather than a gradual process of incorporation, *multicultural-phase* literary textbook editors rushed to include writers of color in their

collections. Between 1969 and 1975, in fact, Equiano, Douglass, Chesnutt, and Harper all made their inaugural appearances in college-level American literature anthologies. During the same period Dunbar was welcomed back to the textbook format as a frequently anthologized writer.

Frederick Douglass's writings began appearing in American literature anthologies in 1970. In that year both Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* and Irving Howe, Mark Schorer, and Larzer Ziff's *The Literature of America* included multiple selections from Douglass's writings and speeches. Foerster's anthology provided chapter 10 (describing an abortive attempt at escape) from *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (1845), as well as Douglass's critique of American ideals in light of the nation's tolerance of slavery, "Fourth of July Oration, 1852" (1852). *The Literature of America* coupled its presentation of chapters 1 and 6 from Douglass's 1845 narrative with an excerpt from his *My Life and Times* (1881). Since then an additional thirty-three literary textbooks have incorporated Douglass's writings, making Douglass one of the most anthologized African American authors in classroom collections of American literature published between 1967 and 1999.

A large majority of multicultural-phase American literature anthologies have opted to represent Douglass with *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass.* Most feature a chapter or two from Douglass's first book, usually the Covey "slave-breaking" passage, but since 1985 no fewer than eight classroom anthologies have offered a complete text of the 1845 narrative. Nine literary textbooks published since 1967 have presented chapters from Douglass's 1881 autobiography, *My Life and Times,* and five have chosen selections from his 1855 account, *My Bondage and My Freedom.* Editors argue the superiority of one edition of Douglass's autobiography over the others, but clearly most (whether the result of habit or conviction) are settled on the preeminence of the 1845 text. Additionally, Douglass's lengthy but highly articulate "Fourth of July Oration, 1852" has made an especially strong showing over the last decade. Five of its six appearances in third-phase anthologies of American Literature have occurred since 1989. Its recent popularity is no doubt due to the speech's indictment of the hypocrisy of American equality and freedom in light of nineteenth-century racial injustice: "Americans! your republican politics, not less your republican religion, are flagrantly inconsistent.

You boast of your love of liberty, your superior civilization, your pure Christianity, while the whole political power of the nation (as embodied in the two great political parties), is solemnly pledged to support and perpetuate the enslavement of three millions of your countrymen."[18] Douglass's message of American racial duplicity has been interpreted lately as sweepingly applicable to latter-twentieth-century American culture.

The autobiographical slave narratives of Olaudah Equiano and Harriet Jacobs have benefited only relatively recently from academic scholarship. Several literary scholars have edited reprints of *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1789), a remarkable work among other reasons because it affords the perspective of a slave who remembered being kidnapped as a boy in his native Africa and sold to coastal slave traders. Paul Edwards oversaw the publication of an abridged account of Equiano's narrative in 1967 and two years later edited a two-volume facsimile reprint of the full-length version. Edwards's efforts presumably led to the first inclusion of Equiano's work in an academic anthology of American literature in 1975. After its appearance in Seymour Gross and Milton Stern's *American Literature Survey* (1975), Equiano's narrative was not reprinted in a literary textbook again until the 1987 edition of *The Harper American Literature.* Since then it has become a virtual standard selection in literary textbooks. Eleven of fifteen literary anthologies published in the past eleven years feature an excerpt from that work. The sudden awareness of Equiano's account after 1987 is obviously a result of Henry Louis Gates's critically acclaimed 1987 edition of *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (1814), which was collected along with several other autobiographical slave narratives in Gates's *Classic Slave Narratives* (1987).

Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861) made its debut in the 1990 first edition of Paul Lauter's *The Heath Anthology of American Literature.* Amazingly, not a single academic anthology of American literature published since 1990 has neglected to include extracts from Jacobs's autobiographical narrative. What is more, all but one of the ten anthologies that have published excerpts from Jacobs's text have offered virtually the same selected chapters, typically some combination of chapters 1, 5, 6, 10, 14, 16, 21, and 41, which together present the broad outline

of Jacobs's experience from childhood to the sexual harassment of the lustful Dr. Flint to her and her children's eventual freedom. This similarity in presentation among literary textbooks of the 1990s seems to suggest that anthology editors perhaps duplicated the offerings of other textbooks in a hasty attempt to feature Jacobs. Barbara Perkins and George Perkins's *The American Tradition in Literature* (1994) alone resisted this trend and instead provided chapters 17 through 19, in which Jacobs describes her escape to a friend's attic, where she hides for some time, and the sale of her children to another plantation.

Scholars Jean Fagan Yellin and Valerie Smith are largely responsible for current interest in Jacobs. Yellin's validating research established conclusively in the 1980s that a woman by the name of Harriet Jacobs had indeed existed, that she was a slave, and that this woman wrote *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl.* Critics had been unsure about the authorship of the narrative because of the heavy involvement of the well-known white author and abolitionist Lydia Maria Child with the original publication of the story. Yellin edited a new edition of Jacobs's book and published it with a detailed introduction in 1987. Smith edited the second scholarly version of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* in 1988, but it was through her book-length study *Self-Discovery and Authority in Afro-American Narrative* (1988) that she made her most significant contribution to Jacobs's academic reputation. Smith's 1988 analysis of African American prose revealed that Jacobs consciously or unconsciously employed the conventions of the sentimental novel for the writing of her autobiography. Thus, Smith placed Jacobs and her narrative in the mainstream tradition of nineteenth-century women's fiction that was illustrating the corruption of domestic values by patriarchal forces. Because *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* lends itself simultaneously to critical inquiries of race *and* gender (one could also reasonably make an argument for its handling of issues of class), Jacobs's narrative achieved overnight a sacrosanct status in anthologies of American literature during the last decade of the twentieth century.

In spite of the academic re-estimation of Dunbar's critical legacy during the 1960s and 1970s, his poetry has only appeared in a little more than one-third of all third-generation literary textbooks. Anthologies that have featured Dunbar have tended to represent him not with his dialect verse but with samples of his "literary" or standard English po-

ems, such as the classic "We Wear the Mask" (1896) and "Sympathy" (1899), which concludes with the now-famed line "I know why the caged bird sings!" (l. 21). Dunbar's biographical tributes in verse to abolitionists and African American activists, including "Harriet Beecher Stowe" (1899), "Frederick Douglass" (1896), and "Booker T. Washington" (1903), have also fared well with textbook editors of late.

Those multicultural-phase classroom literary collections that offer one (or in some cases two) dialect poems by Dunbar tend not to select works that could be misread—namely those with clearly ironic depictions of plantation slave life. No recent academic anthology of American literature has ventured to offer a poem as problematic as "When De Co'n Pone's Hot." Instead, textbook editors have routinely looked to such dialect poems as "An Ante-Bellum Sermon" (1896), which make explicit statements about the injustice of slavery, or "A Death Song" (1899), which contains no outward reference to race-relations:

> Let me settle w'en my shouldahs draps dey load
> Nigh enough to hyeah de noises in de road;
> Fu' I t'ink de las' long res'
> Gwine to soothe my sperrit bes'
> Ef I's layin' 'mong de t'ings I's allus knowed. (ll. 11–15)

In light of the fact that Dunbar is either not represented in many third-phase literary textbooks or that editors worriedly steer clear of an entire large category of his poems, Dunbar's critical reputation, it would seem, continues to reflect the critical attacks of the 1930s and 1940s.

In contrast, coverage of Chesnutt's fiction in third-generation anthologies of American literature has been consistent and varied. His writings have appeared in twenty-nine of thirty-nine classroom collections published since 1967. Chesnutt's work was first welcomed into the academic anthology format by Harrison Meserole, Walter Sutton, and Brom Weber's *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation* (1969). Since then anthology editors have presented Chesnutt as a skillfully ironic author. The first edition of George McMichael's *Anthology of American Literature* (1974) pointed out, for example, that Chesnutt's stories "are often highly ironic, and racial issues were presented in ways that were subtle, forceful, and well ahead of their time."[19] McMichael warned

readers that Chesnutt's work must be read carefully: "By today's standards his attitudes seem passive and dated. But his subtlety, irony and militancy are often unperceived and undervalued."[20] The legacy of the midcentury misinterpretations of Chesnutt's forays into the plantation tradition unquestionably lingers.

A few multicultural-phase anthologies of American literature have attempted to account for the fluctuations of Chesnutt's twentieth-century reputation while explaining the complex nature of his writing style. (Among other things, Chesnutt sought to capture the flavor of both the northern and Southern blacks' experiences.) Seymour Gross and Milton Stern's *American Literature Survey* (1975) deduced that the Harlem Renaissance played a part in diminishing Chesnutt's stature: "He achieved some recognition near the end of his life, when he was awarded the Spingarn gold medal for literature in 1928, but until recently his career has been overlooked under the preemptive impact of the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. However, Charles Chesnutt is again coming into his own as readers become aware once more of the mastery with which he portrayed the subtleties of black experience in America."[21] A little more than a decade later, another literary textbook attributed Chesnutt's falling critical reputation in the early decades of the twentieth century to more active and oppressive forces. The editors of *The Harper American Literature* (1987) emphasized Chesnutt's "bitterness" about the state of race relations in turn-of-the-century America and explained that this gloomy attitude accounted for his precipitous decline: "Once he began to say what became too uncomfortable for easy listening, he had to be silenced. Although he completed six other novels, none was accepted for publication. His voice, in print at least, had been stilled."[22]

Third-phase textbook editors have presented a wide range of Chesnutt's fiction. "The Goophered Grapevine" (1899), a tale of a reputedly haunted vineyard featuring the formerly controversial character Uncle Julius, has been the most popular selection for American literature anthologies since the late 1960s. It has appeared in fourteen third-generation collections, twice as many as its next closest competitor. "Po' Sandy" (1899), another tale involving Uncle Julius, has been reprinted numerous times in the last thirty years. Several of Chesnutt's stories that deal with race relations in a more direct, serious manner (which Chesnutt himself termed "stories of the color line"), such as "The Passing of Grandison"

(1899); "The Sheriff's Children" (1889), a searing reminder of white sexual and parental irresponsibility; "A Matter of Principle" (1899), a frank look at the inconsistency of blacks' attitudes toward their own kind; and "The Wife of His Youth" (1899), in which a prospering black man confronts an unexpected reminder of his past, have also made multiple showings since the late 1960s. Unlike the case of Dunbar, Chesnutt's plantation writings continue to thrive in today's anthologies along with his stories about northern blacks.

Frances Harper's poetry has gained limited attention in recent years. Gross and Stern's 1975 anthology reprinted Harper's moving "The Slave Auction" (1854) and "Bury Me in a Free Land" (1854), but it would be another fifteen years before her work appeared a second time. The first edition of Paul Lauter's *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990) rendered a larger portrait of Harper's talents, representing her with eleven selections of poetry, fiction, and prose treating the horrors of slavery. "The Slave Mother" (1857), for example, addresses the harsh fact that slave parents held no legal rights to their children:

She is a mother, pale with fear,
    Her boy clings to her side,
And in her kirtle vainly tries
    his trembling form to hide.

He is not hers, although she bore
    For him a mother's pains;
He is not hers, although her blood
    Is coursing through his veins!

He is not hers, for cruel hands
    May rudely tear apart
The only wreath of household love
    That binds her breaking heart. (ll. 13–24)

In addition to Harper's poetry, Lauter's collection also picked out several of her lesser-known prose writings, including the 1859 tale "The Two Offers," sometimes said to be the first short story published by an African American in the United States.

In 1991 James Miller's *Heritage of American Literature* and Emory Elliott's *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology* joined Lauter's collection in presenting Harper's writings, featuring two and four poems, respectively. The 1994 second edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* reproduced its coverage of Harper's career from its 1990 collection. But for the 1998 third edition Lauter and his editorial staff took the step of not only expanding their presentation of Harper to fifteen selections but also placing her work in both volumes one and two. No other writer, not even Walt Whitman or Emily Dickinson, is accorded that honor in the 1998 version of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature*.[23] Lauter inserted seven selections from Harper's antebellum writings into the first volume and eight pieces, all written by Harper after the Civil War, in the second. Her academic popularity developed much later than other recently rediscovered African American authors who have been incorporated into the anthology format within the last thirty years. But if these latest editorial trends are any indication of Harper's future treatment by scholar-editors, her share in most classroom textbooks seems to be on the rise.

African American writers are perfect examples of how the dynamics of academic scholarship and taste can radically reconfigure the contents of literature anthologies—and thus what gets taught in college classrooms—overnight. The massive efforts of scholars in the 1960s to recover, interpret, and reissue the work of African American authors occurred at a moment when poststructuralist critical attitudes were beginning to take hold within the academy and among textbook editors. As a result of this resurgence of historical and cultural scholarship during the late 1960s and early 1970s, particularly as related to issues of race, class, and gender, writers such as Olaudah Equiano, Harriet Jacobs, Frederick Douglass, Frances Harper, Charles Chesnutt, and Paul Laurence Dunbar either were welcomed back or introduced for the first time to the college-level anthology format. Since then nearly all of these rescued minority figures have become staples in classroom literature collections.

7

Early-Twentieth-Century Women Writers

Wharton, Cather, Glasgow

Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, and Ellen Glasgow were among the last generation of American writers to come of age before the advent of the college-level anthology of American literature. By 1920 each had published acclaimed novels and short stories and had secured their literary reputations. As such, the writings of these early-twentieth-century women fiction writers were eligible for inclusion in the earliest *historiographical-phase* literary textbooks. American modern writers who had begun publishing their most significant fiction and poetry after World War I—Sherwood Anderson, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, and Katherine Anne Porter, to name a few—would not have been considered by literature collections of the 1920s and early 1930s.

Recent academic inquiries into the critical reception of women authors have sometimes erroneously included Edith Wharton among writers essentially ignored by early scholars and anthology editors. Elizabeth Ammons, for example, reported in 1994 that Wharton was neglected throughout the middle decades of the twentieth century:

> Wharton was a best-selling author at the turn of the century and into the 1920s; she was also highly acclaimed by the critics. After the 1920s, she was taught less and less in schools and universities until before and fol-

> lowing World War II she was virtually untaught. She was viewed as a disciple of Henry James and he, not she, was taught. In the late 1960s and then on through the 1980s, Wharton has steadily and dramatically regained an academic audience and a general readership, clearly the result of the most recent wave in the women's movement.[1]

There is little question that interest in Wharton's works, like that in the works of numerous other women and minority authors, has swelled since 1970. On the other hand Ammons's contention that Wharton went "virtually untaught" between 1930 and the late 1960s is simply not true. At the very least such commentators should endeavor to suggest the complicated vicissitudes of Wharton's stature.

By the time Wharton was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for *The Age of Innocence* (1920) she had achieved the dual status of best-selling novelist and highly popular short-story writer. Throughout the 1910s and 1920s her writings were heavily publicized in leading periodicals such as the *New York Times Book Review,* and numerous academic and literary establishment luminaries, including John Macy, Carl Van Doren, Fred Lewis Pattee, and Henry Seidel Canby, endorsed Wharton in print as an American talent. But in the years following World War I a few dissenting voices began to criticize Wharton as "Victorian" and as an apologist for the genteel tradition. Vernon L. Parrington was among the first academic commentators of the 1920s to question Wharton's modernity in his 1921 review of *The Age of Innocence,* provocatively titled "Our Literary Aristocrat."[2] In 1926 Edmund Wilson judged that the quality of Wharton's work published after she won the Pulitzer Prize was markedly inferior. When Wilson reviewed her *Twilight Sleep* for the *New Republic* that following year he alleged that Wharton's attitude toward New York's privileged classes had become more patient with outmoded elitist values.

In the 1930s Ludwig Lewisohn and Grandville Hicks ridiculed her choice of fictional materials. Lewisohn's *Expression in America* (1932) concluded that Wharton squandered her talents on a trivial social class, remarking condescendingly of her writings that "wars and revolutions, cataclysms and catastrophes of man and nature leave her hopelessly a lady."[3] Hicks, in *The Great Tradition* (1933), likewise charged that, despite the satiric temperament of her work, Wharton's patrician environ-

ment left her incapable of condemning her peers in the upper social classes. Even the noted humanist critic Henry Seidel Canby took Wharton to task in the 1930s. In the *Saturday Review of Literature* Canby rebuked Wharton as a hopelessly outdated writer: "Too Puritan to enjoy, too feeble to control, too shallow to create—all this Mrs. Wharton knew about her society, and made books which were felt and rightly felt to be more significant than the milieu they described."[4] Such attacks had apparently proven so successful in devaluing Wharton's critical reputation by the late 1930s that Edmund Wilson found himself in the peculiar position of now having to defend Wharton's career. In 1938 Wilson published "Justice to Edith Wharton," which set out, as Marlene Springer has observed, "to revive the reputation of her [Wharton's] most important work, that of 1905–1920."[5] In fairness to Wilson, he remained consistent in his view of Wharton between the wars, and this latter piece contravened nothing he had stated in the 1920s.

The commentary in early historiographical-phase literary textbooks on Wharton was generally favorable, but by the mid-1930s some editorial opinions began to change. In 1926 Robert Shafer merely introduced Wharton as "a disciple of James" yet commented that her earliest work "unmistakably announced the appearance of a significant and accomplished writer."[6] Six years later, the fourth edition of Fred Lewis Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1932) indicated that "*Ethan Frome* [1911] already has become accepted as a classic," but he judged that in the end Wharton had "failed" as a writer: "Always does she inspire admiration, seldom does she touch the emotions. Not often does she give us characters so human that we love them. Despite her artistry, therefore, she has failed. . . . Of the great quivering, suffering, laboring human mass she knows little."[7] Pattee's dissatisfaction with Wharton's social range reflected the attitude of a growing number of commentators within the academy in the 1930s.

Wharton's works may have posed additional problems for academics teaching American literature. As a historical novelist Wharton may not have struck instructors as an appropriate choice to illustrate the period in which she actually wrote because her stories were seemingly so out of sync chronologically with the given decade that students were studying. In other words Wharton's stories written in the 1910s and 1920s were set in the 1870s and 1880s; therefore, her fiction represented a sequential in-

terruption in the time-line progression of college-level survey of American letters.

By mid-decade a few academic literary textbooks recognized that Wharton and the subject matter of her fiction had been judged too severely by some critics. The 1937 anthology *The American Mind,* edited by Harry Warfel, Ralph Gabriel, and Stanley Williams, asserted that "if Mrs. Wharton is to be criticized it must not be on the ground that she did not write about other groups of society."[8] The editors conceded that Wharton "too frequently succumbed to literary fashions," but their defense of Wharton's fictional materials is noteworthy.

Just two years later *A College Book of American Literature* (1939) promoted a more favorable portrait of Wharton's career. The editors of this anthology introduced Wharton as one "destined to become the most impressive woman novelist of her time" and reported with equal enthusiasm that "critics are practically in unanimous agreement that *Ethan Frome* is not only her masterpiece, but one of the supreme achievements in our literature."[9] *A College Book of American Literature* noted shortcomings in Wharton's work yet excused them as the result of Wharton's "self-conscious striving for perfection."[10] The introductory essay concluded by noting Wharton's critical decline in the two decades since she had been awarded the Pulitzer Prize, mentioning that her "popularity has been somewhat limited."[11]

Despite her critical setbacks of the late 1920s and early 1930s, however, Wharton figured conspicuously in first-generation classroom collections of American literature, which suggests that her fiction was in demand by college instructors. Nine of the seventeen college-level anthologies published between 1919 and 1946 featured a selection from Wharton's body of work. The inaugural edition of Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1925) became the first college-level literary textbook to showcase Wharton when it reprinted "A Journey" (1899), the emotionally charged story of a woman who must conceal the fact that her ill husband has died during a train trip from Colorado to New York. Foerster also included Wharton among the eight American authors whose novels he recommended as outside reading (the list specifically proposed *The House of Mirth* [1905]). In 1929 *The Literature of America,* edited by Arthur Hobson Quinn, Albert Croll Baugh, and Will

David Howe, presented two stories by Wharton, a ghost story titled "The Lady Maid's Bell" (1902) and "Autres Temps . . . " (1916), an ironic tale of shifting mores where divorce is concerned. Over the next decade textbook editors published a variety of Wharton's short fiction. Her lesser-known story "The Pelican" (1899), for example, made two appearances between the wars. Shorter fiction that illustrated themes found in Wharton's full-length novels, including "The Other Two" (1904), the near-humorous tribute to a thrice-married woman and her last husband, and "Xingu" (1916), an exposé of a superficial high-society reading group, were anthologized in multiple first-phase collections.

Although the efforts of Wilson and others to revive Wharton's critical reputation in the mid-1930s yielded results in literature anthologies just before World War II, these promising gains proved short-lived. By the late 1940s many literary commentators seemed convinced that Wharton no longer deserved the stature accorded her by scholars and reviewers of the 1910s and 1920s. In 1947 Norman Foerster, the first academic textbook editor to anthologize Wharton, elected to drop her writings from the third edition of *American Poetry and Prose.* Between 1941 and 1953 only one anthology of American literature, the revised edition of Jay Hubbell's *American Life and Literature* (1949), featured Wharton's writings. Curiously, Wharton had not appeared in the first edition of *American Life in Literature* (1936). Yet despite Hubbell's eventual inclusion of Wharton, in general Wharton's respect among scholars declined throughout the 1940s.

Hubbell's introduction to Wharton, defending her work against charges that she wrote out of the genteel tradition, in effect confirmed the fact that Wharton's academic standing had fallen over the previous two decades precisely because of that misconception. "Like Howells, Mrs. Wharton lived to see a younger generation of writers, which owes to her part of its freedom of expression, condemn her as Victorian."[12] As late as 1948 Henry Seidel Canby, who evaluated Wharton's career for Robert Spiller's *Literary History of the United States,* predicted with implicit disapproval that Wharton "is likely to survive as the memorialist of a dying aristocracy."[13] But as Hubbell observed, Wharton's themes had in fact anticipated modernist perspectives and challenged the conventional standards of late-nineteenth-century American fiction. Hubbell's inclu-

sion and assessment of Wharton in his 1949 anthology marked a positive shift in editorial attitudes toward her literary reputation and reflected an emerging reevaluation of Wharton's legacy within the academy.

The post–World War II revival of Wharton's critical status began with the publication of Percy Lubbock's biographical study *Portrait of Edith Wharton* (1947). Marlene Springer characterized Lubbock's book in 1975 as "a fine supplement to Wharton's autobiographical *A Backward Glance*" but chastised it for being "equally reticent in its treatment of her personal trials."[14] Still, *Portrait of Edith Wharton* was instrumental in rekindling interest in Wharton's work. Lubbock, of course, was a close acquaintance of Wharton's as well as a respected literary commentator in the middle decades of the twentieth century. His biography provided insights into the connections between Wharton's life and her writings and repaired much of the damage that had been done to Wharton's reputation since the late 1920s. Hubbell's 1949 anthology lists *Portrait of Edith Wharton* in its selected bibliography of five suggested critical studies of Wharton's career. Other indications that Wharton's academic standing was strengthening by midcentury included the 1949 UNESCO poll of the best American literary works, which ranked Wharton twenty-fifth among all American writers, with *Ethan Frome* and *The Age of Innocence* receiving multiple votes as two of the top twenty American books of all time.

If Lubbock's biography initiated the midcentury Wharton revival, then Blake Nevius deserves credit for authenticating it. In the short period between 1951 and 1954 Nevius published four important studies of Wharton. In such articles as "Edith Wharton Today," and "*Ethan Frome* and the Themes of Edith Wharton's Fiction" Nevius addressed the fact that Wharton had fallen out of favor with literary critics but argued that her work possesses timeless themes entitling her to a lasting place in American literary history. In addition to asserting that she rivaled instead of imitated James as a novelist of manners, Nevius pointed out that Wharton artistically transcended the constricting nature of her fictional materials by utilizing potent thematic motifs in her work. The first of these themes was the "large and generous nature . . . trapped by circumstances ironically of its own devising into consanguinity with a meaner nature."[15] Another involved the delineation of "the nature and limits of individual responsibility, to determine what allowance of free-

dom or rebellion can be made for her trapped protagonist without at the same time threatening the structure of society."[16] The complexity and appeal of these artistic concerns, Nevius contended, qualified Wharton for serious critical reconsideration.

In 1953 Nevius published *Edith Wharton: A Study of Her Fiction,* which emphatically reinstated Wharton as a significant twentieth-century American literary artist. Nevius defined Wharton's fiction as ranking among the greatest unified treatments of "the trapped sensibility" in all of literature. *Edith Wharton: A Study of Her Fiction* made an immediate impression on anthology editors. Four of the six classroom collections of American literature published between 1954 and 1958 promptly incorporated Wharton's work. Among these four textbooks that welcomed Wharton back to the anthology format was the 1957 fourth edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose,* which had dropped Wharton from its pages just a decade before. All four anthologies that featured Wharton between 1954 and 1958 mentioned Lubbock's biography, and two cited Nevius's 1953 critical study. The editors of the 1955 anthology *American Heritage* noted unambiguously that "the most revealing biographical study is Percy Lubbock's *Portrait of Edith Wharton* (1947), with perceptive critical additions by Blake Nevius in his *Edith Wharton.*"[17]

Despite their scarcity of appearances in the literary textbooks of the latter 1940s and early 1950s, as well as the "major writer" collections of the 1960s, Wharton's writings maintained a respectable showing in *New Critical–phase* anthologies of American literature. A total of eight second-generation textbooks, most of them published in the 1950s, included a short story by Wharton. A few of these works, including "The Other Two" and "Xingu," had been anthologized in collections between the wars; others were reprinted for the first time. Most notably, the first edition of Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long's widely used *The American Tradition in Literature* introduced "After Holbein" (1928), Wharton's poignant tale of an aged woman who continues to hold lavish gatherings for imaginary guests long since deceased. When Foerster returned Wharton to his anthology in 1957, he elected to represent her with "The Choice" (1916), the story of a single-night secretive affair between Austin Wrayford and Isabel Stilling that ends with the former's death.

Coverage of Wharton's career in *multicultural-phase* anthologies was remarkably different from that of earlier textbooks in significant ways. To begin, Wharton's fiction appeared in thirty-six of the thirty-nine anthologies of American literature published between 1967 and 1999. In addition, most multicultural-phase collections relied on the same two or three selections in their presentations of Wharton's writings. The most popular by far has been "The Other Two." But "Roman Fever," Wharton's masterful account of a verbal sparring match over two dowagers' past indiscretions, has also made numerous appearances over the last thirty years. For instance, *The American Tradition in Literature* editors opted to drop "After Holbein" for its 1967 third edition and in its place introduced Wharton's classic 1934 tale of memories amid ancient ruins. Since then "Roman Fever" has been reprinted in an additional fifteen multicultural-phase collections.

Recent editorial preference for "The Other Two" and "Roman Fever" can be rationalized on formal and thematic grounds. Both stories, for instance, are recognized masterpieces of the short-story genre. Wharton maintained in *The Writing of Fiction* (1925) that the chief difference between the novel and the short story is that character is the main concern of the former, situation the latter. And as Wharton's biographer R. W. B. Lewis explained, "The Other Two" illustrates this tenet "almost perfectly." "It has scarcely any plot and consists rather in the leisurely and coolly comic process by which a situation is gradually disclosed. It is disclosed in particular to Waythorn, his wife's third husband, who finds himself in mysterious but indissoluble league with 'the other two.'"[18] Other commentators have lauded the story as a model comedy of manners, as Wharton communicates everything gradually through the gesture, expressions, and dress of her characters. Similarly, critics have praised "Roman Fever" as an exemplary demonstration of Wharton's "genius for integrating plot, character, and situation, and finally her ability to infuse a story with action, even when dialogue is its formal vehicle."[19] Few works have effected as unforgettable a climactic moment as that which occurs in the final lines of "Roman Fever," when Grace Ansley shares with her rival the secret of her daughter's paternity.

Multicultural-phase editorial regard for "The Other Two" and "Roman Fever" can also be attributed to each story's exploitation of currently fashionable subject matter and themes. During the past thirty-

five years feminist scholars such as Cynthia Griffin Woolf, Elizabeth Ammons, and Barbara White have emphasized Wharton's treatment of issues related to women's cultural and sexual autonomy. Accordingly, most commentators have read "The Other Two" and its dignified portrayal of a woman who has married three times as an expression of emerging female social independence. Editors of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* have, for example, characterized "The Other Two" as an "exploration of the ways social values and gender roles subtly corrupt consciousness and threaten a woman's identity."[20] Likewise, multicultural-phase textbook editors have complimented the depiction of an extramarital relationship at the core of "Roman Fever" as an illustration of "female sexual freedom."[21]

Given these new readings of Wharton's canon, it comes as no surprise that discussions of Wharton's own secretive affair and her divorce surfaced for the first time in anthologies of American literature during the multicultural phase. The 1969 literary textbook *American Literature,* edited by Harrison Meserole, Walter Sutton, and Brom Weber, was the first classroom collection to refer to the fact that "her marriage ended in divorce in 1913."[22] Nearly all introductions to Wharton's work in anthologies since 1969 not only mentioned her troubled marriage but rehearsed the details and tied it thematically to her writings. In an even more recent phenomenon several textbook editors of the 1990s went into the topic of Wharton's extramarital affair with Morton Fullerton.

Benefiting from these recent interpretations of her writings and the endorsement of feminist critics since the late 1960s, Wharton's critical reputation has risen significantly in recent decades. Many scholars, in fact, now consider her among the most important American novelists of the twentieth century. The two-volume third edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1989) symbolically confirmed Wharton's high status by featuring for the first time in a college-level textbook a complete version of *Ethan Frome.* The 1994 fourth edition repeated that practice. All three editions of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990, 1994, 1998) have bestowed comparable honors on Wharton by representing her with no fewer than five short stories. It appears that Edith Wharton's standing with academic critics is at long last secure.

With the exception of Emily Dickinson, Willa Cather has maintained the most solidly enduring presence of any woman author in twentieth-

century anthologies of American literature. Despite the claims in 1987 of biographer Sharon O'Brien, who alleged that Cather lost "canonical status . . . in the 1930s" and only lately received deserved attention because of a "recent revival of interest in her work in the academy," Cather's fiction has in fact enjoyed widespread critical support since World War I.[23] To judge from classroom collections of American literature, Cather's writings have generated a considerable degree of acceptance and approval from academic scholars throughout the last seventy years. She was welcomed to the college-level anthology in the late-1920s; her career gained steadily increasing coverage throughout the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s; and her writings have appeared in the vast majority of college-level textbooks published since her introduction to the format. Cather was thus one of the most consistently anthologized American writers, male or female, in the twentieth century.

Cather was recognized as a serious and important American novelist practically from the beginning of her career. Her first novel, *Alexander's Bridge* (1912), was reviewed favorably by noted commentators, including H. L. Mencken, who declared Cather to be a "promising" author. Following the publication of her next three novels, *O Pioneers!* (1913), *The Song of the Lark* (1915), and *My Ántonia* (1918), scholars such as Carl Van Doren and authors like Sinclair Lewis lauded Cather as a fresh and original American literary talent. In the years after the arrival of that Great Plains trilogy Mencken, Van Doren, Lewis, and others saw Cather as a writer well equipped to displace the American genteel tradition of the previous century and blaze new paths for American letters. They characterized her vision as epic in scope and compared the vitality and innovative spirit of her work with that of Walt Whitman.[24] She was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for her 1922 war novel *One of Ours,* and by the end of the decade Cather had been elected to the National Institute for Arts and Letters and had received the prestigious Howells Medal from the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

Like Edith Wharton, Cather firmly established herself as both a best-selling and critically acclaimed novelist in the ten years following World War I. During the 1930s, however, Cather's enviable critical status came under temporary attack. The same Depression-era Marxist and liberal critics who assailed Wharton's literary reputation honed in on Cather, too. As Sharon O'Brien has documented, leftist commentators, including

Grandville Hicks, Newton Arvin, Louis Kronenberg, Edmund Wilson, Lionel Trilling, Maxwell Geismar, and Alfred Kazin, pilloried Cather between the wars for ignoring the "real life" social conflicts of her time,[25] labeling her "a romantic, nostalgic writer who could not cope with the present."[26] Their scoffing reviews of Cather and others in disfavor appeared in well-circulated periodicals like the *New York Times Book Review, New Republic,* and *Nation.* The influence of these commentators dimmed Wharton's literary status in the 1930s and 1940s. But, remarkably, the disparaging criticism of Hicks, Wilson, and their colleagues failed to erode Cather's academic reputation in the decades before and after World War II.

Although Cather's first appearance in a college-level anthology of American literature came in 1929, her work had been recognized by academic textbook editors several years earlier. The inaugural edition of Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1925) honored Cather's *O Pioneers!* by placing it on an exclusive list of eight recommended novels along with works by Charles Brockden Brown, James Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry James, William Dean Howells, Mark Twain, and Edith Wharton. Franklyn B. and Edward D. Snyder's *A Book of American Literature* (1927) also acknowledged Cather as a significant novelist, mentioning *My Ántonia* and *One of Ours* in its catalog of notable American novels. *The Literature of America* (1929), edited by Arthur Hobson Quinn, Albert Croll Baugh, and Will David Howe, became the first classroom collection to present Cather's writings, electing to represent her work with the short story "The Sculptor's Funeral" (1905), in which an artist's death elicits lowbrow reactions from the anti-intellectual faction in a small prairie town.

During the 1930s Cather became a virtual fixture in academic literary anthologies. Her fiction was included in no fewer than six of the eight classroom collections published in the 1930s, including Fred Lewis Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (1932), Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1934), and Jay Hubbell's *American Life in Literature* (1936). Even literary textbooks appearing later in the decade, such as William Rose Benet and Norman H. Pearson's *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (1938) and Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn's *A College Book of American Literature* (1939), which were compiled after a majority of the Marxist

and partisan attacks on Cather had circulated, continued to reprint selections from her work. What was it that immunized Cather's literary status from the condemnatory criticism of the 1930s?

Most historiographical-phase editors admired the stylistic excellence of Cather's writings. In 1936 Hubbell asserted, for example, that "few if any American novelists since Sarah Orne Jewett possess so distinguished a style as Miss Cather."[27] Foerster likewise complimented the characteristic subtlety of Cather's works, describing them as "quiet books that have attained startling success."[28] Thus, Cather's academic reputation was principally founded on the distinctive formal qualities of her prose rather than the subject matter of her fiction, with which Hicks, Wilson, and Trilling quarreled. Wharton, on the other hand, had been praised in the 1910s and 1920s chiefly on the basis of the social content of her work. So when critics of the 1930s launched their offensive against Wharton's preoccupation with New York's aristocracy in her writings, they effectively struck at the heart of her critical reputation. Not so with Cather.

Another explanation for Cather's literary survival between the wars lay in her reputation among scholars as an early critic of the cultural bleakness of small-town life. Stories such as "The Sculptor's Funeral," which records the plight of an artistically talented young man confronted by the sterility of village mentality, and "Paul's Case" (1905), the account of a youth who flees his home in the Midwest in an unsuccessful search for a more meaningful life, were viewed as tales that anticipated the work of Sinclair Lewis and Sherwood Anderson, whose fiction epitomized the revolt against the small-town mores in the decades following World War I. Little surprise, then, that "The Sculptor's Funeral" was the most popular story by Cather among textbook editors of the 1920s and 1930s; it appeared in three of the six historiographical-phase anthologies that featured her writings. "Paul's Case" made the first of its only two pre-1970 showings in a first-generation textbook in the 1932 fourth edition of Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature.* Its second appearance came the following year in the five-volume Macmillan anthology. Two other anthologies elected to excerpt selections from *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927), Cather's celebrated historical recreation of the world of Spanish missionaries in mid-nineteenth-century New Mexico.

Whereas Wharton's critical reputation flickered in the 1940s, Cather's

continued to glow. Indeed, a review of second-phase commentary reveals practically no evidence that leftist literary critics of the previous decade affected Cather's academic status. Foerster's 1947 third edition of *American Poetry and Prose* (which had dropped Wharton) characterized Cather as a significant force in modern American letters: "Warmly accepted by the public and by discriminating critics, Miss Cather is clearly one of America's leading writers of fiction in the first half of the twentieth century."[29] Perhaps Foerster meant to rebuff certain commentators by referring to "discriminating critics." Other scholar-editors attested to Cather's steadfast status in the years following World War II. In the first edition of *The Literature of the United States* (1947), Walter Blair, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart noted "the secure position of Willa Cather among present-day American writers."[30] These editors attributed Cather's "secure position" to her aesthetic "belief that fiction is a form of art worth practicing with the utmost seriousness." Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart viewed the Great Plains novels of the mid-1910s, *O Pioneers!, The Song of the Lark,* and *My Ántonia* as having "firmly established" Cather's critical reputation, which, they added, "has never since been in danger."[31]

At midcentury Cather's status was more than stable—it continued to rise. In 1948 Henry Seidel Canby reviewed her work favorably for *Literary History of the United States,* hailing the death of the lovers in *O Pioneers!,* for instance, as "surely one of the most notable scenes in English literature" and noting "the evocative quality of perfected art in which Willa Cather was a master."[32] The 1949 UNESCO poll of American authors ranked Cather twelfth among all American writers, just below Washington Irving in eleventh place and one ahead of Emily Dickinson who finished in thirteenth.

Since many American authors were appearing less frequently in New Critical–phase literary textbooks than they had in textbooks published between the wars, Cather's presence in post–World War II classroom collections of American literature has special significance. In the decade and a half between 1947 and 1962 Cather's writings were included in fifteen of nineteen anthologies, including the highly selective single-volume "compact" editions of Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart's *The Literature of the United States* (1957), Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1960), and Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long's *The*

American Tradition in Literature (1962). In total Cather's work was anthologized by more than two-thirds of all anthologies issued between 1947 and 1966.

Nonetheless, a relatively small variety of Cather's writings was presented in New Critical–phase anthologies of American literature. "The Sculptor's Funeral" again made multiple showings, four in all. The 1955 textbook *American Heritage,* edited by Carl Bode, Leon Howard, and Louis Wright, became the first and last textbook to feature an excerpt from *The Song of the Lark* when it published the opening chapters of Cather's 1915 novel documenting the trials and aspirations of midwestern opera singer Thea Kronberg. In an equally unprecedented step, C. Hugh Holman's 1966 *Odyssey Surveys of American Writing* reprinted a portion of Cather's preface to *The Best Stories of Sarah Orne Jewett* (1925). By far the most anthologized work by Cather during the New Critical phase was "Neighbour Rosicky" (1930). It was published by eleven of the sixteen second-generation anthologies that included Cather.

The sudden editorial interest in "Neighbour Rosicky" after World War II resulted from a combination of circumstances. At the heart of the narrative, of course, is the mythic story of intrepid immigrants who subdued the often-harsh midwestern prairies and passed their hard-earned legacy on to subsequent generations—the legend that lies at the center of Cather's trilogy of acclaimed novels from the mid-1910s. As such, "Neighbour Rosicky" illustrates many of Cather's hallmark themes and techniques in a manageably sized piece of fiction. Instead of offering a fragmentary snippet from *O Pioneers!, The Song of the Lark,* or *My Ántonia,* editors could present the much shorter "Neighbour Rosicky" in its entirety.

Cather's authorial control of her writings during her lifetime also conceivably influenced the repeated selection of this particular story. According to letters she sent to various friends in the 1930s and 1940s Cather expressed concern that "The Sculptor's Funeral" was being overly exposed by literary textbook editors.[33] Cather was disinclined, as a rule, to give permission for publication of her work in classroom collections. But perhaps recognizing the advantages of allowing her work to appear in what she called "omnibuses," Cather authorized the reprinting of "Paul's Case" before World War II, apparently to give "The Sculptor's Funeral" some relief. Therefore, the relatively infrequent presence of

"The Sculptor's Funeral" in New Critical–phase anthologies may have led to the unintended repeated publication of "Neighbour Rosicky." However, the fact that "Neighbour Rosicky," a story (so far as we know) for which Cather likely never gave express directives, was regularly anthologized between 1947 and 1966 and "Paul's Case," which Cather explicitly promoted for use by literary textbooks, did not appear, suggests that anthology editors returned to "Neighbour Rosicky" for aesthetic and thematic reasons rather than because of Cather's attempt to control presentation of her work in the classroom.

Multicultural-phase anthologies continued many of the practices employed in the presentation of Cather's career by previous generations of literary textbooks. For example, a majority of editors since the late 1960s have portrayed Cather as a consummate artist, an author who approached her craft with a true aesthetic vision. Tributes have run the gamut between Mark Schorer's straightforward comment in the 1970 collection *The Literature of America: The Twentieth Century* that Cather "is one of our few good writers who published almost no really bad novels"[34] to the more descriptive observations of Norman Foerster in the fifth edition of *American Poetry and Prose* (1970): "In her essays on writing she explained her method as that of the 'unfurnished novel.' By stripping her novel bare of journalistic detail and concentrating on history raised to the level of symbol, character subordinated to 'place,' and narrative incident replaced by episodic 'inserts' and tableau scenes, she sought to create a mood close to that of poetry."[35] Anthologies of the 1980s and 1990s, such as the multiple-edition *Norton Anthology of American Literature,* have likewise commended Cather's "style," which the *Norton* editors termed "notable for precision, compactness, and simple grace."[36]

Multicultural-phase literary textbooks have primarily represented Cather with the same selections found in earlier collections. Far and away "Neighbour Rosicky" has been the most anthologized work by Cather in recent collections of American literature. It has appeared in a remarkable twenty-five of the thirty-six literary textbooks to feature Cather since the late 1960s. Comparatively, "The Sculptor's Funeral," the second most reprinted story by Cather over the last three decades, has appeared in only six multicultural-phase anthologies. As a sign of the times, perhaps, just three third-generation editors have elected to

include Cather's story of a loner, "Paul's Case." Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1970) and Emory Elliott's *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology* (1991) revived the practice of excerpting episodes from Cather's novels, both culling chapters from *My Ántonia.*

While the presentation of Cather's career in multicultural-phase literary anthologies has followed most of the lines established by previous generations of textbook editors, there have been several notable modifications over the last twenty years. Since the mid-1980s, classroom collections of American literature have ventured to repackage Cather as a "feminist" author whose writings illustrate issues of gender. Among the first literary textbooks to emphasize this aspect of Cather's fiction, the 1985 second edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* proposed that in addition to her studies of midwestern settlers "her work also portrayed accomplished, strongly individual, independent women who, to her, were pioneers in societies that expected female submissiveness; she studied the appropriateness or inappropriateness of conventional sex roles."[37] In 1991 Elliott's *American Literature* claimed that the characteristic most distinguishing Cather's earliest writings from her Great Plains trilogy of the mid-1910s was that in those three novels "Cather dramatizes gender roles more directly than in her previous works."[38]

Accompanying these fresh interpretations of the last decade and a half has been the recent introduction of two previously unanthologized works by Cather. The first, *My Mortal Enemy* (1926), made its inaugural appearance in the second edition of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* (1985). As the editors of this textbook suggest, the novella was included principally to illustrate the decidedly feminist aspect of Cather. "The protagonist Myra Henshawe sets out, like many women, ready to sacrifice all for a human love; her discovery that the most intense earthly love is not enough, and may even become a prison to the spirit, translates Cather's own spiritual crisis into fictional terms."[39] The second story by Cather that has been added to the anthology format by latter third-phase textbook editors is "Old Mrs. Harris" (1932), the moving tale of an elderly woman whose life story becomes of increasing interest to numerous women in her community. In addition to pointing out that "today's critics argue that 'Old Mrs. Harris' is Willa Cather's finest piece of writing of the 1930s," Margaret Anne O'Connor, who wrote the in-

troductory essay to the most recent edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1998), interpreted "Old Mrs. Harris" as an experiment with the emerging female consciousness: "It is a coming-of-age story for a young woman, with a narrative point of view reminiscent of Sarah Orne Jewett's 'A White Heron.' "[40]

These new feminist readings of Cather's writings and career have developed from a spate of poststructuralist studies of Cather that began appearing in the early 1980s, particularly Sharon O'Brien's *Willa Cather: The Emerging Voice* (1987). In her essay on Cather for *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* O'Connor seemed to indicate that O'Brien's book had the greatest impact on shaping Cather's current critical reputation: "Her recent biographer Sharon O'Brien finds her early rebellion against conventional behavior in dress and demeanor a sign of the assertiveness that gave Cather the confidence she needed to succeed in a culture that was so repressive to women who did not accept their culturally assigned roles."[41] O'Brien's and other readings like hers promise to continue affecting Cather studies in the near future.

Reminiscent of the discussions of Emily Dickinson in some multicultural-phase anthologies of American literature, renditions of Cather's personal life in textbooks since the 1980s have floated the notion that she may have been a lesbian. Donald McQuade's *The Harper Anthology of American Literature* (1987) alleged that "in 1922, the year her war novel, *One of Ours,* was published, Cather's writing career and personal life faltered when the woman she loved got married."[42] *The Harper Anthology* misprinted the date of Cather's intimate friend Isabelle McClung's marriage (it actually took place in 1916, not 1922), but the implication that Cather was a homosexual constituted a breakthrough in candor and conjecture. Practically all subsequent college-level anthologies have routinely mentioned Cather's close relationships with women. The latest editions of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* however, have warned readers against leaping to any conclusions about Cather's sexual preference and complex emotional life. "With no definitive evidence of Cather's sexual preference available, biographer James Woodress sees her as conscientiously avoiding binding romantic entanglements with either men or women in her life in order to devote all of her energies to her writing."[43] But there have been no indications that competing textbooks are prepared to heed the advice of *The Heath Anthology* editors.

Several literature anthologies published within the same decade, including a handful devoted exclusively to women writers, have made little effort to qualify or support their speculations about Cather's sexuality.

Ellen Glasgow's presence in twentieth-century anthologies of American literature has been among the most unpredictable and erratic of any American writer. In the first place, only a small fraction of literary textbook editors over the last eighty years have elected to include her writings in their collections. At the same time, literature anthologies that have featured Glasgow's fiction have paradoxically tended to be the most selective and least likely to embrace writers whose work has been neglected by more inclusive textbooks. This uneven treatment of Glasgow's writings continues today, as several anthologies published in the last two decades have added her fiction while others published in the same year have opted to remove her work. That development is perhaps the most surprising of all given Glasgow's involvement with the early-twentieth-century feminist movement and her explicit fictional treatment of such currently popular topics as culturally assigned gender roles and the social marginalization of women.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century Glasgow published almost a dozen books, including the best-selling *The Deliverance* (1904), *The Wheel of Life* (1906), and *Life and Gabriella* (1916). During that same period respected periodicals such as the *Atlantic Monthly, New York Times Saturday Review of Books, Nation,* and *New Republic* regularly reviewed her writings favorably. H. L. Mencken, Glasgow's most famous reviewer in the 1900s and 1910s, frequently evaluated her work before World War I. Though Mencken was slow to praise Glasgow, he came to regard her in 1916 as "much above the average woman novelist in America" and belonging to that "slender rank which includes . . . Miss Cather."[44] In that same year, however, Glasgow made the infamous and ill-timed remark that she believed contemporary English fiction was superior to contemporary American literature.[45] Given the nationalistic tendencies of historiographic literary scholars in the 1920s and 1930s, Glasgow's comments could not have helped her standing among emerging American literature specialists, who found themselves constantly having to justify their field in an academy dominated by anglophiles.

Nevertheless, by the end of World War I Glasgow had earned the reputation of a new type of Southern novelist who dealt with her re-

gion in startlingly naturalistic, unsentimental fashion. Glasgow then attracted the attention of Jay B. Hubbell, who at the time was completing a dissertation at Columbia University titled "Virginia Life in Fiction." Over the next quarter-century he would become Glasgow's most enthusiastic and influential supporter in the academy. In 1919 Hubbell published his first bit of scholarship on Glasgow, an article that appeared in the *Dallas News*. "Ellen Glasgow as a Literary Pioneer" accurately anticipated the directions that Glasgow criticism would take over the next several decades. Hubbell claimed that the publication of her first novel, *The Descendant* (1897), "marked the beginning of a great change in Southern fiction." Hubbell observed, "The last two decades have witnessed a little noticed change in the literature of the South which is really so pronounced as to be described only by the term revolutionary. So far as this change is due to any one person, it is due to Miss Glasgow."[46] He explained the "revolutionary" change Glasgow had brought to Southern fiction as that of making the focus of her writing one of national scope. She was, said Hubbell, the "first Southern novelist to attain a genuinely national outlook upon the life of her state. Her novels belong to the literature of a nation rather than to that of a section."[47]

Hubbell resumed his promotion of Glasgow in "On 'Southern Literature,' " a 1921 scholarly article published by the *Texas Review*. Hubbell repeated his declaration that Glasgow was "the first of the Virginia novelists to attain a genuinely national point of view," and he claimed for her three additional literary attainments: "the first to treat the old soldiers not as demigods but as human beings," "the first to escape from the tyrannical spell of the past," and "the first to draw her heroes from the despised 'po' white trash.' "[48] Hubbell identified in Glasgow's writings what would come to define twentieth-century Southern literature nearly a decade later when William Faulkner and Southern Agrarians John Crowe Ransom, Robert Penn Warren, and Allen Tate would begin building an international audience for modernist Southern fiction and poetry.

Unfortunately for Glasgow, Hubbell's unbounded enthusiasm for her writings went unmatched in the decades following World War I. Still, she was endorsed by a handful of influential literary critics in the 1920s and 1930s. Stuart Sherman and Ernest Leisy registered their respect for Glasgow's fiction in the mid-1920s, and Fred Lewis Pattee and Howard

Mumford Jones in the early 1930s. Others like Carl Van Doren, Kenneth Murdock, and Henry Seidel Canby were less impressed with Glasgow's work. However, Canby, like Mencken, would vacillate in his judgment of Glasgow throughout his career, eventually becoming more sympathetic to her novels of the 1930s. At one point in 1932 Canby took Glasgow's detractors (a group to which he had belonged in the 1920s) to task for failing to recognize her attacks against the sentimentalized vision of the South.

The record of Glasgow's appearance in first-phase anthologies of American literature was almost negligible. Her writings were part of just four classroom collections published between 1919 and 1946. Predictably, Jay B. Hubbell, who introduced Glasgow to the textbook format, included a selection of her work in the first edition of his *American Life in Literature* (1936). Hubbell opted for an excerpt from *The Sheltered Life,* her 1932 novel of a woman who is destroyed in her pursuit of the Southern Ideal. Hubbell's introductory essay shrewdly justified Glasgow's presence in his collection in two ways: first, on grounds that she "was the first novelist of importance after [George Washington] Cable to make intelligent criticism of the Southern life" and, second, that her fiction "is one of the finest examples of what can be accomplished by the 'stream of consciousness' method of narration made fashionable by Marcel Proust and others."[49] In other words Hubbell made a case for Glasgow's importance both in terms of her historiographical appeal (as a social critic of the South) and as a practitioner of modernist formal techniques (her use of the stream of consciousness method).

The 1933 five-volume Macmillan anthology provided a selection from *The Romantic Comedians* (1926), the story of Judge Gamaliel Honeywell and his highly unconventional twin sister, Edmonia Bredalbane, who together come to represent the clash between the Old South and the New. In 1939 *The College Book of American Literature,* edited by Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn, became the third classroom collection to feature Glasgow's work. It reprinted "Jordan's End" (1923), the short story about a doctor who confronts the unpleasant realities of a decaying rural Southern culture. Ellis, Pound, and Spohn reported that "many critics" considered Glasgow "one of the most authentic literary voices of the South" and noted in particular that she boldly tackled issues of sexual inequality in her writing.[50] Reminiscent of Hubbell's

endorsements, they concluded by judging her "one of the few really authentic living writers."[51]

The most remarkable instance of Glasgow's inclusion in a historiographical-phase anthology came in 1945, when Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy added extracts from *The Sheltered Life* to the second edition of their *Major American Writers* (1945). The several editions of the Jones and Leisy textbooks were easily the most selective college-level textbook of American literature published in the first half of the twentieth century, with the 1935 first edition featuring only twenty-eight authors and the second thirty-five. The fact that just three other college-level literary anthologies had previously presented Glasgow's writings made her appearance in *Major American Writers* the more extraordinary. But the timing of her addition to that 1945 collection is understandable, for Glasgow had just received the Pulitzer Prize in 1942 and was near the peak of her acclaim. Besides, Jones and Leisy were both on record as longtime admirers of her work. Jones, in fact, had recently published a favorable review of Glasgow in which he made a case for her universal appeal, declaring that "she has not written of Virginia life but of human life in Virginia."[52] He went on to laud Glasgow's collected prefaces, which she had published in 1943 under the title *A Certain Measure,* as "a notable contribution . . . to the art of fiction."[53]

The introductory essay to Glasgow's section in *Major American Writers* makes it clear that Jones and Leisy added Glasgow to their second edition because they believed her to be a literary artist of significant international stature. "Ellen Glasgow is the only American novelist to complete a vast fictional project comparable to that of Balzac or Zola; that is to give through a series of novels an orderly interpretation of the changing social mores of a great social unit."[54] In retrospect the comparisons to Balzac and Zola and the descriptions of a larger design in her writings of the South anticipate the characterizations of William Faulkner's work that would begin to circulate in the late 1940s. Jones and Leisy envisioned for Glasgow a similarly enduring artistic reputation.

At midcentury Glasgow seemed as well-positioned as any American author to expand her academic reputation. She tied for thirtieth with Sarah Orne Jewett in the UNESCO poll of 1949. Hubbell again featured her writings in the 1949 revised edition of *American Life in Literature,* as did Jones and Leisy in the third edition of *Major American Writers,* is-

sued in 1952. But Glasgow's place in New Critical–phase literary textbooks turned out to be as uncertain as in those published between the wars. Glasgow's work appeared in just four anthologies of American literature between 1947 and 1966. The only other second-generation literary textbooks to incorporate Glasgow's fiction were the first and second editions of Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long's *The American Tradition in Literature* (1956, 1961). Like the first-generation anthologies that had elected to provide coverage of Glasgow's career, *The American Tradition in Literature* was distinguished by a staff of influential scholar-editors, as evidenced by its numerous printings. That Glasgow's fiction was exhibited in these prestigious collections could be taken as evidence of an enviable academic status; however, the fact that her work was reprinted in no other collections between 1919 and 1966 seems to suggest otherwise.

The post–World War II recognition of William Faulkner should be considered at some point as a partial explanation for New Critical–phase editorial neglect of Glasgow. With the publication of Malcolm Cowley's *The Portable Faulkner* (1946), literary critics began to treat Faulkner as a profoundly important writer. The Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950 confirmed his permanent significance. As scholars conducted massive spadework on Faulkner's oeuvre in the 1950s, it was becoming increasingly evident that he was the most important American writer of his generation and perhaps even of the century. In their assessments of Faulkner these commentators routinely hailed the Balzac-like fictional cosmos he had produced. They lauded him for his epic chronicle of Southern history and for his realistic, unshrinking portraits of its inhabitants. In other words literary critics hailed Faulkner in the 1940s and 1950s for the very same qualities and characteristics that Hubbell and others had admired in Glasgow's writings as far back as the 1920s. Thus, Faulkner quietly replaced Glasgow in the 1950s as *the* quintessential twentieth-century novelist-critic of the South. That their literary techniques, artistic visions, and fictional materials were similar spelled disaster for Glasgow's tenuous fame as Faulkner's international reputation skyrocketed in the middle decades of the twentieth century.

Between 1967 and the mid-1980s Glasgow's writing was all but absent from classroom collections of American literature. Only the third,

fourth, and fifth editions of *The American Tradition in Literature* (1967, 1974, 1981) continued to feature "Jordan's End."[55] In 1973 Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren's *American Literature: The Makers and the Making* anthologized a chapter from Glasgow's novel *The Romantic Comedians.* Curiously, despite the attempts by textbook editors in the late 1960s and 1970s to expand their coverage of women authors, no other multicultural-phase collection published prior to 1985 incorporated Glasgow's writings.

Though Glasgow would appear more frequently in anthologies of the latter part of the multicultural phase, the decade between the mid-1980s and the mid-1990s proved to be an unstable period for her presence in academic textbooks. In 1985 *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* added to its second edition Glasgow's "The Difference" (1923), the tale of a mature woman who confronts her husband's much-younger secret lover. The incorporation of Glasgow into its revised edition conceivably came as the result of Linda Wagner's 1983 feminist analysis of the portrayals of women in Glasgow's work, *Ellen Glasgow: Beyond Convention.* In addition to listing Wagner's study in their bibliography, the editors of *The Norton Anthology* presented a feminist reading of Glasgow's work, noting in their third edition that "Glasgow's male characters, as 'The Difference' shows, are usually cowardly, insensitive, and sometimes tyrannical as well." They introduce "The Difference" as a fictionalized demonstration of how "conventional gender roles brought out such traits in men, and—by holding up passivity and self-sacrifice as desirable feminine traits—conditioned women to be men's victims."[56]

In the very same year that *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* finally added Glasgow to its list of authors, *The American Tradition in Literature* discontinued its coverage of her writings. After thirty years of presenting Glasgow's fiction in five separate editions, Beatty, Bradley, Long, and Perkins removed Glasgow from the 1985 version of their anthology. As of 1984 the fifth edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* (1981) was the only reedited textbook of American literature featuring Glasgow's fiction. Perhaps aware of that fact and facing the pressures of limited space, competition from other textbooks, and the need to appear up to date, the editors of *The American Tradition in Literature* conceded in 1985 that it was no longer necessary to devote space to Glasgow.

In addition to *The American Tradition in Literature* four other major American literature anthology titles published between 1985 and 1992 omitted Glasgow's writings, including Donald McQuade's *The Harper American Literature* (1987), George McMichael's *Anthology of American Literature* (1985, 1989), Emory Elliott's *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology* (1991), and James E. Miller's *Heritage of American Literature* (1991).

In the 1990s Glasgow's place in college-level textbooks continued to waver. The first edition of Paul Lauter's *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990) reprinted Glasgow's "The Professional Instinct" (c. 1916–24), the story of a woman who gives up a college professorship to run off with a lover who ironically misses their rendezvous in order to accept his own faculty appointment. The 1994 and 1998 editions of Lauter's anthology also reprinted "The Professional Instinct." The fifth edition of McMichael's *Anthology of American Literature* (1993) added Glasgow to its list of authors by reprinting "The Difference," as did *The Harper American Literature* in its 1994 revised version. In total, Glasgow's writings have appeared in thirteen of the thirty-nine anthologies of American literature published since 1967.

Rather than suggesting that Glasgow's critical reputation is on the rise, recent editorial treatment of her work hints that Glasgow may be in danger of disappearing from classroom collections. In 1994, less than a decade after adding her to its lineup for the first time, *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* dropped Glasgow altogether. Given the influence of feminist scholarship in the academy over the last thirty years and the present popularity of women authors whose writings exhibit feminist themes, it seems remarkable that Glasgow could be expelled from a late-third-phase college-level textbook of American literature. Yet there have been several signs in the last five years that suggest Glasgow may be falling out of favor with today's feminist critics.

Although *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* incorporated Glasgow's writings into all three of its editions in the 1990s, *The Heath Anthology of American Literature Instructor's Guide* (1994) revealed editorial dissatisfaction with Glasgow's brand of feminism. In her commentary on Glasgow's fiction in the 1994 *Heath* supplement, Linda Pannill declares unambiguously that "Glasgow fails to make the New Woman

convincing."[57] While explaining Glasgow's failure in "The Professional Instinct," Pannill indignantly observes:

> The philosopher Judith Campbell takes her iconoclastic new book from a muff and presents it ("my little gift") to the lover for whom she is willing to sacrifice a career. She does not perceive his jealousy of her own job offer. In dialogue she repeats his words back to him. That Judith Campbell seems more like a southern belle than a philosopher speaks to the power over heroine and perhaps author of an old-fashioned ideal of womanhood and to the difficulty for writers of Glasgow's generation who are working to create new characters and plots.[58]

Later in her *Heath* essay Pannill warns that students "find Glasgow herself old-fashioned in her preoccupation with romantic love and with the goodness and beauty of her heroines."[59]

Perhaps the most convincing evidence that some feminist scholars are impatient with Glasgow's fiction lies in the most recent specialized textbook devoted exclusively to women authors. The landmark first edition of *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women,* edited by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar in 1985, included Glasgow among its assembly of authors. However, in the compilation of their 1995 revised version, Gilbert and Gubar deleted Glasgow. It remains uncertain whether future college students will encounter Glasgow in college-level literary anthologies. Currently she appears in just three of the six most popular textbooks of American literature. But given the critical drift of the last decade, Glasgow's status seems in jeopardy.

In several notable ways the literary careers of Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, and Ellen Glasgow resembled each other. All three established what might be called a distinctive "regional" outlook; each had powerful advocates in early-twentieth-century American literary criticism championing their work; and all attained major critical success, including the Pulitzer Prize, during their lifetimes. One could expect, then, that given the parallels of these credentials, Wharton, Cather, and Glasgow would have fared similarly among editors of twentieth-century literature anthologies. Yet they did not. The fate of this group of writers makes it clear that canonical status is not the simplistic result of a pre-

dictable process and that artistic distinctiveness, critical backing, and widespread acclaim (in other words, factors normally associated with enduring literary fame and automatic elevation within the canon) do not necessarily lead to the same type of sustained academic applause. Wharton, Cather, and Glasgow illustrate the myriad, often unaccountable, ways that convergences of subject matter, style, critical tastes, and even historical comparisons with other writers, to name just a few factors, profoundly influence perceptions of a writer's literary appeal.

Epilogue

While the methodology of this study is only one among the many possible ways to investigate the patterns of canon formation, it does offer the advantage of being more empirically verifiable than various more politically charged approaches. For the sake of consistency I have chosen to review only anthologies of American literature designed specifically for the college classroom. There are, of course, many additional kinds of literary anthologies (high school anthologies or genre-specific textbooks, to name a few) that have shaped the way American authors are perceived by critics, teachers, and students of all levels. But given the conspicuous and well-established place that college-level collections of American literature have held in the academic curriculum over the last eighty years, they alone among literary textbooks provide constant, comprehensive, and reliable data for the kind of inductive research undertaken here. Besides, practically all of the small handful of scholarly discussions of the last thirty years looking into the impact of curriculums and textbooks on the American canon have concentrated on college-level collections.

That said, it should be noted that a number of signs here at the beginning of the twenty-first century suggest that the teachers of American literature are witnessing the dawning of an utterly new era. Recent pedagogical innovations such as Internet-based libraries, customized textbook publishing, and multimedia software technologies are poised to challenge the traditional college-level anthology of American literature—

and its privileged, prominent place in the academic literary curriculum —in ways that course-packs, supplemental photocopies, and inexpensive paperbacks never could. Within the next decade or two it may well eventuate that the anthology of American literature as it has existed throughout the twentieth century could go the way of the mimeograph machine and the electric typewriter. What is already certain is that computer technologies will alter classroom collections of American literature in dramatic if yet unforeseen fashion. However, there are also signs that this emerging *computer-technology phase* in American literature instruction promises to introduce its full share of disadvantages along with obvious benefits.

On the one hand, these new pedagogical technologies hold the potential to empower teachers of literature profoundly, enabling them to individually control and focus their instruction in ways unimaginable just a few short years ago. With the recent introduction, for example, of "create-your-own" anthologies like *The Pearson Custom Library of American Literature* (2003), each teacher quite literally becomes his or her own anthology editor. Aside from the evident pedagogical virtues of selecting only and precisely the texts a particular course will cover (which also, by the way, diminishes the size and lowers the cost of textbooks for students), teachers can now decide for themselves whether to include the bulky period overviews, biographical introductions, interpretive footnotes, and secondary bibliographic appendices.

Competition from this new generation of textbooks appears to have already begun affecting the format of even the most established anthologies. The latest volumes of *The American Tradition in Literature,* for instance, invite instructors to go online, select from a menu of certain texts not otherwise included in the volume they've chosen for their class, and have their selections packaged together with the published anthology. Responding to similar pressures from twenty-first-century publishing technologies, the editors of the eminent *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* released their 2002 sixth edition in an unprecedented five-volume set, freeing students from the obligation to tote a weighty tome in their backpacks. Perhaps the most far-reaching effect of these innovations, as custom textbook publishers make more and more texts available for inclusion, is likely to be the disappearance of rigid conceptions of *The Canon* itself. Pejorative notions of any particu-

lar canon as "elitist" and "exclusive" constructs could gradually become things of the past. After all, if nothing is excluded as a potential selection available to appear between the covers of a literary anthology, then charges that individuals or groups of authors have been intentionally marginalized by publishing houses will be much more difficult to argue.

On the other hand, the impact of twenty-first-century computer technologies in the near term might be simply to reintroduce a slate of old problems that textbook editors have struggled with practically from the beginning. Foremost among these will be the question of coverage. In 1952 Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy cautioned against "trying to include too much" in a course in American literature because they feared that students could leave the subject "in a confused state of mind."[1] As recently as a decade ago the editors of *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology* (1993), uneasy about the inflated massiveness of contemporary collections, articulated much the same concern: "Teachers lament that they are overwhelmed by the huge number of choices to be made and frustrated by the hundreds of pages to be covered in a given year."[2] Faced with the almost unlimited possibilities that a "make-your-own" textbook database or an Internet library will provide, it may be that teachers could conceivably find themselves overwhelmed as they scan menus offering thousands of novels, stories, poems, plays, letters, journals, and essays while compiling their custom anthologies from scratch. And given the workloads with which many of today's instructors are forced to cope, one wonders if the prospect of adding another layer of responsibility to teaching in a twenty-first-century classroom will limit the appeal of custom collections. Of crucial importance to cash-strapped students, moreover, the kaleidoscopic variety of course-specific anthologies might make campus bookstores reluctant to buy back and resell such ever-shifting volumes.

Then, too, phenomena like the recent recovery of long-forgotten texts and authors might be less likely to occur as computer technologies make a veritable cascade of texts available to instructors. The well-deserved and sudden introduction of Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* into the academic literary curriculum in the 1990s was in large part due to the infectious attention it received from editors of the six or seven major anthologies of American literature on the market at that time. As soon as the first literary textbook included it,

others quickly followed suit, creating a groundswell momentum. Many of these anthologies advertised revised editions that touted the presence of Jacobs. All of this editorial excitement led to the installation of an important text and writer within the American literary heritage practically overnight. If Jacobs and her slave narrative had been introduced to the anthology format as one of thousands of selections on the menu of a custom textbook (buried among hundreds of other recovered authors and texts), it is conceivable that *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* might have been lost a second time amid the myriad textual options offered by competing "create-your-own" anthologies. It would be quite the paradox if with these new technologies and their promise of a truly democratic representation of all texts and authors, only the familiar titles most often thought of as canonical come to form the tables of contents in this brave new era because they are the ones teachers readily recognize.

Regardless of whether the emerging computer-technology phase in American literary pedagogy brings true liberation or mainly confusion, the broadening of options made available by the latest innovations in textbook publishing is, in one sense, simply another component of the historical cycle of canonical expansion and contraction set in motion with the first attempt to compile a collection of American writers and texts. Over the last eighty years American literature textbooks have collectively widened and narrowed their scope many times, and these latest trends seem to be part of the periodic urge to enlarge. In any case the passing of time and the pleasure that students derive from reading good literature will eventually balance any excesses ushered in by this latest generation of literary anthologies, for as Jay B. Hubbell assured us more than a half-century ago, "ideas and movements come and go, but memorable writing remains."[3] Future compilers of literature anthologies—professional editors and individual instructors alike—are bound to rediscover the inevitability of that comforting observation.

Notes

Introduction

1. Henry Louis Gates Jr., *Loose Canons: Notes on the Culture Wars* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 31.

2. Keneth Kinnamon, "Three Black Writers and the Anthologized Canon," in *American Realism and the Canon,* ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994).

3. Elizabeth Ammons, "Men of Color, Women, and Uppity Art," in *American Realism and the Canon,* ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 27.

4. Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 189.

5. Ibid.

6. Miller's anthology of American literature, it should be noted, belongs to a class of specialized literary textbooks that deliberately focuses on a small segment of American letters. Hardly envisioned as a complete survey of American literature, Miller's collection performs a function very different from that of the still necessary, more comprehensive textbook, as Miller suggests in his preface:

> The premise of *Major Writers of America* is by no means intended as a hostile comment on those compilations which exhibit the now vast accumulation of American writings. A serious student of American civilization must come to terms with Philip Freneau, as with a multitude of his stature. Yet, while the canon is at long last becoming established, a realization gradually forces itself upon us that, as the age of discovery and elementary mapping closes, the era of evaluation

opens. Not that any piece of terrain, however minute, should be forgotten once more; nor should any possible open territory be foreclosed.

Although one might reasonably object to the elitist assumptions underlying Miller's desire to compile an anthology consisting only of the most brilliant writers, *Major Writers of America* clearly falls far short of being a "representative" textbook for its day or any other, especially in the particular context of Tompkins's discussion.

7. John Guillory, "Canon," in *Critical Terms for Literary Study,* ed. Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 240.

8. Wendell Harris, "Canonicity," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 166 (January 1991): 110–21.

9. Ibid., 113.

10. Paul Lauter, *Canons and Contexts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

11. Milton Stern to author, July 1, 1999.

1. The Historical Context

1. Kermit Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy: The Roots, Growth, and Maturity of a Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 129.

2. John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 37.

3. Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy,* 128.

4. Evelyn Rezek Bibb, "Anthologies of American Literature, 1781–1964" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1965), 155.

5. Ibid., 4.

6. John Erskine and others, eds., *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: Putnam, 1917), 5, viii.

7. Moses Coit Tyler, *A History of American Literature, 1607–1765,* vol. 1 (New York: Putnam, 1880), 5.

8. The foundations for literary historiography can be traced back to Francis Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientarium,* which makes the point that literature preserves the experience of a people at a certain moment in time. The task of literary historians, therefore, is to distill the experience contained in works of literature and relay that record in their own times. Howard Mumford Jones points out, however, that Bacon's critical theories probably had very little direct influence on late-nineteenth-century American scholars. More likely a cluster of European intermediaries, including Madame de Stael, Simonde de Sismondi, Friedrich von Schlegel, Victor Cousin, and Abel Francois Villemain, were responsible for dispersing among American critics ideas similar to Bacon's. Regardless of the source, literary historiography enjoyed widespread popularity in the United States in the late 1800s.

9. Bibb, "Anthologies of American Literature," 187.

10. Erskine, *Cambridge History,* 1: viii.

11. Ibid.

12. Bibb, "Anthologies of American Literature," 159.

13. Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy,* 190.

14. Ibid.

15. Bibb, "Anthologies of American Literature," 303.

16. Ibid., 306.

17. Franklyn B. Snyder, "What Is American 'Literature'?" *Sewanee Review* 35 (April 1927): 209.

18. Henry Seidel Canby, "Teaching Our Literature," *Saturday Review of Literature,* January 1927, 493.

19. Ibid., 499 (my emphasis).

20. Norman Foerster, ed., *American Poetry and Prose,* 3rd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Houghton, 1947), v.

21. Robert Shafer, ed., *American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), xi.

22. Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy,* 283.

23. Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 128.

24. Carl Van Doren, *Three Worlds* (New York: Harper, 1936), 195.

25. Bibb, "Anthologies of American Literature," 357.

26. Ibid., 265.

27. Fred Lewis Pattee, ed., *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (New York: Century, 1919), v.

28. Franklyn B. Snyder and Edward D. Snyder, eds., *A Book of American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), v.

29. Jay B. Hubbell, ed., *American Life in Literature* (New York: Harper, 1936), xxiii.

30. Ibid.

31. Gay Wilson Allen and Henry Pochmann, eds., *Masters of American Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1949), v.

32. James E. Miller to author, April 21, 1999.

33. Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy, eds., *Major American Writers* (New York: Harcourt, 1935), vi.

34. Foerster, *American Poetry and Prose* (1947), vii.

35. Tompkins, *Sensational Designs,* 191.

36. Bibb, "Anthologies of American Literature," 392.

37. Hubbell, *American Life in Literature* (1936), xxiii.

38. Jay B. Hubbell, *American Life in Literature,* rev. ed., vol. 1 (New York: Harper, 1949), xiii (my emphasis).

39. Howard Mumford Jones, Ernest E. Leisy, and Richard M. Ludwig, eds., *Major American Writers,* 3rd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt, 1952), v.

40. Charles R. Anderson and others, eds., *American Literary Masters,* vol. 1 (New York: Holt, 1965), xv.

41. Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds., *The American Tradition in Literature,* 2nd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Norton, 1961), xxvi.

42. Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy,* 542.

43. Bibb, "Anthologies of American Literature," 381–83.

44. Ibid., 431.

45. Paul Lauter and others, eds., *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1994), xxxiii.

46. Irving Howe, ed., *The Literature of America: Nineteenth Century* (New York: McGraw, 1970), vii.

47. Irving Howe, Mark Schorer, and Larzer Ziff, eds., *The Literature of America,* vol. 1 (New York: McGraw, 1971), xxv.

48. Benjamin DeMott and others, eds., *America in Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), v.

49. Emory Elliott and others, eds., *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology,* vol. 1 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991), xxiii.

50. Paul Lauter and others, eds., "On 'The Making of Anthologies: An MLA Panel,'" *Heath Anthology of American Literature Newsletter* 5 (spring 1991): 2.

51. Paul Lauter to author, January 5, 2000.

52. Harrison Meserole, Walter Sutton, and Brom Weber, eds., *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation,* vol. 1 (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1969), v.

53. Richard Beatty and others, *The American Tradition in Literature,* 4th ed., vol. 1 (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1974), xxv. The fourth edition of *American Tradition in Literature* was published in both single-volume and double-volume formats. All citations bearing a volume number refer to the double-volume version of this edition; citations with no volume number refer to the single-volume version.

54. Richard Beatty and others, eds., *The American Tradition in Literature,* 5th ed., vol. 1 (New York: Random House, 1981), xii.

2. Early- and Mid-Nineteenth-Century Prose

1. This tally includes three letters that appear in Jay B. Hubbell, ed., *American Life in Literature* (New York: Harper, 1936).

2. Franklyn B. Snyder and Edward D. Snyder, eds., *A Book of American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 1135.

3. Haskell Springer, *Washington Irving: A Reference Guide* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1976).

4. Snyder and Snyder, *Book of American Literature,* 1136.

5. Joe Lee Davis, John Frederick, and Frank Luther Mott, eds., *American Literature: An Anthology and Critical Survey,* vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), 373.

6. Henry Pochmann, "Washington Irving," in *Fifteen American Authors before 1900: Bibliographic Essays on Research and Criticism,* ed. Robert A. Rees and Earl N. Harbert (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 245–61.

7. Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy, eds., *Major American Writers* (New York: Harcourt, 1935), 205.

8. Ibid.

9. William Rose Benet and Norman H. Pearson, eds., *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 1599.

10. Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn, eds., *A College Book of American Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: American Book, 1939), 479.

11. Walter Blair, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart, eds., *The Literature of the United States,* rev. ed., vol. 1 (New York: Scott, Foresman, 1953), 457.

12. Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds., *The American Tradition in Literature,* rev. ed., vol. 1 (New York: Norton, 1961), 339.

13. Perry Miller, ed., *Major Writers of America,* vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt, 1962), 180.

14. Davis, Frederick, and Mott, *American Literature,* 1:375.

15. Three anthologies omit Irving's work: Leon Edel and others, eds., *Masters of American Literature,* 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, 1959); Robert P. Falk and Norman Foerster, eds., *Eight American Writers* (New York: Norton, 1963); and Charles Anderson and others, ed., *American Literary Masters,* vol. 1 (New York: Holt, 1965).

16. Irving Howe, Mark Schorer, and Larzer Ziff, eds., *The Literature of America,* vol. 1 (New York: McGraw, 1971), 482.

17. Benjamin DeMott and others, eds., *America in Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), 737.

18. Howe, Schorer, and Ziff, *Literature of America,* 1:482.

19. Donald McQuade and others, eds., *The Harper American Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: Harper, 1987), 790. The first edition of *The Harper American Literature* was published in both single-volume and double-volume formats. All citations bearing a volume number refer to the double-volume version of this edition; citations with no volume number refer to the single-volume version.

20. DeMott and others, *America in Literature,* 1:737.

21. See Jones and Leisy, *Major American Writers,* 276–77.

22. Jay B. Hubbell, ed., *American Life in Literature,* rev. ed. (New York: Harper, 1949), xvii.

23. Carl Bode, Leon Howard, and Louis Wright, eds., *American Heritage: An Anthology and Interpretive Survey of Our Literature,* vol. 1 (Boston: Heath, 1955), vi.

24. Fred Lewis Pattee, ed., *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (New York: Century, 1919), 106.

25. Jones and Leisy, *Major American Writers,* 277. The editors of this textbook repeat this scenario in the 1945 and 1952 editions as well.

26. Arthur Hobson Quinn, Albert Croll Baugh, and Will David Howe, eds., *The Literature of America: An Anthology of Prose and Verse,* vol. 1 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), v.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Quinn, Baugh, and Howe include Cooper's *The Spy* (1821), *The Last of the Mohicans,* and *The Pilot* on their list of supplementary readings, and Foerster includes a Leatherstocking Tale or *The Pilot* on his. Shafer printed no such list in his textbook.

30. Killis Campbell, "Edgar Allan Poe," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* vol. 2, ed. John Erskine and others (New York: Putnam, 1918), 67.

31. Killis Campbell, ed., *Poe's Short Stories* (New York: Harcourt, 1927), ix.

32. Floyd Stovall, ed., *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), xxxv.

33. Campbell, *Poe's Short Stories,* ix.

34. J. Lasley Dameron and Irby B. Cauthen have also recognized Quinn's preference for Poe's poems. In their *Edgar Allan Poe: A Bibliography of Criticism, 1827–1967* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974), they write of Quinn's biography: "Emphasizes Poe's role as an editor who excelled in criticism, fiction, and especially in poetry" (199).

35. This and all subsequent related data are according to Esther F. Hyneman's *Edgar Allan Poe: An Annotated Bibliography* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1974).

36. Jones and Leisy, *Major American Writers,* 709.

37. Giles Gunn, *F. O. Matthiessen: The Critical Achievement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), 26.

38. F. O. Matthiessen, "Edgar Allan Poe," in *Literary History of the United States,* ed. Robert Spiller and others (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 342.

39. Charles Anderson and others, eds., *American Literary Masters,* vol. 1 (New York: Holt, 1965), 14. Incidentally, this quote appears in the first anthology in which Poe's tales outnumber his poems.

40. Robert P. Falk and Norman Foerster, eds., *Eight American Writers* (New York: Norton, 1963), 14.

41. Thomas Mabbott, ed., *Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1978), xv.

42. Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 187.

43. Four editions of Pattee's *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* appeared between 1919 and 1932. Therefore, when I refer to the remaining thirty-four anthologies I have omitted the earlier editions of the Pattee textbook because of their basic similarities with the 1932 edition to which Tompkins refers.

44. *The Literature of America* (1929) includes "The White Old Maid," "Howe's Masquerade," "Edward Randolph's Portrait," and "The Birthmark."

45. Tompkins, *Sensational Designs,* 196.

46. Carl Van Doren, "Contemporaries of Cooper," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* vol. 1, ed. John Erskine and others (New York: Putnam, 1917), 322–23.

47. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1919), 407.

48. Robert Shafer, ed., *American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), 1.

49. Jones and Leisy, *Major American Writers,* 1057.

50. Hubbell, *American Life in Literature* (1936), 643.

51. Benet and Pearson, *Oxford Anthology,* 1616.

52. Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn, eds., *A College Book of American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: American Book, 1939), 89.

53. This statistic does not include the appearance of "The Tartarus of Maids" in *American Issues* (1941), which is discussed below.

54. Hershel Parker, *The Recognition of Herman Melville* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), xi.

55. Ibid.

56. Stanley Williams, "Herman Melville," in *Eight American Authors: A Review of Research and Criticism,* ed. Floyd Stovall (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1956), 211.

57. Warren begins the piece by applauding Matthiessen's efforts and clarifying that his study would supplement Matthiessen's preface and his selections of Melville's poetry.

58. Miller and others, *Major Writers of America,* 1:891.

59. *American Issues* (1941) did, however, reprint "The Tartarus of Maids" minus "The Paradise of Bachelors" in a volume separate from the other thirteen selections from Melville's canon as illustration of Melville's social consciousness.

3. Nineteenth-Century Poetry

1. The only major anthologies published after World War I that did not reprint at least a portion of "Song of Myself" are the four editions of Fred Lewis Pattee, ed., *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (New York: Century, 1919, 1922, 1926, 1932), discussed extensively in chapters 1 and 2 above.

2. Franklyn B. Snyder and Edward D. Snyder, eds., *A Book of American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 1215.

3. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1932), 639.

4. Norman Foerster, ed., *American Poetry and Prose,* 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Houghton, 1934), 906.

5. Jerome Loving also senses reservations in Canby's essay on Whitman: "Henry Seidel Canby, author of the Whitman chapter in the *Literary History of the United States* [New York: Macmillan, 1948], felt compelled to ask whether his subject was a great poet" (Jerome Loving, "Walt Whitman," in *Columbia Literary History of the United States,* ed. Emory Elliot and others [New York: Columbia University Press, 1988], 461).

6. Robert Shafer, ed., *American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), 41.

7. Jay B. Hubbell, ed., *American Life in Literature* (New York: Harper, 1936), 64.

8. Loving, "Walt Whitman," 450.

9. William Rose Benet and Norman Pearson, eds., *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 1618.

10. "Walt Whitman's Centenary," *New York Sun,* May 31, 1919, sec. 8, pp. 2–3.

11. James O'Donnell Bennett, *Much Loved Books: Best Sellers of the Ages* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), 345–51.

12. Armondo Donso, "The Free Spirit of Walt Whitman," *Inter-America* (English ed.), August 3, 1932, 340–46.

13. John Brophy, "The Whitman Legend: Did He Impose on His Generation?" *John O'London's Weekly,* July 15, 1934, 560–61.

14. William J. Kimball, "'O Captain! My Captain!': Untypical Walt Whitman," *Literary Criterion* 6 (1965): 44–47.

15. The first two editions of *Major American Writers* (1935, 1945) anthologized "Native Moments" (1860).

16. Robert P. Falk and Norman Foerster, eds., *Eight American Writers* (New York: Norton, 1963), 853.

17. This includes both extracts and the unexpurgated version of the essay.

18. Norman Foerster, ed., *American Poetry and Prose,* 3rd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Houghton, 1947), 853.

19. Scott Giantvalley, *Walt Whitman, 1838–1939: A Reference Guide* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1981), xiii.

20. Malcolm Cowley, "Walt Whitman: The Miracle," *New Republic,* March 18, 1946, 385–88; and Malcolm Cowley, "Walt Whitman: The Secret" *New Republic,* April 8, 1946, 481–84.

21. Donald Kummings, *Walt Whitman, 1940–1975: A Reference Guide* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982), 39.

22. Charles Anderson and others, eds., *American Literary Masters,* vol. 1 (New York: Holt, 1965), 831.

23. George McMichael and others, eds., *Anthology of American Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 1749 (my emphasis).

24. George McMichael and others, eds., *Anthology of American Literature,* 2nd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1980), 1772 (my emphasis).

25. George McMichael and others, eds., *Anthology of American Literature,* 3rd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1985), 1771 (my emphasis).

26. Fred Lewis Pattee, *A History of American Literature since 1870* (New York: Century, 1915), 340–41.

27. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1919), 586.

28. Norman Foerster, "Later Poets," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* vol. 3, ed. John Erskine and others (New York: Putnam, 1921), 34.

29. In the 1957 edition of *American Poetry and Prose* Foerster begins his introductory essay on Dickinson: "In 1915 many readers would have agreed with Fred Lewis Pattee in dismissing the poems of Emily Dickinson as 'mere conceits, vague jottings. . . . They should have been allowed to perish as their author intended.' But only a few years later, in the 1920s, her poems were being widely read with enthusiasm [Foerster's ellipsis]." Although Foerster accurately characterizes Pattee's earliest appraisal of Dickinson's work, he obviously (and self-servingly) overlooks his own less-than-flattering remarks in 1921 about the poet's place among American writers.

30. Norman Foerster, ed., *American Poetry and Prose* (New York: Houghton, 1925), 1059.

31. Shafer, *American Literature,* 153.

32. Sheila Clendenning, *Emily Dickinson; a Bibliography, 1850–1966* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1968), xvii.

33. Ibid., 106.

34. This figure does not include Foerster's 1925 and 1934 textbooks, which included twenty-nine poems each by Dickinson.

35. Hubbell, *American Life in Literature* (1936), 266.

36. Benet and Pearson, *Oxford Anthology of American Literature,* 1619.

37. Ibid.

38. Gay Wilson Allen and Henry Pochmann, eds., *Masters of American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 398.

39. For Spiller's comment see his *Cycle of American Literature: An Essay in Historical Criticism* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 164. For the comment in *Masters of American Literature* see Leon Edel and others, eds., *Masters of American Literature,* vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton, 1959), 148.

40. Jay B. Hubbell, *Who Are the Major American Writers?* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1972), 300–302.

41. Robert P. Falk and Norman Foerster's 1963 anthology, *Eight American Writers,* was inspired by Stovall's bibliography.

42. Floyd Stovall, ed., *Eight American Authors* (New York: Norton, 1956), v.

43. It is worth noting that Johnson's versions of Dickinson's poems are still under copyright by Harvard University Press. That is, there certainly was an economic incentive to reprint the older, corrupt versions in the 1960s and 1970s.

44. James E. Miller, ed., *Heritage of American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1991), 138.

45. Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren, eds., *American Literature: The Makers and the Making,* vol. 2 (New York: St. Martin's, 1973), 1220.

46. Paul Lauter and others, eds., *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1994), 2872.

47. A selection of Alice Cary's fiction ("Uncle Christopher's" [1853] and "My Grandfather" [1852]), however, has recently appeared in the first three editions of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990, 1994, 1998).

48. Norman Foerster, "Later Poets," 47.

49. Ibid., 38.

50. Elizabeth Ammons, "Men of Color, Women, and Uppity Art," in *American Realism and the Canon,* ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 29.

51. Cheryl Walker, ed., *American Women Poets of the Nineteenth Century: An Anthology* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992), xxiv–xxv.

52. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1919), 450.

53. Ibid., 452.

54. See, e.g., Karen Dandurand's "New Dickinson Civil War Publications," *American Literature* 56 (March 1984): 17–27; and Lawrence Berkove's "'A Slash of Blue!': An Unrecognized Emily Dickinson War Poem," *Emily Dickinson Journal* 10 (2001):1–8.

55. Cheryl Walker, "Nineteenth-Century Women Poets and Realism," in *American Realism and the Canon,* ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 49–50.

56. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1919), v.

57. Ibid., 725.

58. Snyder and Snyder, *Book of American Literature,* 1220.

59. Foerster, *American Poetry and Prose* (1934), 1054.

60. Benet and Pearson, *Oxford Anthology of American Literature,* 1625.

61. Ibid.

62. John Macy, *The Spirit of American Literature* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1913).

63. Hubbell, *American Life in Literature* (1936), 210.

64. Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn, eds., *A College Book of American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: American Book, 1939), 317.

65. Shafer, *American Literature,* 275.

66. Snyder and Snyder, *Book of American Literature,* 1221.

67. Hubbell, *American Life in Literature* (1936), 417.

68. Foerster, *American Poetry and Prose* (1947), 1065.

69. Jay B. Hubbell, ed., *American Life in Literature,* 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Harper, 1949), 95.

70. See Howard Mumford Jones, Ernest E. Leisy, and Richard M. Ludwig, eds., *Major American Writers,* 3rd ed. (New York: Harcourt, 1952), 1353; Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy, eds., *Major American Writers* (New York: Harcourt, 1935), 1381.

71. Wilbur Scott and Raymond Short, eds., *The Main Lines of American Literature* (New York: Henry Holt, 1954), 355.

72. Henry Seidel Canby, "Experiments in Poetry: Sidney Lanier and Emily Dickinson," in *Literary History of the United States,* ed. Robert Spiller and others (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 901.

73. Brooks, Lewis, and Warren, *American Literature* (1973), 2:1716–17.

74. McMichael and others, *Anthology of American Literature* (1974), 1:1734.

75. Benjamin DeMott and others, eds., *America in Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), 302.

4. Post–Civil War Prose

1. Gary Scharnhorst, ed., *Critical Essays on* The Adventures of Tom Sawyer (New York: G. K. Hall, 1993), 4.

2. Stuart Sherman, "Mark Twain," in *Cambridge History of American Literature,* vol. 3, ed. John Erskine and others (New York: Putnam, 1921), 1.

3. This tally includes four textbooks that draw material from *Life on the Mississippi*'s shorter, serialized version, published in 1875 as "Old Times on the Mississippi."

4. Horst Kruse, *Mark Twain and "Life on the Mississippi"* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981), 9.

5. Everett Emerson, "*Life on the Mississippi,*" in *The Mark Twain Encyclopedia,* ed. J. R. Lemaster and James D. Wilson (New York: Garland, 1993), 466.

6. Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1883), 36.

7. Evelyn Rezek Bibb, "Anthologies of American Literature, 1781–1964" (PhD. diss., Columbia University, 1965), 13.

8. This particular chapter, which has almost nothing to do with the narrative structure of *Life on the Mississippi,* let alone the cub-pilot episodes, is actually only anticipatory of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn.*

9. David R. Sewell, "*The Gilded Age,*" in *The Mark Twain Encyclopedia,* ed. J. R. Lemaster and James D. Wilson (New York: Garland, 1993), 319.

10. Philip Beidler, "Realistic Style and the Problem of Context in *The Innocents Abroad* and *Roughing It,*" *American Literature* 52 (1980–81): 43.

11. Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought,* vol. 3 (New York: Harcourt, 1930), 86.

12. Jay B. Hubbell, ed., *American Life in Literature* (New York: Harper, 1936), 155.

13. Howard Mumford Jones and Ernest E. Leisy, eds., *Major American Writers* (New York: Harcourt, 1935), v.

14. James D. Wilson, *A Reader's Guide to the Short Stories of Mark Twain* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987), 207.

15. Walter Blair, "Rev. of *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist,*" *American Literature* 22 (1951): 522.

16. Kermit Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy: The Roots, Growth, and Maturity of a Profession* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986), 536.

17. Walter Blair, "Mark Twain's Other Masterpiece: 'Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn,'" *Studies in American Humor* 1 (1975): 132.

18. Delancey Ferguson, *Mark Twain: Man and Legend* (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1943), 200.

19. Wilson, *Reader's Guide,* 157.

20. Leon Edel and others, eds., *Masters of American Literature,* vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton, 1959), vii.

21. Bernard DeVoto, ed., *The Portable Mark Twain* (New York: Viking, 1946), 25.

22. Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain at Work* (Boston: Houghton, 1942), 130.

23. The fifth edition of Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (1970) excerpted chapter 2 from Gibson's 1969 edition of "The Chronicle of Young Satan." Foerster's headnote to the piece identifies "Chronicle" as "an incompleted story which provided the basis for the text of the posthumously published *The Mysterious Stranger* (1916)" (866). No anthology since has provided excerpts from any of the versions of Twain's "Mysterious Stranger" manuscripts.

24. Norman Foerster, ed., *American Poetry and Prose,* 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton, 1957), vii.

25. Notably, Beatty, Bradley, and Long chose not to include "The Raftsmen's Passage" in their 1961 anthology even though, according to Thomas Tenney, they reinserted that episode in a scholarly paperback edition of *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* that they edited for Norton that same year.

26. Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds., *The American Tradition in Literature,* rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1961), xxvi.

27. Hunt Hawkins, "'To the Person Sitting in Darkness,'" in *The Mark Twain Encyclopedia,* ed. J. R. Lemaster and James D. Wilson (New York: Garland, 1993), 738.

28. Mark Twain, *A Pen Warmed-Up in Hell,* ed. Frederick Anderson (New York: Harper, 1972), 72.

29. Donald McQuade and others, eds., *The Harper American Literature,* 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Harper, 1994), back cover.

30. Gary Scharnhorst, "Whatever Happened to Bret Harte?" in *American Realism and the Canon,* ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Newark: University of Delaware, 1994), 201–11.

31. Fred Lewis Pattee, "The Short Story," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* ed. John Erskine and others, vol. 2 (New York: Putnam, 1918), 378.

32. Ibid., 377.

33. Fred Lewis Pattee, ed., *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (New York: Century, 1919), 612.

34. Robert Shafer, ed., *American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), 156.

35. Franklyn B. Snyder and Edward D. Snyder, eds., *A Book of American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 1197.

36. Henry Seidel Canby, "The Luck of Bret Harte," *Saturday Review of Literature,* April 17, 1926, 717.

37. Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Development of the American Short Story: A Historical Survey* (New York: Harper, 1923), 240–41.

38. Ernest Leisy, *American Literature: An Interpretive Survey* (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1929), 163–64.

39. William Cairns, *A History of American Literature,* rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930), 456.

40. Parrington, *Main Currents,* 3:93.

41. Jones and Leisy, *Major American Writers* (1935), v.

42. Hubbell, *American Life in Literature* (1936), 129–30.

43. Ralph Gabriel, Henry Warfel, and Stanley Williams, eds., *The American Mind: Selections from the Literature of the United States* (New York: American Book, 1937), 887.

44. Scharnhorst correctly reports that *Understanding Fiction* (1943) roundly condemns Harte's fiction for its sentimentality. However, both the first and second editions of *An Approach to Literature* (1936, 1939), an anthology of general literature edited by Brooks, Warren, and John Purser, deliver the same judgment of Harte's work. Thus, the influence of Brooks and Warren's criticism on Harte studies can be said to have commenced at a much earlier date than Scharnhorst and others might have realized.

45. Wallace Stegner, "Western Record and Romance," in *Literary History of the United States,* ed. Robert Spiller and others (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 867.

46. Ibid.

47. Walter Blair, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart, eds., *The Literature of the United States,* vol. 2 (New York: Scott, Foresman, 1947), 386.

48. Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds., *The American Tradition in Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Norton, 1956), 241.

49. Clarence Gohdes and James D. Hart, eds., *America's Literature* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1955), 652.

50. Clarence A. Brown and John T. Flanagan, eds., *American Literature: A College Survey* (New York: McGraw, 1961), viii.

51. Norman Foerster and others, eds., *American Poetry and Prose,* 5th ed. (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), 964.

52. Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren, eds., *American Literature: The Makers and the Making,* vol. 2 (New York: St. Martin's, 1973), 1254.

53. Ibid., 1255.

54. Seymour Gross and Milton Stern, eds., *American Literature Survey,* 3rd ed., vol. 3 (New York: Viking, 1975), 146.

55. *The Literature of America* (1947) is the earliest textbook I have found that discusses (albeit very briefly) this aspect of Harte's writings.

56. Carl Van Doren, "The Later Novel," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* ed. John Erskine and others, vol. 3 (New York: Putnam, 1921), 84.

57. Snyder and Snyder, *Book of American Literature,* 1206.

58. Norman Foerster, ed., *American Poetry and Prose,* 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Houghton, 1934), 986.

59. Joe Davis, John Frederick, and Frank Luther Mott, eds., *American Literature: An Anthology and Critical Survey* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), 323.

60. In calculating this average I have counted each chapter from, say, *The Rise of Silas Lapham* or *Criticism and Fiction* as a single selection.

61. Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn, eds., *A College Book of American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: American Book, 1939), 454.

62. Gay Wilson Allen and Henry Pochmann, eds., *Masters of American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 481.

63. Wilbur Scott and Raymond Short, eds., *The Main Lines of American Literature* (New York: Henry Holt, 1954), 510.

64. Everett Carter, *Howells and the Age of Realism* (Philadelphia, Pa.: J. B. Lippincott, 1954), 231.

65. James Woodress and Stanley Anderson, "A Bibliography of Writing about William Dean Howells," *American Literary Realism, 1870–1910* Special Number (1969): 1–139.

66. Donald McQuade and others, eds., *The Harper American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Harper, 1987), 375.

67. James's three "phases" have been accorded different dates over time. Generally, however, scholars have located the first phase between 1864 and 1882, the second or "middle" period between 1883 and 1895, and the final or "major" phase between 1896 and 1916.

68. Vanderbilt, *American Literature and the Academy,* 202.

69. For more on Brooks's thesis see F. O. Matthiessen, *Henry James: The Major Phase* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944), xiii.

70. See, e.g., Robert Spiller's bibliographic essay on James in *Eight American Authors: A Review of Research and Criticism,* ed. Floyd Stovall (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1956); and Richard A. Hocks's enormously useful review of

twentieth-century criticism on James, "From Literary Analysis to Postmodern Theory: A Historical Narrative of James Criticism," in *A Companion to Henry James Studies,* ed. Daniel Mark Fogel (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993).

71. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1919), 698.

72. Snyder and Snyder, *Book of American Literature,* 1199.

73. Ibid., 1200.

74. Albert Croll Baugh, Will David Howe, and Arthur Hobson Quinn, eds., *The Literature of America: An Anthology of Prose and Verse,* vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), N40.

75. Gabriel, Warfel, and Williams, *American Mind,* 1140.

76. Robert Spiller, "Henry James," in *Eight American Authors,* ed. Floyd Stovall (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1956), 392.

77. Hocks, "From Literary Analysis," 5.

78. Shafer, *American Literature,* 213.

79. Ibid.

80. The remaining three references in Benet and Pearson's selected bibliography are Le Roy Phillips's *A Bibliography of the Writings of Henry James* (1930), C. H. Grattan's *The Three Jameses* (1932), and the 1934 special number of *Hound and Horn,* which featured essays by Marianne Moore and others.

81. Hocks, "From Literary Analysis," 6.

82. Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart, *Literature of the United States,* 542.

83. Allen and Pochmann, *Masters of American Literature,* 2:544.

84. Gohdes and Hart, *America's Literature,* 715.

85. Carl Bode, Leon Howard, and Louis Wright, eds., *American Heritage: An Anthology and Interpretive Survey of Our Literature,* vol. 2 (Boston: Heath, 1955), 562.

86. Leon Edel and others, *Masters of American Literature,* 2:401.

87. Spiller, "Henry James," 376–77.

88. Perry Miller, ed., *Major Writers of America,* vol. 2 (New York: Harcourt, 1962), 137.

89. Hocks, "From Literary Analysis," 19.

90. McQuade and others, *Harper American Literature* (1987), 2:489.

91. The first, second, and third editions of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990, 1994, 1998) reprint "Daisy Miller," "The Beast in the Jungle," and an excerpt from *Hawthorne. The Harper American Literature* reduced its coverage of James from four stories and six excerpts from various nonfiction books in the 1987 edition to just two stories in the 1994 second edition.

5. Latter-Nineteenth-Century Prose

1. See, e.g., Paul Lauter, *Canons and Contexts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 8, 23, 100–102, 116, 117; and Elizabeth Ammons, "Men of Color, Women, and Uppity Art," in *American Realism and the Canon,* ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 22–33.

2. John Erskine, *Leading American Novelists* (New York: Holt, 1910), vii.

3. C. Alphonso Smith, "Dialect Writers," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* vol. 2, ed. John Erskine and others (New York: Putnam, 1918), 352.

4. Carl Van Doren, "The Later Novel," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* ed. John Erskine and others, vol. 3 (New York: Putnam, 1921), 70.

5. Ibid., 71.

6. Ibid., 85.

7. Jane Tompkins, e.g., writes of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in her introduction to Stowe's writings in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1994): "Its power to move millions of people has been held against it by a critical tradition that, since the 1940s, has identified formal complexity and difficulty of apprehension with literary merit" (2352). In her *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) Tompkins identifies by name many of the members of this "male-dominated scholarly tradition," among whom she includes "Perry Miller, F. O. Matthiessen, Harry Levin, Richard Chase, R. W. B. Lewis, Yvor Winters, and Henry Nash Smith" (123).

8. Fred Lewis Pattee, ed., *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature* (New York: Century, 1919), 335.

9. Fred Lewis Pattee, ed., *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature,* 4th ed. (New York: Century, 1932), 614.

10. Franklyn B. Snyder and Edward D. Snyder, eds., *A Book of American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1927), 1186.

11. Ibid.

12. Milton Ellis, Louise Pound, and George Spohn, eds., *A College Book of American Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: American Book, 1939), 217.

13. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1919), 335.

14. Ellis, Pound, and Spohn, *College Book of American Literature,* 2:217.

15. George Whicher, "Literature and Conflict," in *Literary History of the United States,* ed. Robert Spiller and others (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 583.

16. Ibid., 584.

17. Ibid., 585.

18. Carlos Baker, "Delineation of Life and Character," in *Literary History of the United States,* ed. Robert Spiller and others (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 843.

19. Walter Blair, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart, eds., *The Literature of the United States,* vol. 2 (New York: Scott, Foresman, 1947), 380.

20. Ibid., 381.

21. Wilbur S. Scott and Raymond W. Short, eds., *The Main Lines of American Literature* (New York: Henry Holt, 1954), 367–68.

22. Norman Foerster, ed., *American Poetry and Prose,* 3rd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Houghton, 1947), viii.

23. James Baldwin, "Everybody's Protest Novel," *Partisan Review* 16 (1949), 578.

24. Ibid.

25. Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren, eds., *American Literature: The Makers and the Making,* vol. 1 (New York: St. Martin's, 1973), 648.

26. Ibid., 652.

27. Benjamin DeMott and others, eds., *America in Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), 1767.

28. Brooks, Lewis, and Warren, *American Literature,* 1:653.

29. Ronald Gottesman and others, eds., *The Norton Anthology of American Literature,* vol. 1 (New York: Norton, 1979), 1426. The first edition of the *Norton Anthology* was published in both single-volume and double-volume formats. All citations bearing a volume number refer to the double-volume version of this edition; citations with no volume number refer to the single-volume version.

30. George McMichael and others, eds., *Anthology of American Literature,* 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1980), 179.

31. Tompkins, *Sensational Designs,* xi.

32. Ibid., 134. The novelist Jane Smiley seconded Tompkins's high opinion of Stowe's book, disparaging *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* in the January 1996 issue of *Harper's.* The essay drew wide attention.

33. Elizabeth Ammons, "Sarah Orne Jewett," *The Heath Anthology of American Literature Instructor's Guide,* 2nd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1994), 352. Barbara Solomon has also drawn similarly mistaken conclusions. In the introduction to her 1979 Signet Classic edition *Short Fiction of Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary Wilkins Freeman* (1979), she writes: "Although the reputations of both Jewett and Freeman declined in the 1920s, and their fiction went virtually unread in the 1930s and 1940s, a rediscovered enthusiasm for these New England writers has emerged" (1).

34. Marjorie Pryse, introduction to *The Country of the Pointed Firs and Other Stories* (New York: Norton, 1981), v–vi.

35. I am indebted to eminent Jewett scholar Richard Cary for his catalog of pre-1920s scholarly evaluations of Jewett's career recorded in his *Appreciation of Sarah Orne Jewett* (Waterville, Maine: Colby College Press, 1973).

36. Bliss Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1918), 72.

37. Henry James quoted in ibid., vii.

38. Fred Lewis Pattee, "The Short Story," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* ed. John Erskine and others, vol. 2 (New York: Putnam, 1918), 383.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. See, e.g., the introduction to Jewett's writings in George McMichael's *Anthology of American Literature* (1980): "Critics have objected . . . that in her fiction she exhibits an extravagant compassion for her characters that frequently borders on sentimentalism" (2:197).

43. F. O. Matthiessen, *Sarah Orne Jewett* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), 145.

44. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1919), 732.

45. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1932), 813.

46. Albert Croll Baugh, Will David Howe, and Arthur Hobson Quinn, eds., *The Literature of America: An Anthology of Prose and Verse,* vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), N41.

47. By the mid-1930s, Willa Cather's *Best Stories of Sarah Orne Jewett* (1925) had become a standard citation in bibliographies of Jewett's work in college-level anthologies of American literature.

48. Ralph Gabriel, Henry Warfel, and Stanley Williams, eds., *The American Mind: Selections from the Literature of the United States* (New York: American Book, 1937), 1180.

49. William Rose Benet and Norman H. Pearson, eds., *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938), 1628.

50. Jay B. Hubbell, ed., *American Life in Literature* (New York: Harper, 1936), 273.

51. Cary, *Appreciation of Sarah Orne Jewett,* xvi.

52. Quoted in ibid., xvii.

53. Baker, "Delineation of Life and Character," 845.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid., 847.

56. Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart, *Literature of the United States,* 2: 431.

57. Ibid.

58. An earlier edition of the "shorter" version of *The Literature of the United States* was published in 1949. I have not been able to locate a copy, but textual evidence from the 1957 edition indicates that Jewett almost certainly appeared in the 1949 single-volume collection, too.

59. Brooks, Lewis, and Warren, *American Literature,* 2:1578.

60. Ammons, "Sarah Orne Jewett," 351.

61. Harrison Meserole, Walter Sutton, and Brom Weber, eds., *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation,* vol. 2 (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1969), 2379.

62. Norman Foerster and others, eds., *American Poetry and Prose,* 5th ed. (New York: Houghton, 1970), 977.

63. Ibid.

64. Irving Howe, Mark Schorer, and Larzer Ziff, eds., *The Literature of America,* vol. 2 (New York: McGraw, 1971), 43.

65. Brooks, Lewis, and Warren, *American Literature,* 2: 1577.

66. Ibid.

67. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, eds., *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* (New York: Norton, 1985), 1104.

68. Lauter, *Canons and Contexts,* 8.

69. Fred Lewis Pattee, *A History of American Literature since 1870* (New York: Century, 1915), 239.

70. Pattee, "The Short Story," 390.

71. Ibid.

72. Fred Lewis Pattee, *The Development of the American Short Story: A Historical Survey* (New York: Harper, 1923), 322.

73. Ibid., 323.

74. F. O. Matthiessen, "New England Stories," in *American Writers on American Literature,* ed. John Macy (New York: Liveright, 1931), 406.

75. Perry Westbrook, *Mary Wilkins Freeman* (Boston: Twayne, 1967), 177.

76. It should be remembered, too, that Arthur Conan Doyle believed *Pembroke* the best American novel since *The Scarlet Letter.* Additionally, Freeman was the first person to receive the W. D. Howells Medal. She was also a member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters.

77. Pattee, *Century Readings* (1919), 846.

78. Robert Shafer, ed., *American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), 303.

79. Ibid.

80. Ellis, Pound, and Spohn, *College Book of American Literature,* 2:642.

81. Ibid., 641.

82. Van Wyck Brooks, *New England: Indian Summer* (New York: Dutton, 1940), 465.

83. Baker, "Delineation of Life and Character," 847.

84. Blair, Hornberger, and Stewart, *Literature of the United States,* 2:439.

85. Joe Lee Davis, John Frederick, and Frank Luther Mott, eds., *American Literature: An Anthology and Critical Survey,* vol. 2 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), 214.

86. Ibid.

87. Paul Lauter and others, eds., *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1998), 156.

88. Peggy Skaggs, "Kate Chopin," in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature Instructor's Guide,* 2nd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1994), 393.

89. See, e.g., Seymour Gross and Milton Stern, eds., *American Literature Survey,* 3rd ed. (New York: Viking, 1975).

90. Pattee, *American Literature since 1870,* 364.

91. Ibid., 365.

92. Pattee, "The Short Story," 390.

93. Pattee, *Development of the American Short Story,* 325.

94. Ibid.

95. Marlene Springer, *Edith Wharton and Kate Chopin: A Reference Guide* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1976), 194.

96. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), quoted in Springer, *Edith Wharton,* 195.

97. This and subsequent quotes in this paragraph from Baker, "Delineation of Life and Character," 859.

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid.

100. Ibid.

101. Van Wyck Brooks, *The Confident Years: 1885–1915* (New York: Dutton, 1952).

102. Peggy Skaggs, *Kate Chopin* (Boston: Twayne, 1985), 5.

103. Kenneth Eble, "A Forgotten Novel: Kate Chopin's *The Awakening,*" *Western Humanities Review* 10 (summer 1956): 268–69.

104. Per Seyersted, "Kate Chopin: An Important St. Louis Writer Reconsidered," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 19 (January 1963): 89–114.

105. Brooks, Lewis, and Warren, *American Literature* (1973), 2:1706.

6. The African American Heritage

1. Paul Lauter, *Canons and Contexts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 149.

2. Keneth Kinnamon, "Three Black Writers and the Anthologized Canon," in *American Realism and the Canon,* ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 144.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., 144–45.

6. Patricia Okker, "Native American Literatures and the Canon: The Case of Zitkala-Sa," in *American Realism and the Canon,* ed. Tom Quirk and Gary Scharnhorst (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), 98.

7. C. Alphonso Smith, "Dialect Writers," in *The Cambridge History of American Literature,* ed. John Erskine and others, vol. 2 (New York: Putnam, 1918), 351.

8. Irving Howe, Mark Schorer, and Larzer Ziff, eds., *The Literature of America,* vol. 1 (New York: McGraw, 1971), 1107.

9. Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren, eds., *American Literature: The Makers and the Making,* vol. 1 (New York: St. Martin's, 1973), 1035.

10. Doris Lucas Laryea contends, for instance, that "for several decades after his death" Dunbar "was labeled an Uncle Tom by many black scholars and accused of destroying the dignity of black people" (Doris Lucas Laryea, "Paul Laurence Dunbar," in *Dictionary of Literary Biography,* vol. 50, *Afro-American Writers before the Harlem Renaissance,* ed. Trudier Harris [Detroit: Gale, 1986], 119).

11. Peter Revell, *Paul Laurence Dunbar* (Boston: Twayne, 1979), 169.

12. Ibid.

13. Victor Lawson, *Dunbar Critically Examined* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1941), 78.

14. Nina Baym and others, eds., *The Norton Anthology of American Literature,* 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Norton, 1985), 620. The second edition of the *Norton Anthology* was published in both single-volume and double-volume formats. All citations bearing a volume number refer to the double-volume version of this edition; citations with no volume number refer to the single-volume version.

15. Hortense Spillers, "The New Negro Renaissance," in *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* ed. Paul Lauter and others, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1998), 1579.

16. Darwin Turner, "Paul Laurence Dunbar: The Rejected Symbol," *Journal of Negro History* 52 (1967): 1–13.

17. Laryea, "Paul Laurence Dunbar," 119.

18. John W. Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews,* vol. 2, *1847–54* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982), 382.

19. George McMichael and others, eds., *Anthology of American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 226.

20. Ibid., 226–27.

21. Seymour Gross and Milton Stern, eds., *American Literature Survey,* 3rd. ed, vol. 3 (New York: Viking, 1975), 592–93.

22. Donald McQuade and others, eds., *The Harper American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Harper, 1987), 744.

23. The third edition of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1998) offers "Selections from Whitman and Dickinson" in a supplemental format to instructors using only volume two.

7. Early-Twentieth-Century Women Writers

1. Elizabeth Ammons, "Edith Wharton," *The Heath Anthology of American Literature Instructor's Guide,* 2nd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1994), 470.

2. Vernon L. Parrington, "Our Literary Aristocrat," *The Pacific Review* 2 (June 1921): 157–60.

3. Ludwig Lewisohn, *Expression in America* (New York: Harper, 1932).

4. Henry Seidel Canby, "Edith Wharton," *Saturday Review of Literature,* August 21, 1937, 6–7.

5. Marlene Springer, *Edith Wharton and Kate Chopin: A Reference Guide* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1976), 119.

6. Robert Shafer, ed., *American Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), 396.

7. Fred Lewis Pattee, ed., *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature,* 4th ed. (New York: Century, 1932), 1132.

8. Harry Warfel, Ralph Gabriel, and Stanley Williams, eds., *The American Mind: Selections from the Literature of the United States* (New York: American Book, 1937), 1191.

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10. Ibid., 780.

11. Ibid.

12. Jay B. Hubbell, ed., *American Life in Literature,* rev. ed., vol. 2 (New York: Harper, 1949), 778.

13. Henry Seidel Canby, "Fiction Sums Up a Century," in *Literary History of the United States,* ed. Robert Spiller and others (New York: Macmillan, 1948), 1211.

14. Marlene Springer, *Edith Wharton,* 124.

15. Blake Nevius, "Edith Wharton Today," *Pacific Spectator* 5 (spring 1951): 233–41.

16. Ibid.

17. Carl Bode, Leon Howard, and Louis Wright, eds., *American Heritage: An Anthology and Interpretive Survey of Our Literature,* vol. 2 (Boston: Heath, 1955), 619.

18. Cleanth Brooks, R. W. B. Lewis, and Robert Penn Warren, eds., *American Literature: The Makers and the Making,* vol. 2 (New York: St. Martin's, 1973), 1597.

19. Richard Beatty, Sculley Bradley, and E. Hudson Long, eds., *The American Tradition in Literature,* 3rd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Norton, 1967), 912. The third edition of *The American Tradition in Literature* was published in both single-volume and double-volume formats. All citations bearing a volume number refer to the double-volume version of this edition; citations with no volume number refer to the single-volume version.

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21. Paul Lauter and others, eds., *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1998), 1013.

22. Harrison Meserole, Walter Sutton, and Brom Weber, eds., *American Literature: Tradition and Innovation,* vol. 2 (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1969), 2867.

23. Sharon O'Brien, "Becoming Noncanonical: The Case against Willa Cather," in *Reading in America,* ed. Cathy Davidson (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 240–58.

24. Carl Van Doren, *Contemporary American Novelists: 1900–1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1922).

25. See, e.g., Newton Arvin, "Quebec, Nebraska, and Pittsburgh," *New Republic,* August 12, 1931, 345.

26. O'Brien, "Becoming Noncanonical," 246.

27. Jay B. Hubbell, ed., *American Life in Literature* (New York: Harper, 1936), 685.

28. Norman Foerster, ed., *American Poetry and Prose,* 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Houghton, 1934), 1356.

29. Norman Foerster, ed., *American Poetry and Prose,* 3rd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Houghton, 1947), 1328.

30. Walter Blair, Theodore Hornberger, and Randall Stewart, eds., *The Literature of the United States,* vol. 2 (New York: Scott, Foresman, 1947), 1025.

31. Ibid., 1026.

32. Canby, "Fiction Sums Up a Century," 1212, 1227.

33. I am indebted to Janis P. Stout, who kindly shared the substance of a letter dated November 14, 1941, from Cather to Miss Manwaring that conveys Cather's attitude toward literature anthologies and her desire to see that another story besides "The Sculptor's Funeral" be circulated. Cather's orders in her will prohibit the publishing of and quotation from her letters.

34. Mark Schorer, ed., *The Literature of America: Twentieth Century* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 721.

35. Norman Foerster and others, eds., *American Poetry and Prose,* 5th ed. (New York: Houghton, 1970), 1228.

36. Nina Baym and others, eds., *The Norton Anthology of American Literature,* 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: Norton, 1985), 909.

37. Ibid.

38. Emory Elliott and others, eds., *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology,* vol. 2 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991), 1227.

39. Baym and others, *Norton Anthology* (1985), 2:910.

40. Lauter and others, *Heath Anthology* (1998), 2:1087.

41. Ibid., 1086.

42. Donald McQuade and others, eds., *The Harper American Literature,* vol. 2 (New York: Harper, 1987), 1033.

43. Lauter and others, *Heath Anthology* (1998), 2:1087.

44. H. L. Mencken, "The Publishers Begin Their Spring Drive," *Smart Set* 48 (April 1916): 155.

45. See, e.g., Grant Overton, "Ellen Glasgow," in his *The Women Who Make Our Novels* (New York: Moffat, 1918), 20–40.

46. Jay B. Hubbell, "Ellen Glasgow as a Literary Pioneer," *Dallas News,* November 23, 1919.

47. Ibid.

48. Jay B. Hubbell, "On 'Southern Literature,'" *Texas Review* 7 (October 1921): 8–16.

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50. Ellis, Pound, and Spohn, *College Book of American Literature,* 2:793.

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52. Howard Mumford Jones, "The Regional Eminence of Ellen Glasgow," *Saturday Review of Literature,* October 16, 1943, 20.

53. Ibid.

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55. George Perkins joined the editorial team of Beatty, Bradley, and Long for the 1974 and 1981 editions of *The American Tradition in Literature.*

56. Nina Baym and others, *Norton Anthology* (1989), 2:964.

57. Linda Pannill, "Ellen Glasgow," *The Heath Anthology of American Literature Instructor's Guide,* 2nd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1994), 465.

58. Ibid., 465–66.

59. Ibid., 466.

Epilogue

1. Howard Mumford Jones, Ernest E. Leisy, and Richard M. Ludwig, eds., *Major American Writers,* 3rd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Harcourt, 1952), v.

2. Emory Elliot and others, eds., *American Literature: A Prentice Hall Anthology* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice, 1993), 1:xxi.

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Index

Aiken, Conrad: *Selected Poems of Emily Dickinson,* 68

Allen, Gay Wilson: and Whitman, 59, 61–62. WORKS: as co-editor of *Masters of American Literature,* editorial assumptions of, 12, 89, 99; and Dickinson, 69, 70; and Howells, 117; and James, 128, 129; and Melville, 51; and Poe, 39; *The Solitary Singer,* 61–62; and Twain, 99; *Walt Whitman Handbook,* 59

America in Literature (DeMott et al.): editorial assumptions of, 18; and Irving, 31; and Lanier, 84; and Stowe, 142; and Whitman, 64

American Heritage (Bode et al.): and inclusion of novels, 33; and Cather, 194; and James, 128; and Stowe, 140; and Wharton, 187

American history: academic study of, 1–2

American Life in Literature (Hubbell): editorial assumptions of, 10, 14–15; and inclusion of novels, 32; and African American writers, 167; and Cather, 191, 192; and Chopin, 162; and Dickinson, 69; and Glasgow, 200, 201–2; and Harte, 109; and James, 125; and Jewett, 146–47; and Lanier, 80–81, 82; and Melville, 49, 50; and Poe, 39–40; and Stowe, 138; and Twain, 91, 94–95, 96; and Wharton, 185–86; and Whitman, 57

American Literary Masters (Anderson): editorial assumptions of, 15–16; and Hawthorne, 47; and James, 131

American literature: academic study of, 1–2, 3, 4–5

American Literature (Brooks et al.): and Chopin, 163–64; and Glasgow, 203; and Harte, 112–13; and Jewett, 149–50, 151; and Lanier, 83–84; and Stowe, 142; and Whitman, 64

American Literature (Brown and Flanagan): and Harte, 112

American Literature (Davis et al.): and Freeman, 156; and Howells, 115; and Irving, 27; and James, 129; and Poe, 39, 41

American Literature (Elliott et al.): editorial assumptions of, 19, 209;

and Cather, 195–96; and Glasgow, 204; and Harper, 180
American Literature (journal): founding of, 8
American Literature (Meserole et al.), 20; and Chesnutt, 177; and Cooper, 34; and Jewett, 150; and Wharton, 189
American Literature (Shafer): editorial assumptions of, 11; and inclusion of novels, 35; and literary historiography, 7; and Cooper, 35; and Dickinson, 67; and Freeman, 153; and Harte, 107, 110; and Hawthorne, 44; and James, 125–26; and Melville, 48–49; and Stowe, 138; and Tabb, 81; and Wharton, 183
American Literature Survey (Gross and Stern): and Chesnutt, 178; and Equiano, 175; and Harper, 179; and Harte, 113
American Mind, The (Warfel et al.), 15; editorial assumptions of, 10; and Dunbar, 170; and Freeman, 154; and Harte, 109; and James, 124; and Jewett, 146; and Twain, 91; and Wharton, 184
American Poetry and Prose (Foerster): editorial assumptions of, xx, 9; and inclusion of novels, 12, 15, 35, 89, 101; and African American writers, 167; and Cather, 191, 193–94, 195–96; and Dickinson, 66, 67, 218n. 29; and Douglass, 174; and Harte, 111; and Hawthorne, 43–44, 45–46, 47; and Howells, 115, 116, 118, 119; and James, 124, 129; and Jewett, 149, 150–51; and Lanier, 79–80, 82; and Poe, 38, 39; and Stowe, 138, 141; and Twain, 98, 101, 221n. 23; and Wharton, 184, 185, 187; and Whitman, 56, 61
American Studies Movement: and influence on anthologies, 97–98
American Tradition in Literature, The (Beatty et al.), xx, 208; as first Norton anthology, 19–20; editorial assumptions of, 15; and inclusion of novels, 17, 20–21, 101–2; and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* 20–21; and Cather, 193–94; and Chopin, 163; and Cooper, 35–36; and Freeman, 156; and Glasgow, 202–4; and Harte, 111; and Hawthorne, 47–48; and Howells, 119; and Jacobs, 176; and Lanier, 83; and Twain, 101–2; and Wharton, 187, 188
America's Literature (Gohdes and Hart): and Harte, 111; and James, 128
Ammons, Elizabeth, xvi, 226n. 33; and Jewett, 144; and Wharton, 181–82, 189
Anderson, Charles: as editor of *American Literary Masters,* editorial assumptions of, 15–16; and Hawthorne, 47; and James, 131
Anderson, Frederick: *A Pen Warmed-Up in Hell* and Twain, 103
Anderson, Sherwood, 192
anthologies: and allegations of marginalizing authors, 133–34; and book binding technology, 88–89; and copyright permissions, x; and forces behind inclusion of writers in 20th century, 86; influence of computer technology on, xii, 208–10; influence of 1960s on selection, 102; mistaken notions of, xvi; and recent innovations, 207–10; summary of criticism's influence on, xix–xx
Anthology of American Literature (McMichael et al.): and Chesnutt, 177–78; and Cooper, 35; and Glasgow, 204; and Harte, 113; and Lanier, 83, 84; and Stowe, 142–43; and Whitman, 62–63
Arms, George: and Chopin, 163
Arnavon, Cyrille: and Chopin, 162
Arvin, Newton: and Cather, 191

Babbitt, Irving, 5–6
Baetzhold, Howard: and Twain, 98

Baker, Carlos: and Chopin, 161; and Freeman, 155; and Jewett, 148. WORKS: as co-editor of *American Issues* and Melville, 50; and Stowe, 137–38; and Twain, 99
Baldwin, James: "Everybody's Protest Novel" and Stowe, 141
Baugh, Albert Croll: as co-editor of *The Literature of America,* see Quinn, Arthur Hobson
Baym, Nina: as co-editor of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature* and Chopin, 164; and Hawthorne, 42–46; and Lanier, 83; and Melville, 53; and Stowe, 142
Beach, Joseph Warren: and James, 125
Beatty, Richard: as co-editor of *The American Tradition in Literature,* xx; editorial assumptions of, 15, 19–20; and inclusion of novels, 17, 20–21, 101–2; and *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* 20–21; and Cather, 193–94; and Chopin, 163; and Cooper, 35–36; and Freeman, 156; and Glasgow, 202–4; and Harte, 111; and Hawthorne, 47–48; and Howells, 119; and Lanier, 83; and Twain, 101–2; and Wharton, 187, 188
Beidler, Philip: and Twain, 92
Bellamy, Gladys: and Twain, 98, 100–101; *Mark Twain as a Literary Artist,* 96–97
belles-lettres criticism, 4, 6, 16–17, 91; influence of on early anthologies, 95–96
Benét, William Rose: as co-editor of *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature* and Cather, 191–92; and James, 124, 126–27, 128; and Jewett, 146; and Lanier, 80; and Melville, 49, 50; and Stowe, 138; and Twain, 91, 95, 99
Benson, Ivan: *Mark Twain in the West,* 94
Berkove, Lawrence: and Twain, 98
Bianchi, Martha Dickinson: *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson,* 68; *Further Poems of Emily Dickinson,* 68; *The Poems of Emily Dickinson,* 68; *The Poetry of Emily Dickinson,* 68; *Unpublished Poems of Emily Dickinson,* 68
Bibb, Evelyn, 2–3, 4, 8, 14, 91; and *belles-lettres* criticism, 16–17; and the canon, 17
Blackmur, Richard: and James, 127
Blair, Walter: and Twain, 97, 98. WORKS: as co-editor of *The Literature of the United States* and African American writers, 167; and Cather, 193–94; and Cooper, 35; and Freeman, 156; and Harte, 111; and Hawthorne, 46; and James, 127–28; and Jewett, 148, 149; and Lanier, 82; and Stowe, 139, 140; and Whitman, 60; *Native American Humor,* 94
Blake, Caesar: *The Recognition of Emily Dickinson,* 67–68
Bode, Carl: as co-editor of *American Heritage* and Cather, 194; and Stowe, 140; and Wharton, 187
Bontemps, Arna: *Great Slave Narratives,* 169
Book of American Literature, A (Snyder and Snyder): editorial assumptions of, 10, 78; and Cather, 191; and Harte, 107; and Howells, 115, 116; and Irving, 25, 26; and James, 123, 124; and Lanier, 79; and Stowe, 136; and Tabb, 81; and Thaxter, 74; and Twain, 91; and Whitman, 56
"Books That Changed America": and Stowe, 140
"Books That Changed the World": and Stowe, 140
Bourne, Randolph, xi
Boynton, Percy: *History of American Literature* and Stowe, 134
Bradley, Sculley: and Irving, 28; as co-

editor of *The American Tradition in Literature,* see Beatty, Richard
Bradshear, Minnie: *Mark Twain,* 94
Britt, D. D.: "Chesnutt's Conjure Tales," 173
Brockden, Charles, 134
Brooks, Cleanth: and Harte, 106; as co-editor of *American Literature* and Chopin, 163–64; and Glasgow, 203; and Harte, 112–13; and Jewett, 149–50, 151; and Lanier, 83–84; and Stowe, 142; and Whitman, 64
Brooks, Van Wyck, 120, 122; and literary historiography, 7–8; and James, 122. WORKS: *The Confident Years,* and Chopin, 162; *New England* and Freeman, 154–55; *The Ordeal of Mark Twain,* 93–94, 105
Brown, Clarence A.: as co-editor of *American Literature* and Harte, 112
Buck, Pearl, xii

Cairns, William: and Harte, 108
Cambridge History of American Literature, The: editorial assumptions of, 7; influence of, 8; reception of, 5; and African American writers, 168; and Chopin, 159; and Freeman, 152; and Jewett, 145; and Poe, 37; and assessment of Tyler, 3–4; and assessment of Richardson, 4
Campbell, Killis: *The Mind of Poe,* 36, 40; *Poe's Short Stories,* 37
Canby, Henry Seidel: and attacks on literary historiography, 6–7; and Cather, 193; and Glasgow, 200; and Harte, 107; and Lanier, 82; and Twain, 94; and Wharton, 182, 183, 185; and Whitman, 56; *Walt Whitman,* 59
Candela, Gregory: and Dunbar, 173
canon: theories of, xvii–xix, 167–68
Cantwell, Robert: and Chopin, 162
Cardwell, Guy: *The Man Who Was Mark Twain,* 105
Cargill, Oscar. *See* Spiller, Robert
Carters, Everett: and Howells, 119
Cary, Alice: in anthologies, 73–79
Cary, Phoebe: in anthologies, 73–79. WORKS: "Nearer Home," 76; "Nearer Home" in anthologies, 74
Cary, Richard: and Jewett, 147
Cather, Willa: in anthologies, 189–98; in historiographical-phase, 191–92; in multicultural-phase, 195–98; in New Critical-phase, 192–95; in UNESCO poll, 70, 193; compared to Dickinson, 197–98; compared to Jewett, 192, 197; compared to Whitman, 190; and copyright permissions, 194–95; and Jewett, 145–46. WORKS: *Alexander's Bridge,* 190; *Death Comes for the Archbishop* in anthologies, 192; *My Ántonia,* 190, 193, 194; *My Ántonia* in anthologies, 191, 195–96; *My Mortal Enemy* in anthologies, 196; "Neighbour Rosicky" in anthologies, 194–95; "Old Mrs. Harris" in anthologies, 196–97; *One of Ours,* 190; *One of Ours* in anthologies, 191; *O Pioneers!* 190, 193; *O Pioneers!* in anthologies, 191, 194; "Paul's Case" in anthologies, 192, 194–95, 196; "Preface to *The Best Stories of Sarah Orne Jewett*" in anthologies, 194; "The Sculptor's Funeral," in anthologies, 191, 192, 194–95; *The Song of the Lark,* 190, 193, 194; *The Song of the Lark,* in anthologies, 194
Century Readings for a Course in American Literature (Pattee), xx, xvi, 9–10, 44, 78; and Cary, P., 74; and Cather, 191, 192; and Chopin, 160; and Cooper, 33; and Dickinson, 65, 66; and Freeman, 153; and Harte, 107; and Hawthorne, 42–46; and Howells, 116,

121; and James, 122–23; and Jewett, 146, 147; and Lanier, 79; and Larcom, 74; and Melville, 48, 50; and Poe, 36–37, 38; and Stowe, 136, 137; and Thaxter, 74; and Wharton, 183; and Whitman, 56
Chase, Richard: *The American Novel and Its Tradition,* and James, 129–30
Chesnutt, Charles, 120, 167; in anthologies, 170, 177–79; attacked by African American scholars, 170–73; compared to Joel Chandler Harris, 172–73; first anthology appearance of, 174; and Harlem Renaissance, 173; and plantation tradition, 171–73, 177–78; 1960s reevaluation of, 173. WORKS: *Frederick Douglass,* 168; "The Goophered Grapevine" in anthologies, 178; "A Matter of Principle" in anthologies, 179; "The Passing of Grandison" in anthologies, 178–79; "Po' Sandy" in anthologies, 178; "The Sheriff's Children" in anthologies, 179; "The Wife of His Youth" in anthologies, 179
Child, Lydia Maria: and Jacobs, 176
Chopin, Kate, 164; in anthologies, 134, 158–64; in multicultural-phase, 163–64; in New Critical-phase, 162–63; compared to Crane, 163; compared to Freeman, 162. WORKS: *The Awakening,* 159, 161, 162–63; *The Awakening,* in anthologies, 164; *Bayou Folk,* 160; "Desiree's Baby," 159, 161; "Desiree's Baby" in anthologies, 158, 162, 164; "Madame Celestine's Divorce," 159, 160, 162; "Neg Creole" in anthologies, 164; *A Night in Arcadie,* 160; "A Pair of Silk Stockings" in anthologies, 164; "A Respectable Woman" in anthologies, 164; "The Storm" in anthologies, 164; "The Story of an Hour" in anthologies, 164
Clark, Michele: and Freeman, 157
Clendening, Sheila, 67
College Book of American Literature, A (Ellis et al.): and Cather, 191–92; and Freeman, 153–54; and Glasgow, 200; and Hawthorne, 46; and Howells, 116; and Irving, 28; and Lanier, 81; and Melville, 49; and Poe, 39; and Stowe, 136–37; and Twain, 91; and Wharton, 184
Cooper, James Fenimore, 134; in anthologies, 31–36, 86; in historiographical-phase, 32; in UNESCO poll, 70. WORKS: "An Aristocrat and a Democrat" in anthologies, 33; *The Deerslayer* in anthologies, 34; *England and America* in anthologies, 33; *The Last of the Mohicans* in anthologies, 34; *The Pathfinder* in anthologies, 34; *The Pilot* in anthologies, 33; *The Pioneers* in anthologies, 34, 35, 36; *The Prairie* in anthologies, 34, 35; "Preface to the *Leather-Stocking Tales*" in anthologies, 34
Cowley, Malcolm: and Whitman, 61; *The Portable Faulkner,* 202
Cox, James M.: *Mark Twain: The Fate of Humor,* 105
Crews, Frederick: *The Sins of the Fathers,* 45, 47
Curti, Merle: as co-editor of *American Issues,* see Baker, Carlos

Davis, Joe Lee: as co-editor of *American Literature* and Freeman, 156; and Howells, 115; and Irving, 27; and Poe, 39, 41
DeMott, Benjamin: as co-editor of *America in Literature,* editorial assumptions of, 18; and Irving, 31; and Lanier, 84; and Stowe, 142; and Whitman, 64

DeVoto, Bernard: *Mark Twain's America,* 94; *The Portable Mark Twain,* 100
Dickinson, Emily, 120, 121; in anthologies, 64–73, 86; in historiographical-phase, 65–67; in multicultural-phase, 72; in New Critical-phase, 69–72; in UNESCO poll, 70; and homosexuality, 72–73; and modernism, 66–67, 76; and secret lover, 67; compared to her female contemporaries, 75–79; compared to Whitman, 72. WORKS: "After a Great Pain, a Formal Feeling Comes" in anthologies, 72; "Because I Could Not Stop for Death" in anthologies, 68, 72; "I Died for Beauty" in anthologies, 68, 72; "I Felt a Funeral in My Brain" in anthologies, 68, 72; "I Held a Jewel in My Fingers" in anthologies, 65; "I Like To See It Lap the Miles" in anthologies, 66; "Just Lost When I Was Saved" in anthologies, 65; "My Life Closed Twice before Its Close" in anthologies, 68, 72; "A Narrow Fellow in the Grass" in anthologies, 68, 72; "Safe in Their Alabaster Chambers" in anthologies, 72; "The Soul Selects" in anthologies, 66; "There's a Certain Slant of Light" in anthologies, 66; "This Is My Letter to the World" in anthologies, 68, 72; "Through the Strait Pass of Suffering" in anthologies, 65
Dondore, Dorothy Anne: and Chopin, 161
Douglass, Frederick, 168; in anthologies, 169, 174–75; first anthology appearance of, 174. WORKS: "Fourth of July Oration, 1852" in anthologies, 174–75; *My Bondage and My Freedom* in anthologies, 174; *My Life and Times* in anthologies, 174; *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass,* in anthologies, 174
Doyle, Arthur Conan: and Freeman, 228n. 76
Dreiser, Theodore, 120
Dunbar, Paul Laurence, 120, 167; in anthologies, 170, 176–77; attacked by African American scholars, 170–73; and dialect poetry, 171–72; and Harlem Renaissance, 173; and plantation tradition, 171–73, 177; 1960s reevaluation of, 173; reappearance in anthologies of, 174. WORKS: "An Ante-Bellum Sermon," 177; "A Death Song," 177; "Booker T. Washington" in anthologies, 177; "A Coquette Conquered," 172; "Frederick Douglass" in anthologies, 177; "Harriet Beecher Stowe" in anthologies, 177; *Old Plantation Days,* 171–72; "Sympathy" in anthologies, 177; "We Wear the Mask" in anthologies, 176–77; "When De Co'n Pone's Hot," 172, 177
Duneka, Frederick, 101
Dupee, F. W.: and James, 130
Duyckinck, Evert A.: *Cyclopedia of American Literature,* 21–22
Duyckinck, George L. *See* Duyckinck, Evert A.

Eble, Kenneth: and Chopin, 162, 163
Edel, Leon: and James, 130; as co-editor of *Masters of American Literature* and James, 128
Edwards, Paul: and Equiano, 175
Eight American Writers (Falk and Foerster): editorial assumptions of, 15, 16; and inclusion of novels, 101; and Twain, 96, 101
Elliott, A. Marshall, 2
Elliott, Emory: as co-editor of *American Literature,* editorial assumptions of, 19; and Cather, 195–96; and Glasgow, 204; and Harper, 180
Ellis, Milton: as co-editor of *A College*

Book of American Literature and Cather, 191–92; and Freeman, 153–54; and Glasgow, 200; and Hawthorne, 46; and Howells, 116–17; and Irving, 28; and Lanier, 81; and Melville, 49; and Poe, 39; and Stowe, 136–37; and Twain, 91; and Wharton, 184
Emanuel, James: *Dark Symphony,* 168
Emerson, Everett: and Twain, 90–91, 105
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 56, 57; in UNESCO poll, 70
Equiano, Olaudah, 168–69; first anthology appearance of, 174; in anthologies, 175; *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African,* in anthologies, 175
Erskine, John: *Leading American Novelists* and Stowe, 134

Falk, Robert: as co-editor of *Eight American Writers,* editorial assumptions of, 15, 16; and Twain, 96
Faulkner, William, 202
Fetterley, Judith: and Freeman, 157; and Twain, 88
Fishkin, Shelley Fisher: *Was Huck Black?,* 104–5
Flanagan, John T.: as co-editor of *American Literature,* see Brown, Clarence A.
Foerster, Norman, 7; critical allegiances, 10; and Cary, A., 74–75; and Cary, P., 74–75; and Larcom, 74–75; and Thaxter, 74–75. WORKS: as editor of *American Literature, 1607–1885,* 4; *American Poetry and Prose,* editorial assumptions of, xx, 9, 15, 16; and inclusion of novels, 12, 15, 35, 89, 101; and African American writers, 167; and Cather, 191, 193–94, 195–96; and Dickinson, 66, 67, 218n. 29; and Douglass, 174; and Harte, 111; and Hawthorne, 43–44, 45–46, 47; and Howells, 115, 116, 118, 119; and James, 124, 129; and Jewett, 149, 150–51; and Lanier, 79–80, 82; and Poe, 38, 39; and Stowe, 138, 141; and Twain, 98, 101, 221n. 23; and Wharton, 184, 185, 187; and Whitman, 56, 61; as co-editor of *Eight American Writers,* see Falk, Robert
Foner, Philip, 168
Foster, Edward: *Mary E. Wilkins Freeman,* 155
Fowler, Alastair, xviii
Fox, Allan: and Dunbar, 173
Frederick, John: as co-editor of *American Literature,* see Davis, Joe Lee
Freeman, Mary Wilkins, 120, 164; in anthologies, 134, 152–58; in historiographical-phase, 153–55; in New Critical-phase, 155–57; compared to Jewett, 155; compared to Stowe, 139. WORKS: "A Church Mouse" in anthologies, 158; "A Humble Romance" in anthologies, 154, 156; "Louisa" in anthologies, 154, 156; "Love and Witches" in anthologies, 158; "A Mistaken Charity" in anthologies, 157–58; *A New England Nun,* 152; "A New England Nun" in anthologies, 154, 156, 157–58; "Old Woman Magoun" in anthologies, 158; "On the Walpole Road" in anthologies, 154, 156; *The Portion of Labor* in anthologies, 154, 156, 158; "The Revolt of 'Mother' " in anthologies, 154, 156, 157–58; "A Village Singer" in anthologies, 156, 157–58
frontier studies movement, 13; and influence on anthologies, 93
Frost, Robert: in UNESCO poll, 70
Fullerton, Bradford: and Chopin, 161

Gabriel, Ralph: as co-editor of *The American Mind,* see Warfel, Harry
Gartner, Carol: "Charles W. Chesnutt," 173

Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., xv; and Equiano, 175
Gayle, Addison, Jr.: and Dunbar, 173
Geismar, Maxwell: and Cather, 191
Giantvalley, Scott: *Walt Whitman, 1838–1939,* 58
Gibson, William, 101
Gilbert, Sandra: and Freeman, 157; as co-editor of *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women* and Freeman, 152; and Glasgow, 205
Gillman, Susan: *Dark Twins,* 105
Glasgow, Ellen: in anthologies, 198–205; in historiographical-phase, 199–201; in multicultural-phase, 202–5; in New Critical-phase, 201–02; in UNESCO poll, 201; compared to Balzac, 201; compared to Cable, G. W., 200; compared to Cather, 198; compared to Zola, 201; and Faulkner, 202; and Southern literature, 199–200. WORKS: *The Deliverance,* 198; *The Descendant,* 199; "The Difference" in anthologies, 203; "Jordan's End" in anthologies, 200, 202–3; *Life and Gabriella,* 198; "The Professional Instinct," 205; "The Professional Instinct" in anthologies, 204; *The Romantic Comedians* in anthologies, 200, 203; *The Sheltered Life,* in anthologies, 200, 201; *The Wheel of Life,* 198
Glasser, Leah Blatt: and Freeman, 157
Gloster, Hugh: and Dunbar, 171
Gohdes, Clarence: and Chopin, 162; as co-editor of *America's Literature* and Harte, 111; and James, 128
Gottesman, Ronald: as co-editor of *The Norton Anthology of American Literature,* see Baym, Nina
Graff, Gerald: *Professing Literature: An Institutional Study,* 7
Gribben, Alan: and Twain, 92
Gross, Seymour: as co-editor of *American Literature Survey* and Chesnutt, 178; and Equiano, 175; and Harper, 179; and Harte, 113
Gross, Theodore: and Irving, 31; as co-editor of *America in Literature,* see DeMott, Benjamin. *See also* Emanuel, James
Gubar, Susan: and Freeman, 157; as co-editor of *The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women,* see Gilbert, Sandra
Guillory, John, xvii
Gunn, Giles: *F. O. Matthiessen: The Critical Achievement* and Poe, 41

Hamblen, Abigail: and Freeman, 157
Hampson, Alfred Leete. *See* Bianchi, Martha Dickinson
Harper, Frances: in anthologies, 170, 179–80; first anthology appearance of, 174. WORKS: "Bury Me in a Free Land" in anthologies, 179; "The Slave Auction" in anthologies, 179; "The Two Offers" in anthologies, 179
Harper American Literature, The (McQuade et al.): editorial assumptions of, 21–22; and inclusion of novels, 104; and Cather, 197; and Chesnutt, 178; and Equiano, 175; and Glasgow, 204; and Howells, 120; and Irving, 31; and James, 131, 224n. 91; and Lanier, 83; and Melville, 53; and Twain, 104; and Whitman, 64
Harris, Wendell, xvii–xix
Hart, Ellen Louise: and Dickinson, 73
Hart, James D.: as co-editor of *America's Literature,* see Gohdes, Clarence
Hart, John Seely: *Manual of American Literature,* 2–3
Harte, Bret, 134; in anthologies, 87, 106–14; in historiographical-phase, 106–10; in multicultural-phase, 112–14; in New Critical-phase, 110–12; compared to Irving, 106–7; compared to Stowe,

143; and local color writing, 112–13. WORKS: "The Angelus" in anthologies, 112; "The Luck of Roaring Camp," 107, 112; "The Luck of Roaring Camp" in anthologies, 110; "The Luck of Roaring Camp," influence of, 110–11; "Mliss," 110; "Mrs. Judge Jenkins" in anthologies, 112; "Muck-a-Muck" (an excerpt from *Condensed Novels*) in anthologies, 112; "The Outcasts of Poker Flat" in anthologies, 110, 112, 113–14; "Plain Language from Truthful James" in anthologies, 110, 112, 113–14; "The Society upon the Stanislaus" in anthologies, 110, 112; "Tennessee's Partner" in anthologies, 112, 113–14
Hawkins, Hunt: and Twain, 103
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 134, 135; in anthologies, 42–48, 134; in historiographical-phase, 46; in multicultural-phase, 46–47; in New Critical-phase, 46; in UNESCO poll, 70. WORKS: *The American Note-Books,* in anthologies, 43, 45; "The Birthmark" in anthologies, 44, 46; "David Swan" in anthologies, 44; "Endicott and the Red Cross" in anthologies, 43, 44; "Ethan Brand" in anthologies, 43, 44; "The Gentle Boy" in anthologies, 43–44; "The Great Stone Face" in anthologies, 44; "The Maypole of Merry Mount" in anthologies, 43, 44, 45; "The Minister's Black Veil" in anthologies, 43, 44, 45, 46; "My Kinsman Major Molineux" in anthologies, 45, 46–47; "The Old Manse" in anthologies, 44; "Preface to *The House of Seven Gables*" in anthologies, 44, 45; "Rappaccini's Daughter" in anthologies, 43, 44, 45, 46; "Roger Malvin's Burial" in anthologies, 45; *The Scarlet Letter,* 146; *The Scarlet Letter* in anthologies, 44, 45, 47–48; "Sights from the Steeple" in anthologies, 44; "Wakefield" in anthologies, 45; "The White Old Maid" in anthologies, 44; "Young Goodman Brown" in anthologies, 43, 44, 45, 46
Heath Anthology of American Literature, The (Lauter et al.): editorial assumptions of, 19, 20; and inclusion of novels, 104–5; and Cather, 197; and Chopin, 164; and Dickinson, 72–73; and Freeman, 158; and Glasgow, 204–5; and Harper, 179, 180; and Jacobs, 175; and James, 224n. 91; and Jewett, 151; and Lanier, 83; and Poe, 39; and Stowe, 143; and Thaxter, 74; and Twain, 104–5; and Wharton, 189; and Whitman, 64
Heermance, J. Noel: *Charles W. Chesnutt,* 173
Heritage of American Literature (Miller): and inclusion of novels, 12; and Glasgow, 204; and Harper, 180
Hicks, Grandville: and Cather, 191, 192; and Wharton, 182–83; *The Great Tradition,* 182
Hill, Hamlin: and Twain, 88; *Mark Twain: God's Fool,* 105–6
Hirsh, David: and Freeman, 157
Hocks, Richard: and James, 125, 126, 131
Holman, C. Hugh: and inclusion of novels, 101; as editor of *The Odyssey Surveys of American Writing* and Cather, 194; and Jewett, 149; and Twain, 101
Hornberger, Theodore: and Irving, 28; as co-editor of *The Literature of the United States,* see Blair, Walter
Howard, Leon; as co-editor of *American Heritage,* see Bode, Carl
Howe, Irving: as co-editor of *The Literature of America,* editorial assumptions of, 18; and Douglass, 169, 174; and Irving, 30, 31; and Jewett, 151

Howe, Will David: as co-editor of *The Literature of America,* see Quinn, Arthur Hobson
Howells, William Dean, 121; in anthologies, 87, 114–21; in historigraphical-phase, 114–17; in multicultural-phase, 119; in New Critical-phase, 117–19. WORKS: *Criticism and Fiction,* 117; *Criticism and Fiction* in anthologies, 116, 117, 120; "Editha" in anthologies, 118–19; *A Hazard of New Fortunes,* 120; *Literary Boston as I Knew It* in anthologies, 116; *A Modern Instance,* 120; *A Modern Instance* in anthologies, 116; *The Mouse-Trap,* 116; *The Rise of Silas Lapham,* 120; *The Rise of Silas Lapham* in anthologies, 116; "The Unexpected Guests" in anthologies, 116
Hubbell, Jay B., 71, 210; critical allegiances of, 10. WORKS: as editor of *American Life in Literature,* editorial assumptions of, 10, 14–15; and inclusion of novels, 32; and African American writers, 167; and Cather, 191, 192; and Chopin, 162; and Dickinson, 69; and Glasgow, 199–200, 201–2; and Harte, 109; and James, 125; and Jewett, 146–47; and Lanier, 80–81, 82; and Melville, 49, 50; and Poe, 39–40; and Stowe, 138, 140; and Twain, 91, 94–95, 96; and Wharton, 185–86; and Whitman, 57; *Who Are the Major American Writers?,* 71, 140
Hurston, Zora Neal: *Their Eyes Were Watching God* in anthologies, 104

Irving, Washington, 121; in anthologies, 24–31, 86; in historiographical-phase, 25–28; in multicultural-phase, 30–31; in New Critical-phase, 28–30; in UNESCO poll, 70; characterized by Franklyn B. Snyder and Edward D. Snyder, 25. WORKS: "Adventure of a German Student" in anthologies, 30; "Devil and Tom Walker, The" in anthologies, 30; *A History of New York,* ("The Golden Reign of Wouter Van Twiller") in anthologies, 25–27, 29, 30–31; "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" in anthologies, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30; "Rip Van Winkle" in anthologies, 25, 26, 29, 30; *A Tour on the Prairies* in anthologies, 30

Jacobs, Harriet, 168–69; in anthologies, 175–76. WORKS: *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* 176; *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* in anthologies, 175, 209–10
James, Henry: in anthologies, 87, 121–31; in historiographical-phase, 121–27; in multicultural-phase, 130–31; in New Critical-phase, 127–30; in UNESCO poll, 70; "The Jamesian Revival," 121–28; and Jewett, 145. WORKS: *The Ambassadors,* 121, 125–126, 127–28; *The American* in anthologies, 124–25; "The American Scene" in anthologies, 126; "The Art of Fiction" in anthologies, 123, 126, 128, 129, 130–31; "The Beast in the Jungle" in anthologies, 129, 130–31; "Crapy Cornelia" in anthologies, 126; "Daisy Miller," 121–22, 131; "Daisy Miller" in anthologies, 124, 125, 128, 130–31, 224n. 91; "The Death of the Lion" in anthologies, 124, 129; *The Europeans,* in anthologies, 124; "The Figure in the Carpet" in anthologies, 129; "Flickerbridge" in anthologies, 129; "Four Meetings" in anthologies, 129; *The Golden Bowl,* 121, 125–26, 127–28; "Greville Fane" in anthologies, 123–24; *Hawthorne* in anthologies, 129, 224n. 91; "The Jolly Corner" in an-

thologies, 129, 130–31; "Maud-Evelyn" in anthologies, 129; "The Middle Years" in anthologies, 128–29; *Partial Portraits* in anthologies, 129; *The Portrait of a Lady* in anthologies, 124–25; "The Real Thing" in anthologies, 124, 128, 129, 130–31; "The Sense of Newport" in anthologies, 126; *The Spoils of Poynton* in anthologies, 125; *The Turn of the Screw* in anthologies, 131; *What Maisie Knew* in anthologies, 125; *The Wings of the Dove,* 121, 125–26, 127–28; *The Wings of the Dove,* in anthologies, 126

Jewett, Sarah Orne, 120, 164; in anthologies, 134, 144–51; in historiographical-phase, 146–48; in New Critical-phase, 148–50; in UNESCO poll, 148; compared to Dickinson, 146; compared to Hawthorne, 145, 148; compared to Irving, 145; compared to Poe, 145; compared to Stowe, 139. WORKS: *The Country of the Pointed Firs, and Other Stories,* 144, 145, 148; *The Country of the Pointed Firs, and Other Stories* in anthologies, 146, 147, 151; "The Courting of Sister Wisby" in anthologies, 149; "The Dulham Ladies" in anthologies, 147; "The Foreigner" in anthologies, 151; "The Guests of Mrs. Timms" in anthologies, 149; "Miss Tempy's Watchers" in anthologies, 149; "A Native of Wimby," 145; "A Native of Wimby" in anthologies, 147; "A White Heron" in anthologies, 149–50, 151

Johnson, James Weldon, 167

Johnson, Thomas H.: and Dickinson, 71–72

Jones, Howard Mumford: and Glasgow, 199–200; and Jewett, 147–48; as co-editor of *Major American Writers,* editorial assumptions of, 11, 15, 209; and inclusion of novels, 12, 47, 89, 100; and Cooper, 34; and Dickinson, 68–69; and Glasgow, 201–2; and Harte, 108–9; and Irving, 25, 27; and Jewett, 147; and Lanier, 82; and Melville, 49, 50; and Poe, 39; and Stowe, 138; and Twain, 91, 95, 99, 100

Kaplan, Justin: *Mr. Clemens and Mark Twain: A Biography,* 105; as co-editor of *The Harper American Literature,* see McQuade, Donald

Kazin, Alfred: and Cather, 191

Kehler, Harold: and Howells, 119

Kinnamon, Keneth: and African American writers, 167; "Three Black Writers and the Anthologized Canon," xv

Kronenberg, Louis: and Cather, 191

Kruse, Horst: *Mark Twain and "Life on the Mississippi,"* 90

Kummings, Donald: and Whitman, 62; *Walt Whitman, 1940–1975,* 60

Lanier, Sidney: in anthologies, 79–85. WORKS: "Cain Smallin" in anthologies, 81; "Corn" in anthologies, 84; "The Marshes of Glynn" in anthologies, 81; "Song of the Chattahoochee" in anthologies, 81; "The Symphony" in anthologies, 81, 84; *Tiger-Lilies* in anthologies, 81

Larcom, Lucy: in anthologies, 73–79: WORKS: "Hannah Binding Shoes" in anthologies, 74; *An Idyl of Work,* 77–78; "A Loyal Woman's No," 76–77; "A Loyal Woman's No" in anthologies, 74

Laryea, Doris Lucas: and Dunbar, 173, 229n. 10

Lauter, Paul: theory of canon formation, xix. WORKS: *Canons and Context* and African American writers, 166; Freeman, 152; as co-editor of *The Heath Anthology of American Literature,* edi-

torial assumptions of, 19, 20; and inclusion of novels, 104–5; and Cather, 197; and Chopin, 164; and Dickinson, 72–73; and Freeman, 158; and Glasgow, 204–5; and Harper, 179, 180; and Jacobs, 175; and James, 224n. 91; and Jewett, 151; and Lanier, 83; and Poe, 39; and Stowe, 143; and Thaxter, 74; and Twain, 104–5; and Whitman, 64
Lawson, Victor: and Dunbar, 171
Leary, Lewis: and Chopin, 163
Leisy, Ernest E.: and Glasgow, 199; and Harte, 108; and Twain, 94; as co-editor of *Major American Writers,* see Jones, Howard Mumford
Levin, David: as co-editor of *America in Literature,* see DeMott, Benjamin
Levis, F. R., 127
Lewis, R. W. B.: and Wharton, 188; as co-editor of *American Literature,* see Brooks, Cleanth
Lewis, Sinclair, 120, 192; and Cather, 190
Lewisohn, Ludwig: and Jewett, 147; *Expression in America* and Wharton, 182
literary historiography: attacks on, 6–7; critical tastes of, xi; defense of, 6; influence of the academy on, 3; waning influence of, 5
Literary History of the United States: and Chopin, 161; and Freeman, 155; and Jewett, 148; and Lanier, 82; and Melville, 48
Literature of America, The (Howe et al.): editorial assumptions of, 18; and Douglass, 169, 174; and Irving, 30, 31; and Jewett, 151
Literature of America, The (Quinn et al.): and Cather, 191; and Cooper, 35; and Dunbar, 170; and Hawthorne, 46; and Howells, 116; and James, 123, 124; and Jewett, 146; and Poe, 38; and Stowe, 138; and Wharton, 184–85
Literature of America, The (Schorer): and Cather, 195
Literature of the United States, The (Blair et al.): and African American writers, 167; and Cather, 193–94; and Cooper, 35; and Freeman, 156; and Harte, 111; and Hawthorne, 46; and James, 127; and Jewett, 148, 149; and Stowe, 139, 140; and Whitman, 60
Long, E. Hudson: as co-editor of *The American Tradition in Literature,* see Beatty, Richard
Loving, Jerome: and Whitman, 57, 217n. 5
Lubbock, Percy: and James, 125; *Portrait of Edith Wharton,* 186

Mabbott, Thomas: *Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe,* 41–42
Macmillian anthology. See *Roots of National Culture, The*
Macy, John: and James, 122; and Wharton, 182. WORKS: *American Writer's on American Fiction* and Freeman, 152–53; *The Spirit of American Literature* and Jewett, 145; and Lanier, 80
The Main Lines in American Literature, (Scott and Short): and Howells, 118–19; and Lanier, 82; and Stowe, 139, 140
Major American Writers (Jones and Leisy): editorial assumptions of, 11, 15, 209; and inclusion of novels, 12, 47, 89, 100; and Cooper, 34; and Dickinson, 68–69; and Glasgow, 201–2; and Harte, 108–9; and Irving, 25, 27; and Jewett, 147; and Lanier, 82; and Melville, 49, 50; and Poe, 39; and Stowe, 138; and Twain, 91, 95, 99, 100
Major Writers of America (Miller), xvi–xvii, 16; editorial assumptions of, 211n. 6; and James, 130; and Melville, 51; and Twain, 96
Marxist criticism: influence on the academy, 13–14

Masters of American Literature (Allen and Pochmann): editorial assumptions of, 12, 89, 99; and Dickinson, 69, 70; and Howells, 117; and James, 128, 129; and Melville, 51; and Poe, 39; and Twain, 99
Masters of American Literature (Edel et al.): and James, 128
Matthiessen, F. O.: and Freeman, 152–53; and James, 127; and Jewett, 146; and Poe, 40–41. WORKS: *American Renaissance,* 40; and Melville, 49, 51; and Whitman, 59; *Herman Melville, Selected Poems,* 51
McDowell, Tremaine. *See* Spiller, Robert
McIntosh, Peggy: and Dickinson, 73
McMichael, George: as co-editor of *Anthology of American Literature* and Chesnutt, 177–78; and Cooper, 35; and Glasgow, 204; and Harte, 113; and Lanier, 83, 84; and Stowe, 142–43; and Whitman, 62–63
McQuade, Donald: as co-editor of *The Harper American Literature,* editorial assumptions of, 21–22; and inclusion of novels, 104; and Cather, 197; and Chesnutt, 178; and Equiano, 175; and Glasgow, 204; and Howells, 120; and Irving, 31; and James, 131, 224n. 91; and Lanier, 83; and Melville, 53; and Twain, 104; and Whitman, 64
Mencken, H. L., 120; and literary historiography, 7–8; and Cather, 190; and Glasgow, 198
Melville, Herman, 120; in anthologies, 48–53, 86; in historiographical-phase, 48–51; in multicultural-phase, 52–53; in New Critical-phase, 51–52; in UNESCO poll, 70; poetry of, 51–52. WORKS: "Bartleby the Scrivener" in anthologies, 52, 53; "Benito Cereno" in anthologies, 50, 52, 53; *Billy Budd* in anthologies, 52, 53; *Clarel,* 51; "Malvern Hill" in anthologies, 53; "A March into Virginia" in anthologies, 53; *Mardi* in anthologies, 50, 52; *Moby Dick,* 48; in anthologies, 49–50, 52, 53; "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids" in anthologies, 53; *Pierre* in anthologies, 50, 52; "The Portent" in anthologies, 53; "Shiloh" in anthologies, 53; *Typee* in anthologies, 49–50, 52; "A Utilitarian View of *The Monitor*'s Fight" in anthologies, 53; *White Jacket* in anthologies, 50, 52
Meserole, Harrison: as co-editor of *American Literature* and Chesnutt, 177; and Wharton, 189
Miller, James E.: as editor of *Heritage of American Literature* and inclusion of novels, 12; and Glasgow, 204; and Harper, 180
Miller, Perry: as editor of *Major Writers of America,* xvi–xvii; editorial assumptions of, 16, 211n. 6; and James, 130; and Melville, 51; and Twain, 96
Modern Language Association: founding of, 2, 8
"Molders of the Modern Mind": and Stowe, 140
Mott, Frank: as co-editor of *American Literature,* see Davis, Joe Lee
Multiculturalism: and influence on anthology selection, 20
Mumford, Lewis: and Twain, 94
Murdock, Kenneth: and Glasgow, 200

Nelson, J. H. *See* Spiller, Robert
Nevius, Blake: and Wharton, 186–87
New Critics: influence of on the academy, xi, 15–17
New Humanism: challenge to literary historiography, 5–6

Norton Anthology of American Literature, The (Baym et al.), 20, 22, 208; and inclusion of novels, 21; and Cather, 195, 196; and Chopin, 164; and Glasgow, 203, 204; and Hawthorne, 42–46; and Howells, 120; and Jewett, 151; and Lanier, 83; and Melville, 53; and Poe, 39; and Stowe, 142; and Wharton, 189; and Whitman, 64
Norton Anthology of Literature by Women, The (Gilbert and Gubar), xvi, 134; and Freeman, 152; and Glasgow, 205
novels: in anthologies, 11–12, 32–33, 88–89, 92, 100–102, 124, 131, 141, 164, 189

O'Brien, Sharon: and Cather, 190–91, 197
O'Connor, Margaret Anne: and Cather, 196–97
Odyssey Surveys of American Writing, The (Holman): and Cather, 194; and Cooper, 35; and Jewett, 149; and Twain, 101
Okker, Patricia, 167–68
Oxford Anthology of American Literature, The (Benét and Pearson), 15; and Cather, 191–92; and Irving, 27–28; and James, 124, 126–27, 128; and Jewett, 146; and Lanier, 80; and Melville, 50; and Stowe, 138; and Twain, 91, 95, 99; and Whitman, 57

Paine, Albert Bigelow: and Twain, 95–96, 101
Parker, Hershel, 50–51, 53
Parrington, Vernon L., 138; and Jewett, 147. WORKS: *Main Currents in American Thought,* 13; and Harte, 108; and James, 122; and Twain, 93; "Our Literary Aristocrat" and Wharton, 182
Pattee, Fred Lewis: and Glasgow, 199–200; and Harte, 107–8; and Jewett, 145; and Wharton, 182. WORKS: as editor of *Century Readings for a Course in American Literature:* xx, xvi–xvii, 9–10, 44, 78; and P. Cary, 74; and Cather, 191, 192; and Chopin, 160; and Cooper, 33; and Dickinson, 65, 66; and Freeman, 153; and Harte, 107; and Hawthorne, 42–46; and Howells, 116, 121; and James, 122–23; and Jewett, 146, 147; and Lanier, 79; and Larcom, 74; and Melville, 48, 50; and Poe, 36–37, 38; and Stowe, 136, 137; and Thaxter, 74; and Twain, 90; and Wharton, 183; and Whitman, 56, 58; *Century Readings in the American Short Story,* 160; *A History of American Literature since 1870,* 65, 90, 152, 159
Patterson, Rebecca: *The Riddle of Emily Dickinson,* 73
Pearson, Norman H.: as co-editor of *The Oxford Anthology of American Literature,* see Benét, William Rose
Pearson Custom Library of American Literature, The, 208
Perkins, George: and Jacobs, 176; as co-editor of *The American Tradition in Literature,* see Beatty, Richard
Perry, Bliss: *The American Spirit in Literature,* and Jewett, 145
Phelps, William Lyon: and Twain, 94
Pochmann, Henry: and Irving, 27; as co-editor of *Masters of American Literature,* see Allen, Gay Wilson
Poe, Edgar Allan, 80, 121; in anthologies, 36–42, 86, 134; in historiographical-phase, 37–39; in multicultural-phase, 38–39; in New Critical-phase, 38–39; in UNESCO poll, 70. WORKS: "The Cask of Amontillado" in anthologies, 42; "The City in the Sea" in anthologies, 42; "The Fall of the House of Usher" in anthologies, 42; "Hawthorne's *Twice-Told Tales*" in anthologies, 42; "Israfel" in anthologies, 42;

"The Murders in the Rue Morgue" in anthologies, 42; "The Poetic Principle" in anthologies, 42; "The Raven" in anthologies, 42; "To Helen" in anthologies, 42; "Ulalume" in anthologies, 42
Porter, Katherine Anne: and James, 127
Poststructuralist criticism: influence of on the academy, 18–22
Pound, Louise: as co-editor of *A College Book of American Literature,* see Ellis, Milton
Pryse, Marjorie: and Freeman, 157; and Jewett, 144
Psychoanalytic criticism: influence of on the academy, 13–14

Quinn, Arthur Hobson: and inclusion of novels, 35; and Howells, 116; and Poe, 37. WORKS: *American Fiction* and Chopin, 161; *Edgar Allan Poe,* 37; as co-editor of *The Literature of America* and Cather, 191; and Dunbar, 170; and Hawthorne, 46; and James, 123, 124; and Jewett, 146; and Poe, 38; and Stowe, 138; and Wharton, 184–85
Quirk, Tom, xix, 167

Rankin, Daniel: in anthologies, 159; and Chopin, 161
Revell, Peter: and Dunbar, 171
Reynolds, David S.: *Beneath the American Renaissance,* 75
Richardson, Charles F.: and *belles-lettres* criticism, 4
Robinson, Forrest: *In Bad Faith* and Twain, 105
Roots of National Culture, The (Spiller): and Cather, 192; and Chopin, 158; and Dunbar, 170; and Glasgow, 200; and Harte, 109–10; and Howells, 116; and Stowe, 137–38

Scharnhorst, Gary, xix, 167; and Harte, 106, 222n. 44; and Twain, 88
Schorer, Mark: as editor of *The Literature of America: The Twentieth Century* and Cather, 195; as co-editor of *The Literature of America,* see Howe, Irving
Scott, Wilbur: as co-editor of *The Main Lines in American Literature* and Howells, 118–19; and Lanier, 82; and Stowe, 139, 140
Sewell, David R.: and Twain, 92
Seyersted, Per: and Chopin, 159, 163
Shafer, Robert: as editor of *American Literature,* editorial assumptions of, 11; and inclusion of novels, 35; and literary historiography, 7; and Cooper, 35; and Dickinson, 67; and Freeman, 153; and Harte, 107, 110; and Hawthorne, 44; and James, 125–26; and Melville, 48–49; and Stowe, 138; and Tabb, 81; and Wharton, 183; and Whitman, 57
Sherman, Stuart: and Glasgow, 199; and Twain, 89
Short, Raymond: as co-editor of *The Main Lines in American Literature,* see Scott, Wilbur
Simms, William Gilmore, 134
Skaggs, Peggy: and Chopin, 159, 162
Smiley, Jane: and Stowe, 226n. 32; and Twain, 226n. 32
Smith, C. Alphonso: and African American writers, 168; and Stowe, 134
Smith, Henry Nash: and Twain, 96–97, 98; *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer,* 97
Smith, Valerie: *Self-Discovery and Authority in Afro-American Narrative* and Jacobs, 176
Snyder, Edward D.: as co-editor of *A Book of American Literature,* editorial assumptions of, 10, 78; and Cather,

191; and Harte, 107; and Howells, 115, 116; and Irving, 25, 26; and James, 123, 124; and Lanier, 79; and Stowe, 136; and Tabb, 81; and Thaxter, 74; and Twain, 91; and Whitman, 56
Snyder, Franklyn B.: and defense of literary historiography, 6; as co-editor of *A Book of American Literature,* see Snyder, Edward D.
Solomon, Barbara, 226n. 33; and Freeman, 157
Spiller, Robert: and Dickinson, 70; and James, 125, 130; as editor of *The Roots of National Culture* and Cather, 192; and Chopin, 158; and Dunbar, 170; and Glasgow, 200; and Stowe, 137–38
Spohn, George: as co-editor of *A College Book of American Literature,* see Ellis, Milton
Springer, Marlene: and Chopin, 161; and Wharton, 183, 186
Stedman, E. C.: and Poe, 36
Stegner, Wallace: and Harte, 110–11
Stern, Milton: *Viking Portable American Literature Survey,* xix; as co-editor of *American Literature Survey,* see Gross, Seymour
Stewart, Randall: and James, 127–28; and Jewett, 148; as co-editor of *The Literature of the United States,* see Blair, Walter
Stout, Janis P., 231n. 33
Stovall, Floyd: *Eight American Authors,* 17; and Dickinson, 71; and Melville, 51; and Poe, 37, 41
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 164; in anthologies, 134–44; in historiographical-phase, 136–38; in multicultural-phase, 142–44; in New Critical-phase, 138–42; in UNESCO poll, 140; as regionalist writer, 138–39. WORKS: "Captain Kidd's Money" in anthologies, 140; *Dred,* 139; "The Ghost in the Mill" in anthologies, 138; "The Minister's Housekeeper" in anthologies, 143; "The Minister's Wooing," 139, 143; "The Minister's Wooing" in anthologies, 138; "Miss Asphyxia" in anthologies, 143; "The Old Meetinghouse" in anthologies, 138; *Oldtown Fireside Stories,* 139; *Oldtown Folks,* 139, 143; *Oldtown Folks* in anthologies, 137, 138; *Poganuc People* in anthologies, 137; "Still, Still with Thee" in anthologies, 137; *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* 138–39; *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* early appraisals of, 134–37; *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in anthologies, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143; *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* mid-century appraisals of, 140–42; "Views of the Divine Government" in anthologies, 137; "The Village Do-Nothing" in anthologies, 143; "When Winds Are Raging" in anthologies, 137
Sutton, Walter: as co-editor of *American Literature,* see Meserole, Harrison

Tabb, John Banister: compared to Dickinson, 81; in anthologies, 79–85
Tate, Allen: and Dickinson, 67–68
Tenney, Thomas: *Mark Twain,* 94
Thaxter, Celia: in anthologies, 73–79. WORKS: "Land Locked" in anthologies, 74; "Midsummer Midnight" in anthologies, 74; "Rock Weeds" in anthologies, 74; "The Sandpiper" in anthologies, 74; "The Spaniards' Graves at the Isles of Shoals" in anthologies, 74; "Twilight" in anthologies, 74
Thoreau, Henry David: in UNESCO poll, 70
Thorp, Willard: *Herman Melville,* 50–51; as co-editor of *American Issues,* see Baker, Carlos
Tompkins, Jane, xvi–xvii, 216n. 43; and 1930s criticism, 13–14; and Stowe,

225n. 7. WORKS: *Sensational Designs,* xv; and Hawthorne, 42–46; and Stowe, 144
Toth, Susan Allen: and Freeman, 157
Towers, Tom H.: and Twain, 88
Trachtenberg, Alan: as co-editor of *America in Literature,* see DeMott, Benjamin
Trent, William: *Great Writers in America* and Stowe, 134
Trilling, Lionel: and Cather, 191, 192
Tuckey, John S.: *Mark Twain and Little Satan,* 101
Turner, Darwin: and Dunbar, 171; "Paul Laurence Dunbar," 173
Twain, Mark, 121; in anthologies, 86–106, 134; in historiographical-phase, 87–96; in multicultural-phase, 102–6; in New Critical-phase, 96; in UNESCO poll, 70. WORKS: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* 146; *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* in anthologies, 20–21, 87–89, 100–102; *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn,* unabridged reprinting in anthologies, 103–5; *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer,* in anthologies, 87–89; "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County" in anthologies, 95, 102; *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court,* 98; "Corn-Pone Opinion" in anthologies, 99; *Following the Equator* in anthologies, 95, 97; *The Gilded Age,* in anthologies, 87, 89, 91–92, 93, 95; *The Innocents Abroad,* in anthologies, 97; "Jim Baker's Blue-Jay Yarn" in anthologies, 98; "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" in anthologies, 106; *Life on the Mississippi,* 87, 89, 90–91, 93, 95, 97, 99, 103, 106; "The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg" in anthologies, 95, 98–99, 106; *The Mysterious Stranger* in anthologies, 47, 94, 100–101, 102; *No. 44, The Mysterious Stanger,* 101; "Old Times on the Mississippi" in anthologies, 101; "The Private History of the Campaign That Failed" in anthologies, 103; *Pudd'nhead Wilson* in anthologies, 95; "The Raftsmen's Passage" in anthologies, 91; *Roughing It* in anthologies, 87, 89, 90, 92, 93, 98, 103; "Sociable Jimmy" in anthologies, 104–5; "To the Person Sitting in Darkness" in anthologies, 103; *A Tramp Abroad,* in anthologies, 97; "A True Story" in anthologies, 105; "The War Prayer" in anthologies, 99, 103; "The Whittier Birthday Dinner Speech" in anthologies, 95
Tyler, Moses Coit: *Literary History of the American Revolution,* 3–4. *See also* literary historiography

UNESCO, poll of 1949, 70–71; and Cather, 193; and Glasgow, 201; and Jewett, 148; and Stowe, 140; and Wharton, 186

Vanderbilt, Kermit, 122; and American Studies Movement, 97–98; and competition to anthologies, 17; and development of American literature, 4–5; *American Literature and the Academy,* 1–2
Van Doren, Carl, 136; editorial assumptions of, 7; and Cather, 190; and Glasgow, 200; and Howells, 115, 120; and Melville, 48; and Stowe, 135; and Twain, 94; and Wharton, 182
Van Ghent, Dorothy: and James, 129–30
Vincent, Howard: *Collected Poems of Herman Melville,* 52

Wagner, Linda: and Glasgow, 203
Walker, Cheryl, 77; *American Women Poets of the Nineteenth Century,* 75

Wann, Louis. *See* Spiller, Robert
Warfel, Harry: as co-editor of *The American Mind* and Dunbar, 170; and Freeman, 154; and Harte, 109; and James, 124; and Jewett, 146; and Twain, 91; and Wharton, 184
Warren, Robert Penn: and Douglass, 169; and James, 127; and Melville, 51–52; as co-editor of *American Literature,* see Brooks, Cleanth
Weber, Brom: as co-editor of *American Literature,* see Meserole, Harrison
Wells, Carlton. *See* Blake, Caesar
Wendell, Barrett: *A Literary History of America,* 5
West, Rebecca: and James, 122
West, Victor Royce: *Folklore in the Works of Mark Twain,* 94
Westbrook, Perry: and Freeman, 153, 155, 157; *Acres of Flint,* 155
Wharton, Edith, 120, 192; in anthologies, 183–89; in historiographical-phase, 183–85; in multicultural-phase, 188–89; in New Critical-phase, 185–87; in UNESCO poll, 186. WORKS: "After Holbein" in anthologies, 187, 188; *The Age of Innocence,* 182, 186; "Autres Temps . . . " in anthologies, 184–85; "The Choice" in anthologies, 187; *Ethan Frome,* 183, 186; *Ethan Frome* in anthologies, 189; *The House of Mirth,* in anthologies, 184; "A Journey" in anthologies, 184; "The Lady Maid's Bell" in anthologies, 184–85; "The Other Two" in anthologies, 185, 187, 188–89; "The Pelican" in anthologies, 185; "Roman Fever" in anthologies, 188–89; *The Writing of Fiction,* 188; "Xingu" in anthologies, 185, 187
Whicher, George F.: and Dickinson, 67; and Stowe, 138–39
White, Barbara: and Wharton, 189
Whitman, Walt, 121; in anthologies, 55–64, 86; in historiographical-phase, 56–59; in multicultural-phase, 62–64; in New Critical-phase, 59–63; in UNESCO poll, 70; and anthology formatting, 63–64; and *belles-lettres* criticism, 91; and homosexuality, 59, 61–62, 64; and modernism, 59; compared to Dickinson, 72. WORKS: "Calamus" in anthologies, 60, 63; "Children of Adam" in anthologies, 60, 63; "Democratic Vistas" in anthologies, 56, 60, 63; *Franklin Evans* in anthologies, 64; "I Hear It Was Charged Against Me" in anthologies, 60; "I Saw in Louisiana a Live-Oak Growing" in anthologies, 60; *Leaves of Grass,* 80; *Leaves of Grass* in anthologies, 64; "O Captain! My Captain!" critical reception of, 58, 60; "O Captain! My Captain!" in anthologies, 57, 59, 63; "Preface to *Leaves of Grass*" in anthologies, 60, 63; "Song of Myself" in anthologies, 56, 60, 63; *Specimen Days* in anthologies, 63
Williams, Stanley: and Melville, 51; as co-editor of *The American Mind,* see Warfel, Harry
Wilson, Edmund, ix–x; and Cather, 191, 192; and Wharton, 183. WORKS: *Patriotic Gore* and Chopin, 163; and Stowe, 141; *Twilight Sleep* and Wharton, 182
Wilson, James D.: and Twain, 95–96, 98
Woodress, James: and Howells, 119
Woolf, Cynthia Griffin: and Wharton, 189
Wright, Louis: as co-editor of *American Heritage,* see Bode, Carl
Wright, Richard: *Native Son* in anthologies, 104

Yellin, Jean Fagan: and Jacobs, 176

Ziff, Larzer: and Chopin, 163; as co-editor of *The Literature of America,* see Howe, Irving
Zlotnick, Joan: and Chopin, 163

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