

Conversations

The Newsletter of the Margaret Fuller Society

Margaret Fuller's Interment?

by Albert J. von Frank

Standard accounts of the death of Margaret Fuller have her washed out to sea by the breakers that claimed the ship *Elizabeth* at Fire Island on 19 July 1850. Her body and that of her husband, Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, were said never to have been recovered. And yet there is a dissenting version of events vouched for principally by Arthur Dominy, an eye-witness, who was, at the time of the disaster, the nine-year-old son of the proprietor of the Dominy House Hotel. As an adult, Arthur Dominy (1841-1918) served for many years as director of the U. S. Life-Saving Service for Long Island and Rhode Island, following in the footsteps of his father, Felix (1800-1868), who had kept the Fire Island Lighthouse from 1835 to 1844 (Dominy Craftsmen; Whitehouse). According to Arthur's much-belated recollection, the bodies of a man and a woman were indeed found an indeterminate number of days after the wreck. Fuller was the only woman unaccounted for at that point, while the man had gold fillings in his teeth, not something the other men missing from the ship, all impecunious common sailors, could have afforded. Dominy further claimed that the bodies were taken by boat to New York City with the understanding that Fuller's employer, *Tribune* Editor Horace Greeley, would take them and, with the Fuller family, arrange a proper burial. Greeley reportedly objected that the condition of the corpses was such as to make them unidentifiable, and so declined to take possession.

In alluding to this story, biographer Charles Capper cites an article in the Providence (Rhode Island) *Sunday Journal* of 12 January 1908 (Dominy, "Margaret Fuller's Strange Fate"). He mentions that the clipping he is working from bears an anonymous notation that "Miles Homan was the man who carried the body of Margaret Fuller to New York" but "Miles Homan," as Capper notes, cannot be identified (622, n. 26). The name Homan, however, is abundantly represented among the population of the Suffolk County coastal towns, including especially Bay Shore, Islip, and Brookhaven, in the last of which for many years Mordecai Homan served as the town clerk (Records, *passim*).

It seems not to have been noticed that a version of Dominy's story had in fact been published years earlier. In the *Daily Standard Union* (Brooklyn), 9 November 1898, is an item entitled "Tale of a Wreck. It Occurred on Fire Island Beach Many Years Ago. As

Told by Arthur Dominy, Superintendent of the Third District, United States Life Saving Service, Who Narrates an Interesting Story He believes that Margaret Fuller's body was buried on Coney Island." The salient portion is as follows:

Captain Wicks, of Bayshore, ran a sailing vessel regularly to New York. He took the bodies to the city with him, and informed Horace Greeley of the fact that he had the bodies on board his vessel, but the latter could not satisfy himself that the remains were those of the Count and his wife, so Capt. Wicks, fearing unpleasant complications if the bodies were found on board his craft, ran down the bay and buried them on the beach at Coney Island, and I believe that they have remained there undisturbed until the present time. (Dominy, "Tale")

If someone named Homan actually was involved in transporting the bodies to New York, he would have to have been Wicks's mate or deckhand, since two at least would have been needed to deal with the coffins. Wicks is easier to locate at this time in the hamlet of Bay Shore (also called Penataquit) in the town of Islip; Captain James Wicks (1816-1884), according to the 1850 census, lived in Islip. The same census records his occupation as "coaster." The story involving him in the disposition of Fuller's remains was confirmed by Captain Wicks's daughter, Julia, also nine years old at the time of the wreck, who, a half century later, as Mrs. George Daggett, attended the dedication at Point O' Woods of the Fuller Memorial Pavilion on 19 July 1901 (Tredwell). Coney Island, moreover, would have been a plausible choice for a surreptitious nighttime burial, as New Yorkers had long opposed development there, hoping to preserve its

natural character. It was also the first land at which a sloop might put in as it headed east from Manhattan back to Long Island.

Additional details are provided in yet another telling of the story, a statement prepared by Arthur Dominy in 1901 at the request of one Anna Parker Pruyn, and published here for the first time:

The American barque "Elizabeth" was wrecked four miles East of Fire Island Light House on the morning of July 19th 1850, striking at four o'clock in the morning and breaking up at 2 p.m. It was the hardest gale of wind and the largest sea breaking upon the beach that I ever have experienced, and I have, during my life seen a great many, having spent 60 years upon the beach or in close proximity to it. The vessel was in charge of the first mate, the Captain having died in Leghorn, from which port she was bound to New York. The Captain's wife was a passenger as was the Count d'Ossoli his wife child and maid. This was all the passengers the vessel

(con't on pg 7)



Editor: Katie Kornacki
Layout: Katie Kornacki &
Christina Katopodis

Conversations is published digitally twice a year. Subscription is included with membership in the Society. Current and past issues are also housed on the Society's website.

We welcome short articles on Fuller-related topics (including scholarly pieces as well as personal and non-academic essays). We also welcome contributions to our regular features: "Graduate Student Voices," "Bringing Margaret Fuller into the Classroom," and "Recent News/Announcements from Members." Submissions and queries should be sent via email to Katie Kornacki at kkornacki@caldwell.edu with "newsletter" in the subject line.

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Letter from the Editor

Dear Society Members,

It is my pleasure to introduce you all to the first issue of *Conversations: The Newsletter of the Margaret Fuller Society*. When Society President **Phyllis Cole** first approached me this summer about the possibility of editing the newsletter, I was honored to be part of the Society's effort to expand and re-fashion our means of communicating both with one another and with students, scholars, and devotees of Margaret Fuller from all walks of life.

What more fitting way to celebrate and interrogate Fuller and her legacy and to integrate that legacy into our own twenty-first-century lives than through a newsletter a form that evokes not only Fuller's own work as editor and contributor to the *Dial* and to the *New-York Tribune*, but also calls to mind her practice of exchanging letters and journals with her fellow transcendentalists.

Faced with the admittedly daunting task of assembling a newsletter from scratch, I have been overwhelmed by the support and encouragement I have received from so many of you, without whom this first issue would not have been possible. I am deeply indebted to **Phyllis Cole** for her editorial assistance and to **Christina Katopodis** for helping to design the layout and to (re)introduce me to Adobe Illustrator. In addition, **Megan Marshall** has been invaluable as a source of ideas for Fuller-focused news items and other content for this issue. I have also been heartened by the willingness of so many of you to contribute to an as-yet untested publication, and I look forward to receiving many more submissions for subsequent issues.

This, our inaugural issue, features two articles related to Fuller's untimely death in a shipwreck off of New York's Fire Island and the way that this tragedy has been remembered. **Al von Frank's** "Margaret Fuller's Interment?" raises questions about the long-held belief that Fuller's body was never recovered after the shipwreck. Drawing on extensive historical detective work and rumors surrounding the wreck, Al provocatively suggests that Fuller's body might have been recovered after all, only to be "rejected" by Horace Greeley and laid to rest in an unmarked grave on Coney Island. In addition, **Megan Marshall** reports on her participation at the first "Margaret Fuller Day" hosted by the Point O' Woods Historical Society and provides some history on the role that the women of this summer community played in erecting a monument in July, 1901 commemorating Fuller's death off the shores of Point O' Woods. Read side-by-side, these two essays speak to us today as we grapple with questions over the role of historical monuments in both inscribing and erasing public memory.

In addition to these feature articles, I am also happy to introduce two regular features of *Conversations*: "Graduate Student Voices" and "Bringing Margaret Fuller into the Classroom." "Graduate Student Voices" serves as a platform for graduate students interested in Fuller to introduce themselves to the broader community of Fullerites. In this issue, you will find **Abby Fagan** reflecting on the intersections between Fuller's life and work and her own experiences as a graduate student living in Germany. **Michael Schrimper** kicks off "Bringing Margaret Fuller into the Classroom" by sharing his experiences introducing Fuller into his twenty-first-century composition classes.

Just as Fuller envisioned herself as the "nucleus" of her famous Boston *Conversations*, both "giv[ing] her own best thoughts" and serving "as a means of calling out the thoughts of others," it is my hope that *Conversations* will likewise provoke Society members to share their "best thoughts" with one another and that it will serve as a call to its readers and contributors to participate in a lively exchange of ideas. In tentatively titling our newsletter *Conversations* we hope not only to honor a practice that was central to Fuller's intellectual, educational, and literary output, but also to prompt each of you to take part in this conversation. To that end, I would like to invite each of you to weigh in on our choice of *Conversations* as the provisional title of the Society's newsletter—send me an email letting me know your thoughts!

Warmly,

Katie Kornacki
Editor, Conversations

Letter from the President

Dear Fuller Society members,

I'm happy to join **Katie Kornacki** in announcing our new Fuller Society newsletter, the latest outcome of this twenty-fifth anniversary year. A remarkable coming together of old members and recent recruits has given new life in 2017 to our honoring of Margaret Fuller and her legacy, and I'd like to take the opportunity to recognize those involved.

Surely in fit response to Fuller and her own offering of "conversations," we have expanded the possibilities of communication for all society members. **Leslie Eckel** began the process by creating a Facebook page, and **Noelle Baker** followed with a listserv allowing us to share thoughts and research leads with each other. This summer two big projects have been unfolding together, with **Christina Katopodis** designing a new website that describes to the public what we're up to, and **Katie Kornacki** creating a newsletter for members that draws this message together with the additional features you see here. All this work is deeply appreciated.

Meanwhile, as we were able to tell the Modern Language Association this spring for their review of our allied status, we are growing in both numbers and organization. You are all to be thanked for responding to **Noelle Baker's** outreach as the new Treasurer and Membership Officer, but I'm sure we'll agree in thanking Noelle herself for combining energy and system in making it work. We now have 79 dues-paying members, crossing generations and nationalities as well as reaching out to both academics and other Fuller enthusiasts. In addition, **Charlene Avallone** has been heroic in reenergizing the society's structure, taking leadership along with **Larry Reynolds** in defining officer positions for our revised bylaws, which were approved this spring by the advisory board and membership.

But what is all this for if not to advance our thinking about Margaret Fuller and her work as writer, transcendentalist, and woman of the nineteenth century? In that spirit, thanks go to all contributors to our conference panels and to the organizers of those sessions, especially **Charlene Avallone** for the American Literature Association program in May and **Jeffrey Steele** for the Modern Language Association program upcoming in January, 2018.

In addition, new initiatives have been under way to consider Fuller in transatlantic and global settings. **Charlene** organized a Fuller panel for the conference in Bordeaux of the Society for the Study of American Women Writers on the theme "Border Crossings," and she continues to serve on the planning committee for our collaborative conference with the Emerson Society and the Center for American Studies of the University of Heidelberg, due to take place in Heidelberg in July 2018, on the "Transcendentalist Intersections" of literature, philosophy, and religious studies. It is a pleasure to salute her as well as all contributors to these conferences from both sides of the Atlantic. And in that regard let me also recognize **Sonia di Loreto**, who has not only served on our advisory board and contributed to these conferences from her base in Italy, but has this year launched an online "Transnational Archive" of Fuller's European experience.

But finally, we have gone local as well as transnational in 2017. We celebrated our twenty-fifth anniversary at ALA in May with a party at Margaret Fuller's birth home in Cambridge, getting to know its present-day life as a social service center, the Margaret Fuller Neighborhood House. Here thanks go to **Dorothy Emerson** for her local support work—and above all to **Christina Alexis**, director of the House, who graciously took us in, contributed to the refreshments, and guided us through this Fuller-inspired "settlement house" in meeting the needs of immigrant populations in Cambridge's "Port" since 1902. In fact the local is also transnational.

Soon after our party, I asked society members through the new listserv to contribute to an anthology of Fuller quotations that could be presented to the House as a gift for their library, along with two books of Fuller's writing. At the "Sweet Soul Supper" in June, a benefit for the House, we offered selections from twenty-one of you, collected in just five days. That's as good a sign as any that we are alive and well and engaged with our author. Thanks to you all.

Best wishes,

Phyllis Cole

President, Margaret Fuller Society

Point O' Woods Historical Society Proclaims June 10, 2017 "Margaret Fuller Day"

by Megan Marshall

ERECTED TO COMMEMORATE
MARGARET FULLER
(Marquise Ossoli)

Author, editor, orator, poet,
Who with her husband, Marquis Giovanni Ossoli,
And her son, Angelo,
Perished by shipwreck off this shore
July 19, 1850 in the forty-first
Year of her age.



Watercolor painting showing the Margaret Fuller Memorial pavilion at Point O' Woods (artist unknown, private collection)

Noble in thought and character
Eloquent of tongue and pen
She was an inspiration to many of her own time
And her uplifting influence abides with us.

Such were the words composed by Julia Ward Howe, set in bronze on a plaque affixed to the Margaret Fuller Memorial pavilion erected over a century ago near the site of the wreck of the *Elizabeth*. The women of the fledgling summer community at Point O' Woods, Fire Island, had conceived the plan, and they were the instigators, too, of an impressive dedication ceremony, which attracted visitors from the mainland, including several of Fuller's collateral descendants, to a day of celebration and remembrance on July 19, 1901. Lillie Devereux Blake, suffragist and novelist, nicknamed "Tiger Lily" for her forceful nature, presided. Her words have not been recorded, though Rev. Townsend, who blessed the occasion, applauded Devereux Blake's devotion: "Margaret Fuller's message is heard again on these shores because another woman's receptive heart vibrated to that deathless mental electricity" (qtd. in Phyllis Cole, "The Nineteenth-Century Women's Rights Movement and the Canonization of Margaret Fuller," *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance* 44 (1998): 27).

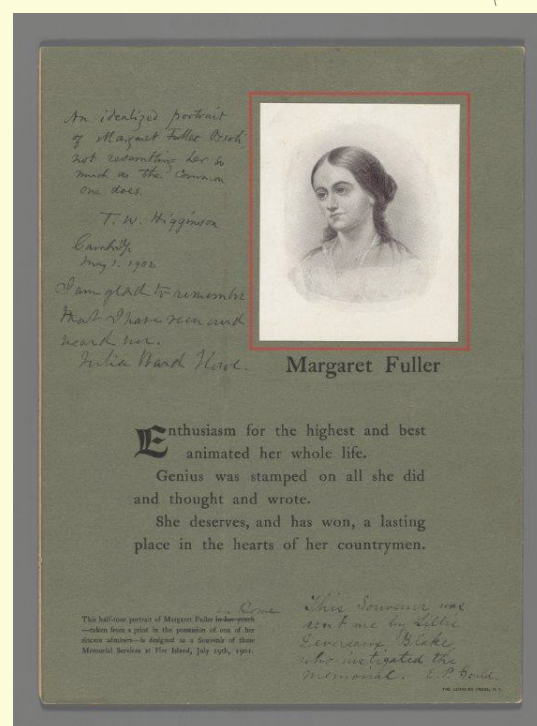
The dedication took place fifty-one summers after Fuller's ill-fated voyage. One hundred sixteen years later, the Point O' Woods Historical Society, whose vice president, Katherine Walbridge Hanaway, claims one of the 1901 memorial committee

members as an ancestor, declared June 10, 2017 "Margaret Fuller Day." A full program of festivities, panels, and a concluding lecture by this writer marked the occasion, which also inaugurated a summer-long series of events commemorating the 100th anniversary of women's suffrage in New York, initiated by Point O' Woods Historical Society President Andy Platt. I had visited the island in years past while researching my biography of Margaret Fuller. I learned then that, although the memorial pavilion and its plaque had long since washed away--in yet another violent coastal storm in 1913, the same year Devereux Blake died at age eighty--residents of the summer community have not forgotten Fuller. Many can still point to the locations of the wreck and the lost memorial pavilion on the stretch of sand that forms the southern border of POW (the preferred acronym) fronting the Atlantic.

The opening of an exhibit in the community's post office, "The First 20 Years, 1898-1918," started the day. Once again, the assembled crowd, which ultimately numbered 140, included Fuller devotees from the mainland and from other Fire Island settlements, each of which has a distinctive character and history. Point O' Woods had begun as a Chautauqua, which sputtered to a quick end, though many of its original teachers, most of them female, became early house holders in the subsequent summer community. Devereux Blake was one such founding resident.

Next came presentations at POW's bay-side Yacht Club, first by author-editors Martha Berg and Allie Perry, whose work on Margaret Fuller's 1844 journal is well known to Fuller scholars, then by Angela Reich, whose research into the fate of the remains of Margaret and Giovanni forms the basis of a projected book. After lunch and free time for sailing or sunning on the beach, festivities moved to the POW Casino on the ocean front,

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Commemorative program for the July 19, 1901 program, with handwritten notes from Julia Ward Howe and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who were not in attendance but wished to show their support. The program was given to the Schlesinger Library by Mrs. E. P. Gould of Point O' Woods, who notes in the lower right-hand corner that Mrs. Lillie Devereux Blake "instigated" the Fuller Memorial. (image courtesy of the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University)

Recent News

Elizabeth Hoar's Copy of Thoreau's Account of the Wreck of the *Elizabeth*, Long Missing, Finally Located at the Boston Public Library

In 2015, Harvard's Houghton Library made news when it acquired Thoreau's penciled notes of his account of the wreck of the *Elizabeth*, amounting to eighteen pages. While his revised, clean copy has been lost, another account, cited by **Charles Capper** in *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life, the Public Years* as "H Thoreau's Notes," which had been lost for several years, has been recovered. This version, which Capper had identified as located in the Boston Public Library, has recently been recovered.

Thanks in large part to the instigation of our own **Megan Marshall**, along with numerous other people who helped in the hunt, Elizabeth Hoar's ink copy of Thoreau's notes on the wreck of the *Elizabeth* have been located in a file of the Elizabeth Hoar Papers in the Rare Books and Manuscripts department at the Boston Public Library (MS 1831). As Megan explains, when Capper had seen the notes decades ago (then filed with the Margaret Fuller Papers), he had speculated that they were in Hoar's hand. How did the manuscript go missing? Megan's best guess seems highly plausible: if Capper had mentioned that he believed the notes to be in Hoar's hand to the BPL archivists, perhaps they had subsequently filed them that way.

Elizabeth Witherell, of the Thoreau Edition, has published images of Hoar's copy, along with her transcription, on their website. Witherell's transcriptions and the images of the manuscript can be found in a piece entitled "Thoreau's Account of the Wreck of the *Elizabeth* and the Aftermath." This recent find serves as a valuable point of comparison to Thoreau's notes, as well as to Thoreau's account in a letter to Emerson. As Witherell suggests, based on her comparison of the two drafts, Hoar's source was most likely Thoreau's lost fair copy; i.e. Hoar's draft is closer to Thoreau's revised copy than are his pencilled notes, providing some evidence of the editorial changes that Thoreau made to his draft in order to appear more objective, eliminating some of the passages in which he expresses anger at the actions of the wreckers.

In addition to her copy of Thoreau's account of the wreck of the *Elizabeth*, Hoar's manuscript also contains what Witherell believes may be a copy of a letter that Thoreau sent to her. Witherell has provided a comparison of this possible letter with another letter that Thoreau sent to Emerson on July 25, 1850.

To view Witherell's article, along with her transcriptions and images of the three manuscripts, please visit:
http://thoreau.library.ucsb.edu/resources_essays.html

Margaret Fuller Society Launches New Website

Many months ago, Phyllis Cole and I had a conversation about creating a new website for the Margaret Fuller Society that would showcase the society's public engagement, provide resources and archives, and assist outreach to new members. After receiving many contributions toward this collective effort, it's a great pleasure to announce the new website for the Margaret Fuller Society: <https://margaretfullersociety.org/>. The website features several recent events, conference abstracts, a list of recent scholarship on Fuller, and other resources as well as offering a list of officers, current bylaws, and archives of past events.

I'm grateful to the hard work of the Margaret Fuller Society leadership, who made many pages and recent posts on this website possible. In the next several months, the website will continue to build and grow, so please keep coming back to this webpage and sharing it widely: <https://margaretfullersociety.org/>. If you have ideas for writing a post on the website about a related event or social activity, please email me (ckatopodis@gradcenter.cuny.edu) about your idea.

Warm Regards,
Christina Katopodis, M.Phil., M.A.
Website Editor for the Margaret Fuller Society

A Message from Graduate Student Liason Adrienne Perry

I joined the Margaret Fuller Society's advisory board in the summer of 2016 and serve as the graduate student liaison. Over the last two years, my encounters with Margaret Fuller's work have shaped my projects as fiction writer and translator and the scope of my PhD program in Literature and Creative Writing at the University of Houston. My role as liaison includes outreach to emerging Fuller scholars and promotion of their interests and ideas to the board. The society encourages not only membership, but also finding ways to share the research, skill sets, and stories of current students and PhD candidates from **Christina Katopodis's** work as the society's web editor to **Abby Fagan's** essay in this issue. Please consider this an invitation to be in touch, to introduce yourself, share resources, initiatives, or to cook up plans for MLA 2018. I'm available at aperry@uh.edu and would love to hear from you.

Announcements from Members

Conversations invites announcements from Margaret Fuller Society Members. If you would like to share any upcoming (or recent) conference papers or publications or any other Margaret Fuller related news, please email **Katie Kornacki** at kkornacki@caldwell.edu with your news. Make sure to include "Newsletter" in the subject line.

Graduate Student Voices

"Graduate Student Voices" is intended as a platform to introduce some up-and-coming graduate students who are working with Fuller to the Society in the hopes of fostering connections and stimulating collaboration and mentorship. As the newsletter continues to find its own voice, I am eager to build this regular feature to highlight content generated by graduate students, any of whom are invited to submit personal essays reflecting on Margaret Fuller and on their own experiences. In this first of what I hope will be many engaging essays from contributors to "Graduate Student Voices," Abby Fagan reflects on the ways that her own life and that of Fuller resemble one another – something brought home to Abby when she moved from the United States to Germany a few years ago. If you would like to contribute an essay to "Graduate Student Voices," please submit your piece via email to kkornacki@caldwell.edu with "newsletter" in the subject line.

by Abby Fagan

Though I've been peripherally interested in Margaret Fuller's work since I was an undergraduate, I didn't start writing about her until my own biography resembled hers. No, I'm by no means a genius or a great educator of girls and women, but as a doctoral student nearing the end of coursework in 2014, I was looking for ways to finance an academic transition to Europe. My partner is German and well established in his own line of work, making the general insecurity of the North American academic job market still more unsettling; why not then try to make something work in Germany, and why not as soon as coursework was over?

This hope for transatlantic funding led me to explore a series of transnational literary transitions in my final year of coursework, from the spread of temperance reform to Europe via American Temperance Society member Robert Baird's trip to France in 1835 (the German translation of his *Histoire des sociétés de tempérance des Etats-Unis d'Amérique* was published in 1837) to Margaret Fuller's 1840s dispatches to the *New-York Daily Tribune* from England, France, and Italy. While I was ultimately disappointed to find that Fuller didn't have much to say about the German March Revolutions, I did find that her representation of European revolutions differed substantially from reportage in other contemporary newspapers, particularly the *Evening Post* and the *Deutsche Schnellpost*, papers also based in New York City. In particular, the transcendentalist disdain for objects transferred in Fuller's revolutionary writings to a general disregard for the sanctity of property. Unlike other dispatch authors, who disparaged any revolts that resulted in property damage, Fuller's disdain allowed her to fully support – even romanticize – the peasants' revolutions taking place around her.

My transition to Europe was ultimately fairly haphazard, similar to Fuller's, and I did a fair amount of freelance writing to make ends meet before finding a new academic home in Hanover (though I was writing for tourism websites, not for newspapers. Ask me sometime in which countries one drives on the left- or right-hand side of the road.) Though my project on Fuller and other European dispatches from 1848 was shelved for a couple of years while I focused on the overwhelming piles of temperance literature that were produced throughout the nineteenth century in the United States, the recent Society for the Study of American Women Writers conference in Bordeaux gave me the opportunity to revisit it. I'm excited to have returned to the paper, as the relationship between revolt/revolution and property damage is still quite vexed, particularly now, when many suggest in the United States that protest is only legitimate when no property damage takes place.

Returning to Fuller and 1848 newspapers from Europe – so much farther away from the American Antiquarian Society, which is effectively just up the road from the University of Connecticut – has not been as frustrating as I initially thought it would be. Although the American Studies faculty of the *Englisches Seminar* at the *Leibniz Universität* is quite small, the university library's collection of criticism on nineteenth-century American literature is robust, and I'm lucky to be researching in the internet age, when digital archiving provides me access to a wide range of periodical press. And though my colleagues in Hanover are overwhelmingly working on projects that deal with contemporary culture and literature, they have all read Fuller to some extent. We were just talking recently about how our relationship to Fuller's writing continuously evolves, and that particularly since Inauguration Day this year in the US, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* has never seemed more relevant.

Still, whereas most Americans read some Emerson or Thoreau in high school and therefore have a sense of what role Fuller played in the development of transcendentalist thought, the average German has no sense of who Margaret Fuller is or what she did. This lack of context of American national literature changes the way that I talk about Fuller to my neighbors and non-academic friends. She becomes less the primary female participant in the circulation and production of transcendentalist thought and more a woman who couldn't settle, whose major works were inspired by her travels throughout the United States and her work with women whom other people avoided because they were concerned that these women's perceived sins were sticky, would attach affectively to whoever spent time with them. Divorced from Emerson, Fuller's astonishing travel narrative comes much more to the fore.

About the Author:

Abby Fagan is a PhD Candidate in the English Department at the University of Connecticut and a Research Assistant in the *Englisches Seminar* at the *Leibniz Universität* in Hanover, Germany. Her dissertation focuses on temperance propaganda and its use in the pursuit of political recognition for people of color and white women in the nineteenth-century United States.

Interment

(con't. from pg. 1)

carried and no other women except those mentioned were on board. The wreck was discovered by a man named John Adams who lived on the beach just to the East of us. He started out in the early morn looking along the surf shore for any wreckage that might wash up and after walking some miles to the eastward began to see bits of wreckage. Presently he saw a hatch floating along in the sea (current) and wading in took hold of it starting to push it ashore when a small sea caught it and turned it over, and to his astonishment there was a man and woman lashed upon it. They proved to be the mate and the captain's wife. He cut the ropes, and they were soon all right. They told him of the vessel, he directed them to the nearest house, and he came directly back and reported the wreck. There was a hurried start made for the scene by every available man, myself included. I was nine years of age, and every incident in this connection is as clearly imprinted on my memory as though it happened yesterday. I can see the doomed vessel lying in the terrible sea that at times completely covered her, as plainly as if a photograph were in front of me. The passengers and crew were in the forecastle, the cabin being partly washed away, and occasionally we would get sight of some of them looking out of the doors. At intervals of an hour or so one would make a dash overboard in the hope of reaching the shore. Some were successful five being saved this way, although they were terribly cut and bruised by the wreckage on their passage. At two o'clock the vessel melted as it went out of sight and not one of those remaining on board reached the shore with any semblance of life. But those of the fourteen that stuck to the last that did come ashore were terribly mangled by the timbers and spars with which the water was filled. The child was one of these, and escaped with few bruises. It was thought possible it might be resuscitated and every means then known were tried, but of no avail. Word of the wreck had been sent to New York by my father Mr. Felix Dominy who was at that time an agent of the underwriters of New York City, and also a correspondent of the New York Tribune to whom a letter was sent. There was no telegraph in South side of Long Island in those days. Mr. Greely [sic] therefore had as early news of the wreck as was possible. And in a day or two if my memory is right a brother of Margaret Fuller came to Fire Island took the child away with him and left instructions that if the bodies of the Count or Countess came on shore and could be identified to ship them to New York in Mr. Greely's care. The maid was one of those who came on shore during the morning, but was dead when pulled out of the surf. Thus two of the women on board are accounted for. Some of the bodies were buried on the beach. Some were taken to the mainland and buried. Some days elapsed before



Margaret Fuller pavilion at Point O'Woods (image courtesy of the Point O'Woods Archive)

the bodies of the Count and Countess came on shore. And they were badly washed but clearly and easily identified. Two doctors who were on the beach and examined them were perfectly satisfied that they were the correct ones, one was undoubtedly a woman, and only one was missing this, with other points with which they had been supplied satisfied all that it was the body of Margaret Fuller. The description of the Count furnished by the survivors left no doubt in the minds of all who saw the remains but that it was he. The remains of both were boxed and sent to New York by [a] vessel owned and commanded by Capt. James Wicks of Penataquit, now Bay Shore, in Mr. Greely's care. The Capt. reported to him upon his arrival, but Mr. Greely refused to receive them or to have anything to do with them. The Captain in his plight became somewhat frightened, fearing he might get into trouble through having the bodies on board, got his vessel underweigh and went to Coney Island where he and his man took them on shore and buried them in the night. And where they no doubt lie today unmarked. I had a conversation with the Captain some years after and asked him if he thought he could locate the spot where he buried them. He said he did not think he could go anywhere near it as it was a very dark night and he and the mate were half scared out of their wits by the nature of their business. The captain and man have long since passed away and their knowledge of the situation, which was very limited has gone with them. There have been at various times articles published in newspapers and magazines bearing upon this matter and most of them wind up declaring that the bones of Margaret were washing around the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, when the facts are as above reported.

Arthur Dominy
Life Saving Service
Office of Superintendent Third District
Bay Shore N.Y. June 29 1901. ("Dominy Affidavit")

In a letter to Mrs. Pruyn enclosing this manuscript narrative, Dominy mentioned a shorter version, composed "from points furnished by me" and published "a few years ago" in the *Brooklyn Times*. Here he may have simply confused one Brooklyn newspaper with another, or perhaps the *Union* copied an unlocated item from the *Times*. The greater mystery is why Anna Parker Pruyn, a wealthy Albany socialite, wanted the story at all, since she was at this time the guiding spirit of the very active Albany Anti-Suffrage Association (Benjamin).¹ Arthur's several slightly variant accounts of the disposition of Margaret Fuller's remains are in substantial agreement with information offered to the Fuller family by his father Felix in the summer of 1854 (Capper 513-14).²

A still earlier story, published anonymously in the *New York Herald* in 1893, seems likewise to have escaped notice. It is interesting for its apparent independence of the Dominy story (or at least of Dominy as a proximate source), while yet having a number of striking details in common:

POSSIBLY IN POTTER'S FIELD.

A Startling Story of the Wreck in Which Margaret Fuller Was Lost.

The name of Margaret Fuller-Ossoli is still a name to conjure with among the literary people of the older generation in New York. She is supposed to have found her tomb in the ocean, but there is some reason to suspect that her dishonored remains rest in the old Potter's Field of New York. Thereby hangs a curious tale. I met a weather beaten old boatman at Fire Island last summer, who captains a fishing craft with consummate skill, and there is a sharp tingle of Attic salt in his stories and reminiscences. Among other things he told me he was on the beach that June [i.e. July] night in 1850 when a disastrous storm wrecked the bark Elizabeth, which was bringing home from Italy Margaret Fuller, beloved and admired on two continents, her husband and child. The ship foundered off Fire Island beach in plain sight of land, and only a few of the crew succeeded in passing the breakers. Some bodies, not many, (con't. on following pg.)

Point O' Woods

(con't. from pg. 4)

a new building edged by tennis courts and set farther back from the Atlantic's breakers than the previous structure had been. (Point O' Woods suffered greatly in Hurricane Sandy; some houses are now raised up on stilts.) Attendees looked through the carefully preserved 1901 guest book signed by participants in the pavilion's dedication, and wrote their own names in a new one.

I had been invited to deliver the sixth annual Robert F. Sayre Memorial Lecture, a series conducted in the spirit of the island's former Chautauqua and named for the late Professor Sayre of the University of Iowa, a lifelong POW'er. Sayre began his career as a Thoreau scholar and later edited *American Lives: An Anthology of Autobiographical Writing* (University of Wisconsin, 1994), which includes Fuller's "Mariana." My topic was "Remembering Margaret Fuller at Point O' Woods"; I spoke of Fuller's accomplishments with a New York slant and ended with an account of the pavilion's 1901 dedication. Though we did not, in 2017, conclude by singing Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic," or repair "to the hotel for dinner," (there is no longer a hotel at POW), we drank lemonade and wine and partook of Italian-themed delicacies in the Casino, toasting the day and our heroine.

Interment

(con't. from previous pg.)

were washed ashore a few days afterward. Among these was a woman's corpse, hideously disfigured, wave beaten, fish eaten, a grisly horror to the eye. But it had two very curiously shaped teeth stopped with gold in a peculiar fashion, which were known to have characterized Margaret Fuller. And besides she had been the only woman on the bark [not so, of course, but the only woman unaccounted for]. When her friends came down to look, as soon as the report of bodies washed ashore reached New York, and they saw the awful thing vomited up from the jaws of the ocean, they recoiled shuddering, and utterly refused to admit that it could be Margaret Fuller. No! their Margaret was softly cradled somewhere in the cool green sea depths, and they could only think of her in the words of Ariel's song:--

Of her bones are coral made.
Those are pearls that were her eyes.

* * * * *

Nothing of her but doth suffer sea change
Into something rich and strange.

So, dishonored and rejected of all, the sea battered remains of what had probably been Margaret Fuller were sent to New York and buried in Potter's Field among paupers, tramps and outcasts. ("Possibly")

Had this story originated with Dominy, it is unlikely that Horace Greeley would have been left out. July would not have been mistaken for June. The transference of the bodies to the city (as opposed to burial at Fire Island) would not have been left unexplained. Reference to New York's Potter's Field is evidently an improvisation, since New York did not have a single designated pauper's graveyard until after the Civil War, when it purchased Hart Island for that purpose. But what most decisively rules Dominy out as any kind of source for this rough and ready tale is its oddly aggressive tone, its gothic (not to say pornographic) fascination with the violated body.

Fuller's last society in this account—paupers, tramps and outcasts—suggests an ironic reunion with the objects of her

About the Author:

Megan Marshall's biography, *Margaret Fuller: A New American Life*, was awarded the 2014 Pulitzer Prize in Biography. Marshall is the Charles Wesley Emerson College Professor at Emerson College, Boston.



Three women at the Margaret Fuller pavilion, Point O' Woods (image courtesy of the Point O' Woods Archive)

reform commitments, and a kind of Christ-like or Whitmanesque communism beyond anything dreamt of at Brook Farm.

This 1893 story is more sharply rhetorical than a trustworthy narrative can afford to be, making a point, as it does, of the triumph of powerful nature over the self-delusions of the effete culture Fuller and her circle are taken to represent.

There is, however, enough overlap in these two accounts—the interested and the disinterested one, the authorized and the folkloric one—to imply a common background of fact and experience—especially the identification by dental evidence, the confusion notwithstanding as to who had the gold fillings, and the perhaps counterintuitive transportation of the bodies to Manhattan. (Arthur Fuller had in fact, as Dominy notes, left instructions that anything found after his departure should be conveyed to Greeley). The rejection of the bodies by Fuller's "friends" may be the most striking of the common details.

And indeed, Greeley might well have rejected the corpses, since, if the accounts of their recovery are accurate, the bodies would have been in the water no fewer than eight days when found. Certainly, Thoreau knew nothing of any recovery. He had left the scene, following his fruitless search, on the morning of July 27. The latest account, by Laura Dassow Walls in her biography of Thoreau, shows how Thoreau struggled against his disgust at the spectacle of embodiment (or rather of disembodiment), his discomfort centering on the one disarticulated skeleton he saw—mere bones on the beach—probably male, he thought, possibly female.

The story of Greeley's refusal of the bodies exemplifies a motive that may be at work in the apparently permanent preference for the story of Fuller's utter disappearance, the romanticism of that having a far superior appropriateness to the life that was ended than the gruesome alternate narrative of the transported and rejected corpses. (con't on pg. 16)

Margaret Fuller Society Business Meeting Minutes

Friday, May 26, 2017

Mastiff Room, Westin Copley Place, Boston, MA

President Phyllis Cole called the meeting to order at 9:40 AM. About 20 members were present:

- The group conducted general introductions.
- Phyllis delivered an overview of the Fuller Society in its 25th anniversary year and invited all present to a celebration of the Society at the Margaret Fuller Neighborhood House in Cambridge at 2:30 that afternoon.

Business:

- Noelle Baker reported on membership and handed out the Treasurer's Report.
- Charlene Avallone reported on the society's revised by-laws, unanimously approved by the membership, and elaborated on the society's new officer positions, beginning in January 2018.
- Phyllis Cole reported on the upcoming MLA review (due June 16) of the society's allied status, which if successful will continue to guarantee the society a position on the program at the annual MLA Convention. The society is registering growth and consolidation. New means of communication have been opened (Facebook, listserv) or are in the planning stage (new website, newsletter). Sessions have been proposed by the society or its members this year at MLA, ALA, ASA, and SSAWW Bordeaux.

Announcements and News:

- Phyllis Cole and Michael Barnett reported on public recognitions of Fuller: the Margaret Fuller Neighborhood House and the historical marker at Beacon, New York, site of the composition of *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. They opened the discussion of potential sites for new markers.
- Exciting new digital resources for scholars are forthcoming: Sonia di Loreto's "The Margaret Fuller Transnational Archive" and the digitization of Fuller's journal and letter manuscripts at Houghton Library, Harvard University. Sonia welcomes collaborators for this important project (sonia.diloreto@unito.it).

Discussion of the Society's Continued Growth:

- Charlene Avallone invited the membership to submit abstracts for paper proposals (300-500 words and two-page CV, due August 1, 2017) for the Heidelberg Conference, in collaboration with the Emerson Society. Charlene stressed that the committee is interested in papers on literature, religion, or philosophy broadly construed. Submit proposals to Charlene, the society's representative of the conference planning subcommittee: avallone000@gmail.com. Consult the conference webpage: <https://transcendentalistintersections.wordpress.com/>

General conversation followed by the assembled group about ideas for program planning, further projects, and alliances:

- Yoshiko Ito suggested that she could reach out to potential Japanese members
- Other ideas for membership expansion included reaching out to Cig members
- A lively conversation developed around potential affiliations with other societies, including the Lydia Maria Child Society, George Sand Society, the Catharine Maria Sedgwick Society, the Society for the Advancement of American Philosophy, and the Society for Literature, Science & the Arts (SLSA)
- The group similarly discussed future programs and sessions, including teaching sessions, ALA symposia, and a program on "Alternative Genealogies" – activist, reformist, and global.

Digital Assets (a list of digital resources was distributed):

- new Fuller website (under construction, but live): <https://margaretfullersociety.org/>
- new Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/MargaretFullerSociety/>
- Margaret Fuller Neighborhood House: <http://www.margaretfullerhouse.org/>
- Margaret Fuller memorial in Beacon, New York: <http://beaconarts.org/events/margaret-fuller-historical-marker-dedication/>
- Finding aid for Houghton Library's Fuller manuscripts, including those now available online. See the permanent link for the collection: <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01535> and link to the electronic finding aid: <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:Hough:hou01535> (select "digital content")
- Society for the Study of American Women Writers conference in Bordeaux, France, 2017, including roundtable of international Fuller Scholars, "Margaret Fuller across Borders": <https://ssawwnew.wordpress.com/conferences/ssaww-2017-universite-bordeaux-montaigne/>
- Fuller/Emerson conference in Heidelberg, Germany, "Transcendentalist Intersections": <https://transcendentalistintersections.wordpress.com/>
- "Margaret Fuller Transnational Archive": <http://margaretfullerarchive.neu.edu/margaretfuller/home>

Meeting adjourned, 11:15 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Noelle Baker

Margaret Fuller Society Treasurer

Margaret Fuller Society Treasurer's Report for 2016-2017

The review of the checking account for our fiscal year, which runs from 1 July 2016 to 30 June 2017, shows that we have taken in a total of \$2,455 in dues. We began the fiscal year with a balance of \$2,180 and currently stand at \$4,567.94.

Disbursements: we spent \$18.29 in setting up a checking account at US Bank in Denver, CO. Some additional costs will be associated with our celebration at the Margaret Fuller Neighborhood House, estimated at \$650.

Dues: we revised our dues structure this year. The current dues scale allows students, unaffiliated and retired scholars, and laypersons to join at \$5; faculty and institutions at \$10; and life members at \$150. Members can mail in a check to the treasurer or pay on the website via PayPal.

Membership: The society includes 69 members. Of that group, 66 have joined or renewed their memberships in this fiscal year: 41 are “regular” members (of whom 40 paid dues this fiscal year); 1 is a complimentary membership; 12 are “reduced” members; and 15 are “life” members (of whom 13 paid dues this fiscal year). We have 63 domestic and 6 international members (from France, Italy, Japan, the Philippines, and Russia).

Respectfully submitted,
Noelle Baker, *Margaret Fuller Society Treasurer*
27 May 2017

Jet Blue Transcendentalism

If any of you have flown out of Logan International Airport recently, specifically the JetBlue terminal, you might have been pleasantly surprised to see Margaret Fuller and her fellow transcendentalists getting some recognition. A few of you even sent in photos, which I am including here.



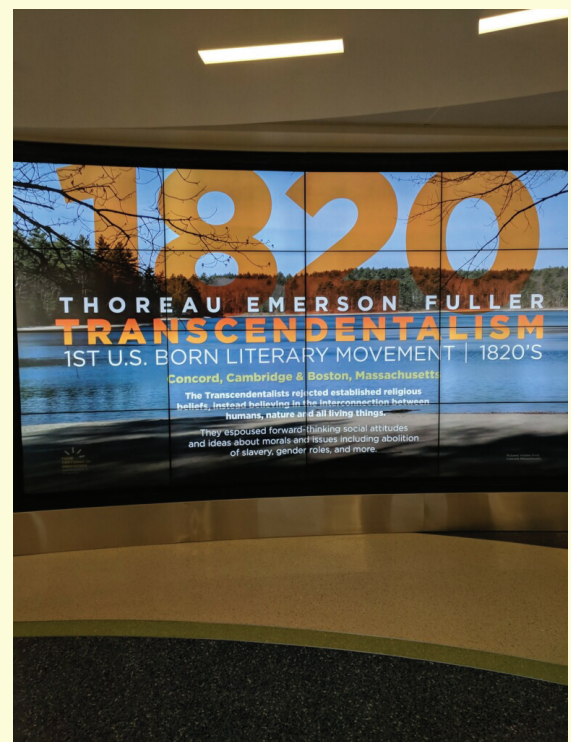
Society member Michael Schrimper, clearly thrilled to see Fuller being recognized, posed for this photo on his way to San Francisco this summer (courtesy of Michael Schrimper)

In addition to the more modest display honoring the movement (as seen in the above photo), there is a larger and much more eye-catching display in the departure area (see photo to the right). As you can see, Fuller gets top billing, along with Thoreau and Emerson, as the major figures in the “1st U.S. Born Literary Movement.” As the display reads:

The Transcendentalists rejected established religious beliefs, instead believing in the interconnection between humans, nature and all living things. They espoused forward-thinking social attitudes and ideas about morals and issues including abolition of slavery, gender roles, and more.

The choice of 1820 as the starting date of the movement is a bit

perplexing. Perhaps, as Society President Phyllis Cole has suggested, they had Mary Moody Emerson’s letters to her young nephew, Ralph Waldo Emerson, in mind as the point of origin? If anyone has any more information on who planned or designed this installation, please let us know.



Installation at the JetBlue terminal at Logan International Airport recognizing transcendentalism (courtesy of Sara Sedgwick Brown)

Bringing Margaret Fuller into the Classroom

Welcome to “Bringing Margaret Fuller into the Classroom,” a regular feature of *Conversations*. Because many of us are educators, this is designed as a space in which we may share and reflect on our successes and challenges in teaching Fuller. Rather than a venue in which to exchange syllabi and lesson plans, this section invites personal essays from those of us who are currently teaching Fuller (or have taught her in the past) in a variety of settings and contexts, including the college classroom, an online course, a public lecture series or museum setting, a high school classroom, alternative education setting, or a graduate seminar. To submit an essay, please send it as an email attachment to kkornacki@caldwell.edu with “newsletter” in the subject line.

Teaching Fuller in the 21st Century

by Michael Schrimper

I recognize that not everyone has the privilege of teaching Fuller, so I wanted to share a few anecdotes about what it's like being a young composition instructor teaching Fuller in the twenty-first century. First, some background: I first read Fuller during a graduate seminar in Transcendentalism with Megan Marshall, at Emerson College. Immediately after graduating, I joined Emerson College's faculty, and began teaching Fuller a few weeks in. (For those of you who know Joe Harris's *Rewriting*, the general idea was “Coming to Terms” with Fuller.) I've had her on my syllabi for three years now. “The Great Lawsuit,” in particular, has given rise to some provocative moments.

I. “Victim blaming”

We had just read Fuller's 1843 essay when a student said, “I think she's blaming the victim, a little bit.”

Meanwhile, not a few believe, and men themselves have expressed the opinion, that the time is come when Euridice is to call for an Orpheus, rather than Orpheus for Euridice; that the idea of man, however imperfectly brought out, has been far more so than that of woman, and that an improvement in the daughters will best aid the reformation of the sons of this age. (388)

Why is it up to the women to change the men? Why can't the men change themselves? In response to these questions, I mentioned the title of the essay, “The Great Lawsuit. Man versus Men. Woman versus Women.” Indeed, Fuller is suing both men and women here, accusing both of wrongdoing. Is this victim-blaming? “No, it's a call to arms,” said one student, a female. Students around the room nodded. A call to arms.

II. “Mind-blowing”

Another day, after discussing “Lawsuit,” a student, let's call him Zane, told me, “I find this reading totally mind-blowing. I went to an all boys' high school. My senior year, I took a class called ‘How to be a Man.’ Everything we learned was the exact opposite of everything you just said.” I asked what it was that he had learned in this class about how to be a man. “I learned that the man is the head of the house,” he told me. “It's up to a man to control his family.” I asked Zane how he felt about the new ideas (Fuller's) versus the old. Was there one set of thinking he agreed with more? He didn't answer. He just repeated that he found this information “mind-blowing.” But he did hold out his right hand for me to shake. As we shook hands, Zane thanked me for giving him this “new perspective.” It was only the third class of the year, but something about the handshake felt like a goodbye. I'll admit that I was surprised to see Zane in my next class. And the next.

III. “White feminism”

Recently, a student used the term “white feminism.” I asked her to clarify what she meant by this term. She said “white feminism” meant white women looking out for other white women, while not really concerning themselves with women of color. I asked what Fuller would make of this term “white feminism.” She was white, and a feminist. Was she a white feminist?

Some of the students said, yes; they said that “The Great Lawsuit” doesn't speak about women of color and is focused on white women forced into lives of “drudgery” (393) by their well-to-do husbands. “She is not intersectional,” students claimed. One student said otherwise.

She pointed to Fuller's use of the word “slave,” saying that, although Fuller doesn't necessarily point to the “black body,” as it were, she is critiquing slavery by constantly comparing women to slaves. “It is not surprising that it should be the Anti-Slavery party that pleads for woman, when we consider merely that she does not hold property on equal terms with men” (392); “And knowing that there exists, in the world of men, a tone of feeling towards women as towards slaves” (392); “It is with women as with the slave” (402) – for example. This use of the term “black body” led another student to remember a moment in which Fuller refers to the atrocities of racism:

I need not speak of what has been done towards the red man, the black man. These deeds are the scoff of the world. (389)

What followed was discussion about whether or not there could be such a thing as “white feminism” in the first place. Although more and more definitions of feminism are appearing, for better or for worse, if, fundamentally, feminism is about freedom, inclusion, and the eradication of hierarchies, how could it exclude any oppressed party?

IV. Timelessness?

Finally, and most recently, one student said that, while reading “The Great Lawsuit,” she had to keep flipping back to check the date of the text. 1843. No matter how many times she read that, she couldn't believe it. How could someone writing in 1843 possess ideas that would still be considered “progressive” today?

“The problems Fuller is talking about are timeless,” another student responded. A lot of people in the room bristled at this comment, including myself. To suggest that Fuller's arguments in “The Great Lawsuit” are “timeless” is to give in. It's to say that there are fundamental differences between the sexes that invariably will lead to inequality – forever. It's also to undermine the quality of Fuller's mind and her power as a social critic. I was glad when a student spoke up, saying that Fuller wrote “Lawsuit” 110 years before the appearance of the American gender stereotype of the 1950s housewife:

The man furnishes the house, the woman regulates it. [...] The wife praises her husband as a “good provider,” the husband in return compliments her as a “capital housekeeper.” (405)

It was depressing for all of us to consider how Fuller wrote “The Great Lawsuit,” hoping that things would change. This particular dynamic of man as furnisher, woman as regulator had yet, perhaps, to reach its apex. The problem, by the 1950s, was not that women chose to be diligent housewives, but that they did not choose that role; it was demanded of them. “The point is, we can't take anything for granted,” the student said. “We can't be under the illusion we're inevitably taking part in some great march forward.”

Yes; and, “Timeless.” Isn't that up to us?

About the Author:

Michael Schrimper is affiliated faculty in the Writing, Literature & Publishing department of Emerson College, Boston. He has scholarship forthcoming in the *Journal of Modern Literature* and the *Virginia Woolf Miscellany*.

Works Cited

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Margaret Fuller Society Panels at the American Literature Association May 2017

The Society presented two panels at the twenty-eighth annual American Literature Association conference, which was held at the Westin Copley Place in Boston, Massachusetts from May 25th to May 28th, 2017. Below are the abstracts from each session:

Presenting Margaret Fuller I: Touring, Film, and Digital Humanities (Friday, May 26th)

Chair: Charlene Avallone, Independent Scholar

On the Road in Fuller's Footsteps

Rev. Jenny M. Rankin, First Universalist Society; Franklin

I use travel and walking tours to present the life, work, and thought of Margaret Fuller. We literally “go on the road” to retrace her footsteps, reading out loud her own words, carefully culled from letters and journals. Participants stand in the place where she stood and read out loud the words she wrote at that place. The locations are carefully selected, the itineraries crafted by hand, and a strong “narrative line” runs throughout (presented by me, the leader/teacher) so that participants get a full story, from start to finish, of Margaret’s life and experience.

I have led these travel seminars in Concord and Boston, but have gone more in depth in a series of small group tours to Europe. I have “presented Margaret Fuller” on the streets of London, Paris, the Lake District, but most especially Rome, Rieti and the Amalfi Coast of Italy.

In Rome last spring, we walked where Margaret walked in Rome, seeking out the streets where she lived, the great basilica of St. Peter’s where she met Giovanni Ossoli for the first time, the house where she lived during the siege of Rome by the French in the spring of 1849. We explored the Janiculum hill in depth, visiting the battlefields of the Roman Republic, seeing where Giovanni would have fought. We strolled through the halls of the hospital where Margaret tended the wounded and visited the wards where she worked.

We travelled to Rieti to stand before the house where she gave birth to Angelino in September of 1848, walking the streets of this old medieval town in the hills outside of Rome. We saw the poppies in the fields as she described them and the snow-capped peaks.

We stood outside Margaret’s first apartment on the via del Corso, in Rome, for example, and read her letter home to her mother describing her quarters, the fresh flowers she bought, the company she entertained. Standing near the Janiculum Hill battlefields, we read out loud the letter she wrote to her old friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson, in the calm and pastoral fields of Concord, Massachusetts during the bloody siege of Rome.

Documentary Film on Margaret Fuller: A Preview

Jonathan Schwartz, Project Director

Interlock Media, Inc. (in Cambridge, MA), is creating the first professionally produced documentary on the life of Fuller: *Margaret Fuller, A Thoroughly Modern Woman*. Interlock is a producer of deeply researched films, many on history, rights, and the environment. We envision this documentary as the precursor to a feature or narrative film on Fuller. The film is being produced with the generous support of Interlock’s donors, the Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities, Peter Reilly and Deana Holmes. And it is well under way; we have completed interviews with such major Fuller biographers and scholars as Megan Marshall, Charles Capper, Leslie Eckel, and Katie Kornacki, and we have assembled a film team in Fuller’s Rome.

The work is informed by women’s studies sensibilities to unpack Fuller’s complexities in the context of the society she lived in. The film

represents her as a public intellectual of extraordinary achievement and a catalyst for new ways of thinking on feminist issues and 19th-century literature in the evolving body of theory on women’s writings, cultures and subjectivities. It moves from her popular Boston “Conversations” to her life in revolutionary Rome. Fuller’s story is meant to be told in film, and not just because she is famous and important, but because her story is vivid, dramatic, achingly personal, and highly visual – and because of the illustrious company she kept: larger than life radicals, artists, writers, and revolutionaries in the salons of Boston, Cambridge, Worcester, Providence, Paris, and Rome. There are marvelous visual materials and locations available to this project. Archival collections, some of which have put on stunning Fuller exhibitions for the public, and physical venues and landmarks; Cambridge, Brook Farm, Beacon Hill, Groton, Jamaica Plain and then Rome, from Piazza Barberini to the walled Ramparts, will each in turn provide images from their collections of literature or rich backdrops.

A primary goal is to reach new and atypical audiences without patronizing or pandering, including the growing number of Fuller enthusiasts emerging from affinity groups not usually drawn to the humanities, but who identify with Fuller’s struggles as a woman who overcame economic odds and gender discrimination to create work of true importance. Viewers will be drawn to the story of how Fuller fought against the marginalization of ordinary women, how she made strides for equality using passionate intellect as a fiery weapon, or how she fought to find a way around the economic necessity for the women of her day to marry.

For this panel, we will introduce and show a 15-minute excerpt from the documentary. We are eager to share our work in progress with Fuller scholars and to hear their responses.

Presenting the Margaret Fuller Transnational Archive

Sonia Di Loreto, University of Torino, Italy; William Bond, Northeastern University; Sarah Payne, Northeastern University

The Margaret Fuller Transnational Archive is a collaborative Digital Humanities project that includes scholars from multiple institutions. It aims to digitally portray networks and clusters of publications involving Margaret Fuller and some of her correspondents in Europe. The archive has two primary components: an Omeka digital archive of Fuller’s correspondence for the *New York Tribune* and a Neatline exhibit which spatially and temporally maps Fuller’s travels throughout Europe from 1846-1850 during the Italian Risorgimento. In order to emphasize the transnational nature of Fuller’s writings, the archive also focuses on the circles of European political and cultural figures she came in contact with such as Cristina di Belgiojoso and Giuseppe Mazzini. While the primary language of the project is English, we hope to eventually incorporate texts and translations in Italian and French.

Although other scholars have noted the cosmopolitan nature of Fuller’s work, to date there has been no attempt to draw a comprehensive map of the periodical publications created and supported by Fuller and her circles. Such a map is important because it decentralizes the archives and allows us to visualize layers of communication and exchange and the centers of production of texts and ideas. A digital format is ideally suited to document, map, and visualize the scope and significance of these networks across politically contested space and through time. Added to this, the digital platform decentralizes modern scholarship, reaching scholars who work on Fuller’s writings in the U.S. and in Europe, as well as elsewhere. (*cont. on following pg.*)

Presenting Margaret Fuller II: Writing Activism (Saturday, May 27th)

Chair: Charlene Avallone, Independent Scholar

Rhetorical Strategies of Margaret Fuller and Hiratsuka Raicho

Yoshiko Ito, Taisho University, Japan

In this postmodern era, it should be a premise that language limits and controls our thoughts and logics as well as it gives us a voice. Barbara Johnson wrote in the introduction to her book *A World of Difference* (1987):

On the threshold between the animate and the inanimate, the physical and the intelligible, the internal and the external, language is always also an articulation of power relations inscribed by, within, or upon the speaker. As such, it can only be studied as rhetoric. (5)

Even in the case that the speaker believes her or his spontaneity, the speaker stays inside the usage and vocabulary of the language. To gain one's own voice means to create new rhetoric and break tactfully the restriction and control of the language.

When I talk about feminism in the classroom, I emphasize this point and I encourage my students to analyze the rhetoric of Margaret Fuller. To make it easy for Japanese students to understand the pioneering feminism, I sometimes compare Fuller's rhetorical strategies with those of Hiratsuka Raicho in terms of how they challenged "the power relations" in language. Hiratsuka Raicho (1886-1971) is one of the first feminists in Japan. She had good opportunities of education and published the *Seito* magazine (1911-16), the first feminist magazine in Japan. There is no clear evidence that shows Margaret Fuller's direct influence on the young Hiratsuka Raicho, but we can find the similar aggressiveness and satirical nuance of expression in her writings. Margaret Fuller is not known as Emerson or Thoreau in Japan but the experience of reading her writings empowers Japanese young students.

In this paper, I will compare the rhetorical strategies of Margaret Fuller and Hiratsuka Raicho. And I will discuss how Margaret Fuller can influence the present-day students beyond her era and space.

Margaret Fuller's New York Journalism: Anti-Capital Punishment Reform, Evolution, and the Role of the Public Intellectual

Katie Kornacki, Caldwell University

While we have comprehensive modern editions of her *Tribune* work, little work has been done to situate Fuller within the journalistic, social, and cultural debates in which the *Tribune* often played a central role. This paper addresses this gap by reconstructing some of the journalistic exchanges in which she participated related to anti-capital punishment reform and the public sensation following the anonymously published *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* (1844), one of the first books to promote the theory of evolution. Prominently positioned on the front page of the *Tribune* and reprinted in the weekly edition, Fuller's pieces relating to debates surrounding capital punishment and the publication *Vestiges* also tapped into and helped shape broader literary and cultural conversations about human nature and the origin of crime, clerical versus intellectual authority, and the fitness of women for participating in theological and intellectual discussions—journalistic discussions in which Fuller featured prominently, aligning herself solidly with the anti-gallows movement.

Fuller's entered the anti-capital punishment debate at the height of the influence of anti-gallows agitation with "Darkness Visible," a review of a book defending capital punishment. The book, *A Defense of Capital Punishment*, by George Cheever, with additional material by Taylor Lewis, had been the subject of much discussion in the periodical press. While Fuller had earlier expressed sympathy with prison reform activity, including the anti-capital punishment movement, "Darkness Visible" was

a much more direct assault on the proponents of capital punishment, attacking Cheever and Lewis on the basis of their argumentation and challenging them to an extended journalistic debate in the pages of the *Tribune* and other periodical publications. Also embedded within "Darkness Visible" is a critique of Cheever's censorious preface to the American edition of *Vestiges*. While Cheever dismissed Fuller's discussion of *Vestiges* and his preface to the text as an illogical digression in her review, the response to *Vestiges* in the American periodical press was an extension of many of the same conversations at the heart of the capital punishment debate: the nature of sin, questions of clerical and intellectual authority, and concerns over gender.

By recreating these cultural debates, we can read Fuller's columns in the cultural context in which they first appeared, thereby gaining a better appreciation for the role of newspapers in stimulating reform. Furthermore, we can better understand the breadth of Fuller's social and political engagement during her tenure at the *Tribune*, as she used the form of the book review as a platform for political, social, and intellectual engagement, arguing against censorship and for free and rational inquiry, and for the right of each individual to read and judge the merit and truth of a text for him or herself.

Margaret Fuller's Early Feminist Pragmatic Method

Christina Katopodis, CUNY

Feminists regard Margaret Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) a foundational text in the women's rights movement, American literature scholars credit her significant influence on Ralph Waldo Emerson, but Fuller is rarely considered a forerunner of American Pragmatism and a precursor of William James. My paper argues that Fuller's rightful place in American and Transatlantic intellectual history is as a proponent of early feminist pragmatic praxis. Fuller's feminine self is transpersonal; as Dorri Beam notes, it "can be felt within the body, but it does not originate there; it is a transpersonal force existing beyond the confines of the person" (63). Femininity is not rooted in the body, nor fixed for Fuller; rather, to her it was a force that could be shared with others, linking the one and the many through a notion of spirit. Applying this pragmatically, given her view of women as "the potential redeemers of society" (Matteson 37), Fuller viewed herself as women's legal counsel (Cole 13), or as a medium for spiritual and mental awakening that would restore to society and humanity its feminine half. I will first discuss Fuller's philosophical writing and then turn to her infamous Conversation gatherings to argue that Fuller was a metaphysician developing her own feminist pragmatic method: she was an early Pragmatist, and a precursor to William James. Participants in her Conversations had to be willing to communicate what was on their minds (Marshall 133-4), and in turn Fuller modeled empirical and rational thinking for her audience, turning mythology and mind topsy-turvy with a feminist spin to find conclusions that made a difference to women. The Bible and mythology were building blocks for everyday reasoning, and she sought after different readings to challenge common reasons for male dominance. In her pragmatic praxis, she urged the intellectual development of her women attendees and all women, not only through education, but also through "a remaking of the mind itself" (Cole 17).

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Margaret Fuller at SSAWW in Bordeaux

July 2017

This July, the Society for the Study of American Women Writers (SSAWW) held their first international conference, which was hosted at the Université Bordeaux Montaigne. The theme, “Border Crossings: Translation, Migration, and Gender in the Americas, the Transatlantic, and the Transpacific,” was a fitting one for Fullerians. In addition to a roundtable sponsored by the Margaret Fuller Society, “Margaret Fuller Across Borders” (chaired by Charlene Avallone), Fuller was prominently featured on another panel which included papers by Mollie Barnes and Abigail Fagan. Below are abstracts of the papers presented at our society’s roundtable. For a more detailed write-up of the conference and our members’ participation at this international event, I encourage you to take a look at Charlene Avallone’s post on our new website:
<https://margaretfullersociety.org/2017/08/31/fullerians-at-ssaww-in-bordeaux/>.

Radical Translations: Politics, Personal and Transnational, Presaged By Margaret Fuller’s Dante, Goethe and George Sand *Kathleen Lawrence, Georgetown University, U.S.A.*

In a letter of 1834 to close friend Almira Penniman Barlow, Margaret Fuller confided, “Experience! Why cannot I value thee, and make thee my peculiar household deity, as did our Master, Goethe?” Only twenty-four, Fuller was beginning a path to make wide-ranging experience her “household deity” as numerous foreign writers broadened her New England provinciality, including Italians Dante, Tasso, Petrarch, Ariosto, and Alfieri, French writers de Staël and George Sand, and, for Germans, Goethe as well as Lessing, Novalis, and Schiller. This paper will demonstrate the significance of Fuller’s early fluency in European languages and literatures as preparation for revolutionary action on a personal and political level during her sojourn of 1847–50.

Beginning in 1836, Fuller’s autodidactic absorption of French, German, and Italian language enabled her not only to imbibe these works first-hand, “translating” them to her own uses and understanding, but also literally to translate selected works into English for a circle of avid New England readers. While her projected European sojourn of 1836 was cancelled due to her father’s untimely death, her quiet months studying foreign language and literature in Groton would provide Fuller with the intellectual foundation for experience and action abroad, enabling her radical transformation during her Italian residence of 1847–50.

Linguistic and literary bonds were the prelude to personal and cultural bonds in France and Italy, enabling Fuller to negotiate foreign difference at depths shut off from other expatriates, including writers such as Anna Jameson and Fanny Fern, and artists such as Thomas Cole, Horatio Greenough, William Page, and William Wetmore Story. Fuller’s early exposure served as a catalyst to “translate” American democratic political texts into European contexts, inspiring her ultimately to fuse American republicanism with Risorgimento ideals.

Fuller’s Reproductive Originality

Christa Holm Vogeliuss, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

My focus in this talk is on the interrelation between Fuller’s pedagogical process and her ideas on artistic creativity. Fuller’s teaching methods—both her Socratic secondary school instruction and the series of Conversations that she held in Boston—depend centrally on the framework of the conversation and what she calls “knowledge reproduction.” In this presentation, I discuss Margaret Fuller’s literary philosophy of creativity as it is reflected through the journals of students at the Greene School, a progressive co-educational school in Providence, Rhode Island where Fuller taught from 1837 to 1839. A close look at the school journals of one of her 16-year old students, Mary Ware Allen, shows that the reproductive mode of education and writing is a

central focus of Fuller’s pedagogy. These journals are not just a literal record of the practice of copying—their function in broad strokes is to paraphrase Fuller’s lessons and to record passages from texts that the students have read—but they also function as a place to reflect critically on that copying. This self-reflection was crucial to Fuller and can help to explicate terms such as originality, reproduction, and creation in her literary canon. Ultimately, I argue, Fuller’s teaching encourages students to reproduce forms and lessons in order to gain sense of their own personal voice and the limitations of the copy.

Travel, Gender, and Genre in Fuller’s European Writings *Brigitte Bailey, University of New Hampshire, U.S.A.*

Transatlantic perspectives ask us to pay a different kind of attention to the genres that characterized antebellum writing, especially travel writing. If genres can be defined by the relationships they posit between the observing consciousness and its object, then travel writing—as an insistently first-person genre that privileges visual comprehension—not only highlights this interaction but may prompt its analysis. Fuller’s *New-York Tribune* dispatches from Europe in 1846–50 exemplify travel writing’s elasticity, as she incorporates various forms: the journalist’s reportage, the tourist’s aesthetic response, and the reformer’s appeal. The dispatches flag her “restless approach” to “familiar forms” (as Christina Zwarg has noted), but this restlessness also comes from her transatlantic reading, as Charlene Avallone has shown, of George Sand’s “experiments with form” in travel writing and journalism. In such “letters” to the *Tribune* as the one on the founding of the revolutionary Roman Republic, Fuller moves among the three perspectives I list above, incorporates a translation of an Italian political document, and samples the views of other observers, whose perspectives on this event sharply diverge. For Fuller, transatlantic reading and travel, translation, and travel writing itself trigger dialogic thinking and the reexaminations of categories of identity that critics have noted. In addition, the contradictions within the viewing positions of nineteenth-century women travelers as both embodiments of their nations (i.e., as silent national icons) and expressive cultural agents (as writers) can provoke a fruitful alienation from normative male views. In the dispatch above, Fuller’s gendered position reinforces the dialogic impulses associated with transatlantic reading, translation, and travel and leads to an analysis of travel writing as a nationalist activity—but one that can be opened up through this very analysis to a transnational gaze.

Networks and Commons: Margaret Fuller’s Transnational Exchanges

Sonia Di Loreto, University of Torino, Italy

Letters are usually studied as biographical and historical tools or as the work of a single author. But what if we concentrate instead on the networks of epistolary exchanges, rather than on the distinct objects being circulated? If we focus on the interconnections, the overlapping in space and time, we will have to envision the creation of a commonality (*con’t. on following pg.*)

**The Margaret Fuller Society
Invites Proposals for Two Panels
at the American Literature Association Conference at
San Francisco, May 24-27, 2018**

**I. Margaret Fuller:
In the Classroom and Beyond**

We invite submissions that address teaching Fuller in any academic context or in venues outside of the traditional classroom.

**II. Margaret Fuller:
Out of New England**

We invite submissions that address such topics as:

- * Fuller and the West
- * Fuller and the East
- * Fuller and regionalism
- * Fuller and New York/Paris/Rome
- * Fuller and transnationalism or cosmopolitanism
- * Fuller and translation

We especially welcome proposals that approach Fuller along with other writers.

Please send a one-page proposal to **Charlene Avallone** avallone000@gmail.com by
15 January 2018.

SSAWW

(con't. from previous pg.)

that transcends private, public, domestic, foreign and national spheres. The status of the letter in the nineteenth century, with protocols of communication linking the public arena with the intimate sphere, points to that space where individuals, away from certain conventions of public discourse, could experimentally articulate their opinions about public issues; a space where writers projected their privateness into a sphere of intellectual, discursive and political commons.

By reading the triangulation of the letters exchanged among Margaret Fuller, Giuseppe Mazzini and Costanza Arconati, and by looking specifically at the Fuller Papers (held at Houghton Library), I would like to consider how ideas about republican and democratic possibilities were transmitted, and discussed in a multilingual (English, French, Italian) and international context during the 1840s. Moreover, I would like to ponder the ways in which scholars can imagine and create a digital archive that will take into consideration the modes of interaction in epistolary exchanges that are built across nations, languages, and political ideas.

Margaret Fuller and Her Publics in Russia in the 19th Century and the 21st

Marina P. Kizima, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University), Russia

I intend to compare the ways Margaret Fuller's work was received by the public in Russia in the middle of the 19th century and is being received now, in the second decade of the 21st. The analysis of the situation in the 19th century is based on the first publications on Fuller in Russia, particularly the reviews of one book: R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, and J. F. Clarke, eds., *Memoirs Of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (1852); for the situation in the 21st I use my teaching experience at the School of Journalism of Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University).

The comparative analysis shows that there are important similar

ities and differences in the attitudes of the public, and these two tendencies go hand in hand. The differences often reflect the cultural changes. Some of them are quite positive: in the 19th century the magazines, working under censorship, did not describe Fuller's revolutionary views and her work during the revolution in Rome; nowadays this aspect of her life draws the greatest attention and helps characterize Fuller as an important figure in both American and European history. Others are less positive: the readers of the 19th century were well versed in German philosophy, American Transcendentalism was considered in the context of European thought and discussed at length; in the 21st century the public is less receptive to the philosophical aspects of Fuller's heritage. The similarities, on the other hand, show that Fuller's person is no less attractive for the public now than she was in the middle of the 19th century. Moreover, the attraction has become much deeper, as Fuller's romantic life has acquired heroic qualities and an important public dimension.



Participants in "Margaret Fuller Across Borders," the panel sponsored by the Margaret Fuller Society at the SSAWW's first international conference, Bordeaux, France, July 2017 (photo taken by Jan Golinski; image courtesy of Brigitte Bailey)

Announcing the Paper Titles for the Margaret Fuller Society Session at MLA 2018

The annual conference of the Modern Literature Association (MLA) is fast-approaching. This year's conference, held in New York City from January 4-7, takes for its theme "States of Insecurity." The Margaret Fuller Society will be sponsoring a panel entitled "Margaret Fuller: New Critical Approaches." We are pleased to announce the participants and their papers:

Critique as Affect in Margaret Fuller's Transcendentalist Writings

Mark Russell Gallagher, UCLA

The Trouble with Gender for Margaret Fuller

Christina Katopodis, CUNY

Haunting Affect in Fuller and Thoreau

Katie Simon, Georgia College

This panel is organized by **Jeffrey Steele** and will be chaired by the Society's Second Vice President, **Dorri Beam**. For those of you planning on attending MLA, please note the following: the Society's panel will be **session #546**, to be held on **Saturday, January 6th** from **12:00 to 1:15** at the Sheraton New York Times Square.

In addition to the Sheraton, the conference will also be holding sessions at the New York Hilton Midtown, which will also host the exhibit hall and MLA Career Center. For additional information about the conference, please visit:

<https://www.mla.org/Convention/MLA-2018>.

Interment

(cont'd. from pg. 8)

If Emerson knew the two versions at the time he and his friends J. F. Clarke and W. H. Channing composed the account of Fuller's death in the *Memoirs*, then he, precisely as Greeley had done, consciously declined the bodies. Most recent descriptions of Fuller's death attribute to Almira Penniman Barlow the observation that "Her life was romantic & exceptional: So let her death be." But the source of that statement, with its odd allowance for choice in the rendering, is an ambiguous entry in Emerson's journal AZ (Emerson, *Journals*), where the sentiments of Fuller's old friend seem to have been summarized and certainly not quoted directly. The advice to "let her death be" as "romantic & exceptional" as her life had been may represent Emerson's sense of the poetically fit grounds for choosing one version of events over another.

About the Author:

Albert J. von Frank, retired from the English department at Washington State University; and longtime editor of *ESQ: A Journal of the American Renaissance*, has published widely on Margaret Fuller and Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose sermons and poetry he edited. He is the author of *The Sacred Game: Provincialism and Frontier Consciousness in American Literature, 1630-1860* (1985), *The Trials of Anthony Burns: Freedom and Slavery in Emerson's Boston* (1998), and *An Emerson Chronology*, 2nd revised ed., 2 vols. (2016).

Notes

1. Pruyn's request for information undoubtedly came in response to publicity for the memorial ceremony at Point O' Woods held a month later under the direction of Lillie Devereux Blake.
2. The widows of Arthur B. Fuller and Richard F. Fuller were present at the memorial gathering and were said to have thought it possible that the story was true (Tredwell 219).

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Presenting Margaret Fuller: An Anthology of Quotations Chosen by Members of the Margaret Fuller Society

The following collection of quotations from Margaret Fuller comes from a booklet put together by the Margaret Fuller Society and presented to the Margaret Fuller Neighborhood House at their annual Sweet Soul Supper on June 15, 2017. For the dinner, society President Phyllis Cole presented the House's first "Margaret Fuller Women's Leadership Award," and asked Society members what lines of Fuller's best spoke to that occasion—or to any aspect of her call for women's rights, education, spiritual awakening, charity, social justice, and political sanity in a difficult age (hers or our own). Here, presented for you, our readers, are some great one-liners and some passages that take more concentrated attention. But that's Margaret for you! (In this unedited assembly of contributions, as with the original booklet, we've retained the contributors' names and some of their editorial remarks, which certainly enhance the quotations.)

"Plants of great vigor will almost always struggle into blossom..." (398)
"...can we wonder that many reformers think that measures are not likely to be taken in behalf of women, unless their wishes could be publicly represented by women?" (392)
"Male and female represent the two sides of the great radical dualism. But, in fact, they are perpetually passing into one another. Fluid hardens to solid, solid rushes to fluid. There is no wholly masculine man, no purely feminine woman." (418)
"Union is only possible to those who are units." (419)

Michael Schrimper (first line also endorsed by Mary Kelley)
Passages from "The Great Lawsuit" in *Transcendentalism: A Reader*
(Oxford 2000)

"Male and female represent the two sides of the great radical dualism. But, in fact, they are perpetually passing into one another."

To which I would add, if I may, those wonderful closing lines from "The Sacred Marriage" in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*:

The parent love the wedded love includes,
The one permits the two their mutual moods,
The two each other know mid myriad multitudes;

With child-like intellect discerning love,
And mutual action energizing love,
In myriad forms affiliating love.

A world whose seasons bloom from pole to pole,
A force which knows both starting-point and goal,
A Home in Heaven, the Union in the Soul.

Now there is a heavenly goal for Woman and Man Alike in the Twenty-first Century.

Michael Lorrence

It is hard to narrow them down, but here are two of my favorites:

"To a girl really skilled to make home beautiful and comfortable, with bodily strength to enjoy plenty of exercise, the woods, the streams, a few studies, music, and the sincere and familiar intercourse, far more easily to be met here than elsewhere, would afford happiness enough. Her eyes would not grow dim, nor her cheeks sunken, in the absence of parties, morning visits, and milliner's shop" (*Summer* 61).

"They sought a home and found a work-house" (*WNC* 23).

Monica Urban

How about, from the conclusion of *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*:

"Cherish your best hopes as a faith, and abide by them in action. Such shall be the effectual fervent means to their fulfillment."

Megan Marshall

A couple of favorite passages:

"Persist to ask, and it will come;
Seek not for rest in humbler home;
So shalt thou see, what few have seen,
The palace home of King and Queen." (end of *WNC*)

"As I come back into town over the Milldam at sunset, I see very distinctly that the city also is a bed in God's garden" (MF to Richard Fuller, *Letters* 1:263).

Not by MF, but from an 1839 letter by Elizabeth Hoar: "Only her presence can give you the meaning of the name Margaret Fuller, and this not once or twice, but as various occasions bring out the many sides" (Higginson, *MFO*, 65).

Al von Frank

"Give the soul free course, let the organization, both of body and mind, be freely developed, and the being will be fit for any and every relation to which it may be called" (*WNC*, p. 56 in Larry Reynolds' Norton edition).

David Robinson

Here are two passages I'd like to put into the mix. I believe someone already proposed the first phrase of #2, but I like the follow-up point about "encouragement" equally well:

#1: "It is the order of nature that children should complete the education, moral and mental of parents, by making them think what is needed for the best culture of human beings, and conquer all faults and impulses that interfere with their giving this to these dear objects, who represent the world to them."

#2: "Plants of great vigor will almost always struggle into blossom, despite impediments. But there should be encouragement, and a free genial atmosphere for those of more timid sort, fair play for each in its own kind." (This resonates against a Thoreau passage from "Resistance to Civil Government": "I am not responsible for the successful working of the machinery of society. I am not the son of the engineer. I perceive that, when an acorn and a chestnut fall side by side, the one does not remain inert to make way for the other, but both obey their own laws, and spring and grow and flourish as best they can, till one, perchance, overshadows and destroys the other. If a plant cannot live according to its nature, it dies; and so a man.")

– Gary Williams

(con't. on following pg.)

Presenting Margaret Fuller

(con't. from previous pg.)

“For human beings are not so constituted that they can live without expansion. If they do not get it one way, they must another, or perish.”

Helen R. Deese
from *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*

Margaret rises yet again. Perhaps someone else already suggested this, an oldie but goodie:

"Let every woman, who has once begun to think, examine herself."

Jessica Lipnack
from *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*

The first quotation may be too lengthy, but I can't resist submitting both of these, given the current political state of affairs:

“[N]othing effectual can be achieved while both measures and men are made the sport of political changes. It is a most crying and shameful evil, which does not belong to our institutions, but is a careless distortion of them, that the men and measures are changed in these institutions with changes from Whig to Democrat, from Democrat to Whig. Churches, Schools, Colleges, the care of the Insane, and suffering Poor, should be preserved from the uneasy tossings of this delirium. The Country, the State, should look to it that only those fit for such officers should be chosen for such, apart from all considerations of political party. Let this be thought of; for without an absolute change in this respect no permanent good whatever can be effected; and farther, let not economy but utility be the rule of expenditure, for, here, parsimony is the worst prodigality.” (*New York Daily Tribune*, March 19, 1845, “Our Cities Charities. Visit To Bellevue Alms House, to the Farm School, the Asylum for the Insane, and Penitentiary on Blackwell’s Island.” In Judith Mattson Bean & Joel Myerson, *Margaret Fuller, Critic: Writings from the New York Tribune 1844-1846* (New York, 2000), pp. 103-04.)

“I do not deeply distrust my country. She is not dead, but in my time she sleepeth, and the spirit of our fathers flames no more, but lies hid beneath the ashes. It will not be so long; bodies cannot live when the soul gets too overgrown with gluttony and falsehood.” (*New York Daily Tribune*, April 19 1848, Dispatch 24, in “*These Sad But Glorious Days*,” *Dispatches from Europe 1846-1850*, eds. Larry Reynolds and Susan Belasco Smith (New Haven, 1991), p. 230.)

Carol Strauss Sotiropoulos

I am enjoying reading everyone’s favorites, and offer some of mine for our time (from Joel Myerson’s edition - *Essays on American Life and Letters*):

“It is not woman, but the law of right, the law of growth, that speaks in us, and demands the perfection of each being in its kind, apple as apple, woman as woman” (*WNC* 207).

“If you have a power, it is a moral power” (*WNC* 199)

This one could be written about our current political situation:

“All heroism is mild and quiet and gentle, for it is life and possession, and combativeness and firmness show a want of actualness” (*WNC* 158). (Hah - autocorrect wants to make that “factualness”!)

I also like this sweet one about motherhood: “Man is of woman born, and her face bends over him in infancy with an expression he can never quite forget” (*WNC* 110).

Susan Dunston

What lovely quotations and a lively conversation we’re assembling! Here are a few more to add:

“It is not reasonable to expect the world should pay us in money for what we are but for what we can do for it.” MF to Richard F. Fuller, 8 Feb. 1848 (Hudspeth, L, 5:51).

“But nothing effectual can be achieved while both measures and men are made the sport of political changes. It is a most crying and shameful evil, which does not belong to our institutions, but is a careless distortion of them that the men and measures are changed in these institutions with changes from Whig to Democrat, from Democrat to Whig. Churches, Schools, Colleges, the care of the Insane, and suffering Poor, should be preserved from the uneasy tossings of this delirium. The Country, the State, should look to it that only those fit for such officers should be chosen for such, apart from all considerations of political party” (“Our City Charities,” *New-York Daily Tribune*, 19 March 1845; Mattson Bean & Myerson, *Margaret Fuller, Critic*, 103-104).

“To . . . ‘Woman in the Nineteenth Century,’ the objection has been made that they exhibit ills without specifying any practical means for their remedy. The write of the last named essay does indeed think that it contains one great rule which, if laid to heart, would prove a practical remedy for many ills . . . But to those who ask not only such a principle, but an external method for immediate use, we say, here is one proposed that looks noble and promising, the proposers offer themselves to the work with heart and hand, with time and purse: Go ye and do likewise” (“The Wrongs of American Women. The Duty of American Women,” Review of Charles Burdett, *Wrongs of American Women*, and [Catherine Beecher], *The Duty of American Women to Their Country*, *New York Daily Tribune*, 30 September 1845; Mattson Bean & Myerson, *Margaret Fuller, Critic*, 239).

Noelle Baker

Two of my favorite quotations from Margaret Fuller happen to be two that Phyllis mentioned during our visit to the Fuller House. The first is from her 1840 journal in which she remembers that moment on the stairs:

“I remembered how, a little child, I had stopped myself one day on the stairs, and asked, how came I here? How is it that I seem to be this Margaret Fuller? What does it mean? What shall I do about it? I remembered all the times and ways in which the same thought had returned. I saw how long it must be before the soul can learn to act under these limitations of time and space, and human nature; but I saw, also, that it MUST do it, that it must make all this false true, and sow new and immortal plants in the garden of God, before it could return again. I saw there was no self; that selfishness was all folly, and the result of circumstance; that it was only because I thought self real that I suffered; that I had only to live in the idea of the ALL, and all was mine. This truth came to me, and I received it unhesitatingly; so that I was for that hour taken up into God. In that true ray most of the relations of earth seemed mere films, phenomena.”

Another is also from the journal, this entry dated February 1841:

“I wish I were a man, and then there would be one. I weary in this playground of boys, proud and happy in their balls and marbles. Give me heroes, poets, lawgivers, then.”

The Fuller House is a special place. And, yes, I had to take a selfie on the stairs.

Mark Gallagher

(con't. on following pg.)

Presenting Margaret Fuller

(con't. from previous pg.)

Here are a couple of my favorite passages that have to do especially with the house. First her memories of growing up there, to go with Mark's moment on the stairs:

"None of these [experiences] were deeper than what I found in the happiest haunt of my childish years,--our little garden....Our back door opened on a high flight of steps, by which I went down to a green plot, much injured in my ambitious eyes by the presence of the pump and tool-house. This opened into a little garden, full of choice flowers and fruit-trees, which was my mother's delight, and was carefully kept. Here I felt at home. A gate opened thence into the fields,--a wooden gate made of boards, in a high, unpainted board wall, and embowered in the clematis creeper. This gate I used to open to see the sunset heaven; beyond this black frame I did not step, for I liked to look at the deep gold behind it. How exquisitely happy I was in its beauty, and how I loved the silvery wreaths of my protecting vine!...Of late I have thankfully felt what I owe to that garden, where the best hours of my lonely childhood were spent. Within the house everything was socially utilitarian; my books told of a proud word, but in another temper were the teachings of the little garden." ("Autobiographical Romance" in Steele, ed., *The Essential Margaret Fuller*, 31-32.)

More on the books:

"There was, in the house, no apartment appropriated to the purpose of a library, but there was in my father's room a large closet filled with books, and to these I had free access when the task-work of the day was done. Its window overlooked wide fields, gentle slopes, a rich and smiling country, whose aspect pleased without much occupying the eye, while a range of blue hills, rising at about twelve miles distance, allured to reverie." ("Autobiographical Romance" in Steele, ed., *The Essential Margaret Fuller*, 31-32.)

And on the home as a center for social justice--this to go with those powerful lines from "Our City Charities":

"But, if charity begin at home, it must not end there; and while purifying the innermost circle, let us not forget that it depends on the great circle, and that again on it; that no home can be healthful in which are not cherished seeds of good for the world at large" ("Thanksgiving," in Bean and Myerson, eds., *Margaret Fuller, Critic: Writings from the New-York Tribune, 1844-1846*, 9-10.)

Phyllis Cole

There are so many quotations I love, but probably my favorite are these from *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*:

"In slavery, acknowledged slavery, women are on a par with men. Each is a work-tool, an article of property, no more! In perfect freedom, such as is painted in Olympus, in Swedenborg's angelic state, in the heaven, where there is no marrying nor giving in marriage, each is a purified intelligence, an enfranchised soul, - no less."

"As the friend of the negro assumes that one man cannot by right hold another in bondage, so should the friend of woman assume that man cannot, by right, lay even well-meant restrictions on woman. If the negro be a soul, if the woman be a soul, appareled in flesh, to one Master only are they accountable. There is but one law for souls, and if there is to be an interpreter of it, he must come not as man, or son of man, but as a son of God."

"Nature provides exceptions to every rule. She sends women to battle, and

sets Hercules spinning; she enables women to bear immense burdens, cold, and frost; she enables the man, who feels maternal love, to nourish his infant like a mother. Of late she plays still gayer pranks. Not only she deprives organizations, but organs, of a necessary end. She enables people to read with the top of the head, and see with the pit of the stomach. Presently she will make a female Newton, and a male Syren."

"The development of the one cannot be effected without that of the other. My highest wish is that this truth should be distinctly and rationally apprehended, and the conditions of life and freedom recognized as the same for the daughters and the sons of time; twin exponents of a divine thought."

"What woman needs is not as a woman to act or rule, but as a nature to grow, as an intellect to discern, as a soul to live freely and unimpeded."

Serena Mocchi

All your favorite passages are also my favorite passages. Traveling away from my marked texts, I am a bit challenged to add others. But I recall from memory one of my favorite epigrams recorded from correspondence in the *Memoirs*:

"Very early, I knew that the only object in life was to grow" (1: 132 and 133, Hathitrust tells me).

And I prefer the interpretation given in this context, which refers the quote to the collective human spirit, not the interpretation of the reviewers of the *Memoirs* who pounced upon the citation as evidence of Fuller's egotism.

Charlene Avallone

One of my favorite parts in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*:

"...the gain of creation consists always in the growth of individual minds, which live and aspire, as flowers bloom and birds sing, in the midst of morasses..." (Norton critical edition, 13)

Here Fuller discusses the situation in America, but her illustration of flowers and birds reminds me of the image of lotus as a sacred flower in Buddhism. Lotus also blooms in a swamp.

Yoshiko Ito

From *Summer on the Lakes*:

"The people on the boat were almost all New Englanders, seeking their fortunes. They had brought with them their habits of calculation, their cautious manners, their love of politics. It grieved me to hear these immigrants who were to be the fathers of a new race, all, from the old man down to the little girl, talking not of what they should do, but of what they should get in the new scene."

"Seeing the traces of the Indians, who chose the most beautiful sites for their dwellings, and whose habits do not break in on that aspect of nature under which they were born, we feel as if they were the rightful lords of a beauty they forbore to deform."

"The Indian saw him, gave a wild, snorting sound of indignation and pain, and strode away."

"What feelings must consume their heart at such moments! I scarcely see how they can forbear to shoot the white man where he stands."
(con't. on following pg.)

Presenting Margaret Fuller

(con't. from previous pg.)

From *Woman in the 19th Century*:

“As men become aware that few men have had a fair chance, they are inclined to say that no women have had a fair chance.”

“It is idle to speak with contempt of the nations where polygamy is an institution, or seraglios a custom, while practices far more debasing haunt, well-nigh fill, every city and every town.”

Peter J. Reilly

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“Now I know, at least, what I do not know” (*Memoirs* I, p. 241).

That sentence is my pole star.

Judith Strong Albert

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A year prior to her death aboard the merchant ship *Elizabeth*, July 19, 1850, she wrote in her journal:

“Often it has seemed that I have come near enough to the limits to see what they are...then, as I would draw near, my little bark is shattered on the rock, and I am left on the cold wave. Yet with my island in sight I do not sink.”

We can only guess what Margaret's life and accomplishment would have been had she survived.

Nancy LeMay

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What a wonderfully companionable way to birth a listserv in a version of Margaret’s epiphany on her home stairs, that we live best when we “live in the idea of the ALL”!

Three compendium offerings (from *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* [New York: Greeley and McElrath, 1845]):

"Women of my country! Exaltadas! if such there be, Women of English, old English nobleness, who understand the courage of Boadicea, the sacrifice of Godiva, the power of Queen Emma to tread the red hot iron unharmed. Women who share the nature of Mrs. Hutchinson, Lady Russell, and the mothers of our own revolution: have you nothing to do with this? You see the men, how they are willing to sell shamelessly, the happiness of countless generations of fellow-creatures, the honor of their country, and their immortal souls, for a money market and political power. Do you not feel within you that which can reprove them, which can check, which can convince them? You would not speak in vain; whether each in her own home, or banded in unison” (152).

“But if you ask me what offices they [women] may fill; I reply any. I do not care what case you put; let them be sea-captains, if you will” (159).

And the concluding poem, which Phyllis sent me to mark the day when Mitch McConnell infamously chastised Elizabeth Warren for “persisting” to speak/read:

For the Power to whom we bow
Has given its pledge that, if not now,
They of pure and stedfast mind,
By faith exalted, truth refined,
Shall hear all music loud and clear,
Whose first notes they ventured here.
Then fear not thou to wind the horn,
Though elf and gnome thy courage scorn;
Ask for the Castle's King and Queen;
Though rabble rout may rush between,
Beat thee senseless to the ground,
In the dark beset thee round;
Persist to ask, and it will come,
Seek not for rest in humbler home;
So shalt thou see, what few have seen,
The palace home of King and Queen.
15th November, 1844. (164)

Jana Argersinger

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It is impossible to find just one quote, as many of you have shown. Just for fun, here is a short one:

"It is dynamics that interest us now, and from electricity and music, we borrow the best illustrations of what we know" (*New York Daily Tribune*, Feb. 7, 1845 [Review of "Life of Beethoven"]).

Tina Zwarg

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MIT’s Morss Hall, site of the twelfth annual Sweet Soul Supper to benefit the Margaret Fuller Neighborhood House (courtesy of Michael Schrimper)