

Preserving the Renaissance: Literature and Public Memory In the Homes of Longfellow, Hawthorne, and Poe

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When Anne Longfellow Pierce, the sister of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, died in 1901, she bequeathed to the Maine Historical Society the Portland house in which she and her five brothers grew up. Within a year of her death the Society opened its new property to the public, helping to establish the American literary home as a place where one might go to understand the lives of those who write. At the time, only one other American author's home—the Haverhill, Massachusetts birthplace of John Greenleaf Whittier—was controlled by an organization devoted to its preservation.¹ In both cases, family members or friends took decisive steps in the belief that the deceased authors would continue to hold esteemed places in the hearts and minds of American readers. The preservation of that place through the establishment of a domestic memorial was seen as both a natural and appropriate way to commemorate literary prestige.

Literary production had very little to do with these early authorial house museums, however. Whittier wrote most of the poetry that made him famous while living in nearby Amesbury, while Longfellow wrote only nine of his several hundred verses while residing in the house of his birth. Nevertheless, there was widespread interest in these childhood places, and the efforts to preserve them suggest that physical spaces played an important role in the establishment and maintenance of reputation. Of course, Whittier's position in the canon of American letters has long been eclipsed, while Longfellow has fared only slightly better. But at least in the case of Longfellow, diminished critical interest has

neither detracted from the popularity of the site nor lessened Portland's efforts to attract tourist dollars by promoting its most famous man of letters.² On the contrary. The popularity of Longfellow's Maine birthplace and his longtime home in Cambridge, Massachusetts suggested that museums made from authors' homes have very little to do with reputations within the academy. At times, critical reputation and popular esteem coalesced in efforts to preserve a house. More often than not, however, authorial house preservation proceeds at a place quite different from the ever-unfolding canon of American literature.

Although a few homes have recently been preserved through the efforts of college and university professors, the views of academics have historically had little to do with whether or not a particular home enters into the public realm. More typically, authorial homes are transformed into museums through a combination of familial finances and public sentiments. As we will see, this was the case with Longfellow's Cambridge home. For the first half of the twentieth century, the poet's descendants struggled to balance the reading public's interest in the house with their own desires to create a suitable living space for themselves. Although informally open to tourists, the house remained in the family's hands until the 1970s, when Longfellow's surviving grandchildren finally agreed to sell the house to the National Park Service. Occasionally, as in the case of Rose Hawthorne, children of famous authors find themselves unable to maintain the family house and sell it to a wealthy and devoted reader. But whatever the circumstances, the manner and timing of how an author's home becomes part of public memory reveals a great deal about the vicissitudes of popular literary taste. Indeed, I suggest that the steps taken to preserve a literary home represent an important and overlooked aspect in the historiography of American letters.

To exemplify the different paths toward authorial house preservation, I have selected residences of three figures who wrote during the 1840s and 1850s—the so-called American Renaissance. They are Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's home in Cambridge (where he lived from 1837-1882), Nathaniel Hawthorne's Wayside in Concord (1860-84), and Edgar Allan Poe's cottage in the Bronx (1846-49). In each instance I offer a case study to explore how and why interest in authorial home preservation developed. I focus on these three because each suggests the interplay between the physical aspects of literary reputation and an author's place in the critical hierarchy. Moreover, the writers themselves represent the varying degrees of canonization that an author's reputation might undergo. Of the three, only Hawthorne and, to a lesser extent, Poe have occupied permanent places in the classroom. Longfellow, on the other hand, died at the top of the critical ladder but his reputation dropped steadily throughout the twentieth century. While my selected authors are typically taught in courses in antebellum literature, my interest lies in the architectural manifestations of their reputations in the forty years between 1900 and 1940. Scholars have long recognized these years as the period when the primarily white male literary canon was institutionalized. These same years also saw the preservation and conversion into tourist sites of homes belonging to authors both inside and outside the modern

canon. The two processes, I argue, are related, although they unfolded in intriguingly divergent ways.

Of course, the construction of an agreed-upon set of literary classics is neither a simple nor an innocent process. Questions of power, institutional politics, gender, and race all factor into decisions of which authors are read and which are discarded. As Paul Lauter has noted, early twentieth-century definitions of exemplary American literature unfolded within the informal discussions of literary societies, women's clubs, and in essays by belletristic men of letters. Few, if any, of these readers aspired to academic positions, which thus enabled those outside the university to wield considerable influence over the shape of critical discussions. By the close of World War I, however, a new highly-trained and primarily male class of professors sought to instill what they believed were new levels of rigor to the study of American texts, a development that led to the 1920 establishment of the American Literature Group within the Modern Language Association. This transformation had a direct impact on the reputations of my selected authors. Longfellow, for example, thrived in the early years of the century precisely because respectable criticism still had room for less academically minded views. By 1920, however, he was being replaced in university classrooms in favor of writers such as Melville and Twain, whose dark complexities were seen as worthy of academic textual exegesis. American writing had not changed so much as had the profession of those culturally sanctioned to define its preeminent texts.³

As we will see in the case studies of the Longfellow and Hawthorne homes, preservation influence was wielded by the very sorts of people who, in the wake of these changes in the critical hierarchy, had lost their once prominent role in discussions of American writing. In both cases, women who favored the sentimental and domestic aspects of the respective author's work led the campaigns to preserve the homes. They also sought to connect the structures with the concerns of groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution, a move that inscribed authorial residential space within the narrative of American patriotism. Such sentiments, of course, have not carried much weight in the post-structuralist academy, an institutional factor that inevitably clouds what we see when we visit these homes. As a result, contemporary academic critics run the risk of downplaying or ignoring the roles that literary tourist sites play in the construction of public memory. I once heard a well-known scholar claim that he never visited such sites because "they always get it wrong." I also recall my own embarrassment during a recent visit to an author's home, where I was led around by a young man in period costume whose grasp of early nineteenth-century letters could best be described as weak. But to dismiss authorial home museums as mere objects of antiquarian interest amounts to the willful rejection of the processes of public memory. However misguided or critically unsound we believe the literary history presented at such house museums to be, we need to take them seriously for what they reveal about the overlap of popular and academic tastes. To be sure, anyone whose profession requires an understanding

of American literary history can legitimately quibble with what they are told during their tours. Such nitpicking misses the point, however. As we will see, those involved in the preservation of these homes knew exactly what they were doing.

The English Background of Authorial Home Preservation

Preserved author's homes represent an important subset of a larger category of tourist sites that became popular in America in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries—the house museum. Between 1880 and 1914 house museums were established at, among places, the Alamo, the House of the Seven Gables, and the Boston home of Paul Revere. The organizational inspiration of these new museums was the Mount Vernon Ladies Association (MVLA), a group founded in the 1850s to preserve the Virginia home of George Washington. Run by upper-class white women who organized themselves into statewide chapters, the MVLA influenced similar efforts by groups such as the Ladies' Hermitage Association, which assumed control of Andrew Jackson's house in 1888, and the Betsy Ross Memorial Association, which in 1890 sought to identify and preserve the exact spot where the first American flag was allegedly sewn. But whereas these homes offered visitors physical memorials of political and military figures—people whose accomplishments left tangible reminders on battlefields and in legislative halls—a restored authorial home demonstrated that ephemeral qualities such as talent, taste, and introspection could be preserved for future generations as well. Like religious shrines—and the term shrine was tellingly applied to both literary and religious sites—a preserved author's home combined aspects of the spiritual with the physical.⁴

The first concerted effort to memorialize physically writers occurred in the Poet's Corner section in London's Westminster Abbey, to where Chaucer's remains were removed in the 1560s. Edmund Spenser was buried there shortly thereafter, a funerary gesture that helped establish Poet's Corner as the quasi-official place of honor in English letters. In the ensuing years, writers such as Dryden, Tennyson, and Browning were interred in the Abbey, and memorial plaques were hung for others as well. Today, the Abbey's collected literary tombs and tablets remains one of London's most visited sites.⁵

The best-known English literary monument—and the one that most influenced American sensibilities—was Shakespeare's birthplace in Stratford-upon-Avon. Here the attempt to connect an author's life with the sacred—as the religious iconography at Westminster Abbey clearly does—is rendered in purely secular terms. Official efforts to memorialize the bard's childhood home began during the initial Stratford Jubilee of 1769. For most of the eighteenth century, however, any attempt to bring the house under a regular set of visiting guidelines had to contend with the carnival atmosphere that prevailed in the vicinity. A late eighteenth-century visitor to Stratford would have been inundated by trinkets

and a seemingly endless supply of souvenirs carved from Shakespeare's mulberry tree. The various private owners of the house capitalized on the building's celebrity by charging small fees to the increasing number of tourists who knocked on their door. The house remained in private hands until 1847, when a rumor that P. T. Barnum planned to purchase the cottage and remove it to the United States prompted the formation of the Stratford Birthplace Committee. Almost immediately the Committee established regular hours of admission and set a schedule of fees, a move that helped quell earlier rowdiness while also signaling the start of an established Shakespearean architectural heritage.⁶ As a result, tours of Stratford and other English literary shrines provided a standard, almost obligatory, itinerary for Americans visiting the British Isles during the nineteenth century. Indeed, one scholar has estimated that by 1850 two-thirds of all visitors to Stratford were American.⁷

Part of the attraction of Stratford can be traced to the lingering influence of association psychology within American academies. Developed by late-eighteenth-century English aestheticians such as Archibald Alison and Lord Kames, this modified version of Lockean faculty psychology located the source of powerful emotions in the mental associations unleashed when we come into physical contact with noteworthy environments. According to the associationists, physical sensations such as sights and sounds trigger a string of associated ideas, ideas that in turn help create our various emotions. Notable objects, such as—in Alison's words—"the residence of any person whose memory we admire," were likely to produce the strongest responses.⁸ For those schooled in this doctrine, as most educated Americans of the nineteenth century were, physical places, particularly those associated with great works of art, could stimulate thoughts of sublimity. Touching objects associated with Shakespeare's natal moment particularly excited Americans schooled in this doctrine. Washington Irving, for example, wrote of the "mingled and almost indescribably emotions with which one visits the chamber where Shakespeare is said to be born."⁹ With similar feelings of awe, Henry Ward Beecher wrote a series of 1850 dispatches for the *New York Independent* while standing on the very spot where Shakespeare supposedly entered the world. Nathaniel Parker Willis, yet another mid-nineteenth-century American author, arranged to sleep on the floor.¹⁰

Henry James satirized those who found deep emotional significance in Shakespeare's physical artifacts in his 1903 tale "The Birthplace," a story in which he barely conceals his disdain for the thrill people experienced upon touching the great man's relics. Set in a fictional deceased author's childhood home that has been set up as a museum in a style almost identical to the format at Stratford, the caretaker is at first overwhelmed by the experience of "being housed with Him, of treading day and night in the footsteps He had worn, of touching the objects" that "His hands had played." But with more than 90 American visitors per day, all of whom wanted to visit "the sublime Chamber of Birth," the caretaker learned to speak of the author's childhood in the language his visitors had come to expect:

Across that threshold He habitually passed, through those low windows, in childhood, He peered out into the world that He was to make so much happier by the gift of His genius; over the boards of this floor . . . his little feet often pattered; and the beams of this ceiling (we must really in some places take care *our* heads!) he endeavored, in boyish strife, to jump up and touch.¹¹

James's satire notwithstanding, the preservationists who saved the homes of my three sample authors continued to assume that literary greatness could be physically embodied in an esteemed writer's house. They were either unaware of or ignored developments in academic literary criticism that questioned the relationship between an author's life and his work. As the dominant American literary canon was established in the 1920s, and especially following the rise of the New Criticism after World War II, the blending of the physical with the textual attracted virtually no critical or pedagogical attention. Literary criticism and historic preservation would have been seen as separate and distinct cultural practices. But for the authorial house preservers such rigid division made little sense. In their efforts we can see how and why the process of canonization and memorialization followed such widely divergent paths.

Preservation and Reputation: Longfellow's Cambridge House

The clearest example of the divergent paths of canonization and memorialization can be found in the history of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's house in Cambridge, Massachusetts. At the time of his death in 1882, Longfellow's place in the pantheon of American letters seemed permanently secure. While a few contemporaries—mostly notably Poe—doubted Longfellow's greatness as a poet, most readers commonly assumed that his poems were among the best written by an American. Writing shortly after Longfellow's death, Walt Whitman claimed that he would have to "think long if asked to name the man who has done more" for America than his deceased fellow poet.¹² The English critical establishment apparently concurred: in 1887 Longfellow became the first American honored with a memorial plaque within Westminster Abbey.

At first, academic critics and scholars took the poet's importance for granted. Works such as Thomas Crowell's *A Century of American Literature* (1889) and Barrett Wendell's *Literary History of America* (1900) helped establish the nation's writing as a subject of serious study in part by devoting extensive passages to discussion of his work. During the 1920s and 1930s, however, Longfellow came to represent everything that young modernists loathed about the Victorian era. "Who, except wretched schoolchildren, now reads Longfellow," Ludwig Lewisohn asked in 1932.¹³ Two biographies in the 1950s and 1960s

revealed a slight Longfellow revival, but a defensive tone informs these studies, as if critics felt compelled to justify their efforts to skeptical colleagues.¹⁴ So far did Longfellow sink in critical acclaim, that in 1966 one scholar identified him as one of the two most ridiculed poets in the English language (Joyce Kilmer was the other).¹⁵ Although disdained in academic circles, Longfellow's house retained its hold on the popular imagination, which the poet's children and grandchildren clearly understood. Through it all, they took steps to maintain the house as a literary landmark while seemingly oblivious to the twists and turns of the critics. In their case, preservation represented familial rather than literary imperatives. For Longfellow, having resourceful descendants proved far more critical than the relative quality of his work in assuring that his home would become a public museum.

Historical events unconnected to the Longfellow family also helped preserve the house. When he first rented rooms in what was then known as the Craigie House in Cambridge in 1837, the house already contained strong historical associations. In 1775 George Washington assumed command of the Continent Army while using the structure as his headquarters. At the time Longfellow was a young Harvard professor happy to reside at such an esteemed address. As the poet's fame grew over the ensuing forty years, the house became ever-more deeply layered by a mixture of nostalgia, memory, and charm—a mixture that Longfellow himself encouraged by opening his doors to a nearly endless stream of visitors. Occasionally, visitors reacted with the same sense of awe that many experienced at Stratford. One woman from California, for instance, was so overcome at the sight of Longfellow's library that she burst into tears when the poet allowed her a mere glance into the book-lined chamber.¹⁶ When he died in 1882, the house ranked among the best known residential structures in America.

The first family member actively involved in the physical preservation of the house was the poet's daughter, Alice (1850-1928). Although other family members came and went, she was the principal occupant from the time of her father's death until her own, a period of more than forty years.¹⁷ She took particular care to assure that the aging building remained structurally sound, even as she worked to preserve its original appearance. Aside from her commitment to her family home, the poet's daughter was active in several preservation activities. For many years she served as Massachusetts Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, the organization responsible for maintaining George Washington's Virginia home. Closer to home, she helped to establish the Cambridge Historical Society in 1905, serving on its board until 1924. In 1910 she joined the board and later served as vice-president of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, an important preservation group founded by her cousin William Summer Appleton.¹⁸

These preservation activities brought Alice Longfellow directly into contact with other well-educated and prosperous women of her generation who found an intellectual and political outlet in campaigns to save national landmarks. Beginning in the mid-1850s, when Ann Pamela Cunningham organized the Mount



Figure 1: Photo of Longfellow House front facade and west side. Probably late-nineteenth century. Courtesy of the Longfellow National Historic Site.

Vernon Ladies Association, historic preservation efforts enabled women to situate themselves as guardians of the country's heritage and morals. In the 1890s, patriotic societies such as the Mayflower Descendants and the Daughters of the American Revolution—to which Alice belonged—lobbied to protect venerated sites from possible destruction.¹⁹

Despite Alice's interest in house museums, the Longfellow house never quite became a full-fledged museum during her long residence. Rather, she created a memorial space that hovered between the private realm of a family home and the public world of museums, a place where the present was deliberately mingled with the past. Because she continued to live in the structure, she understandably wished to preserve its private associations. But she was also aware that the house occupied a special place in American hearts. Only briefly did she open its doors to regularly scheduled tours—a decision she quickly regretted—but Alice did allow enough access to keep the house in the public eye. In 1896, for instance, she allowed photographers from *Cambridge Magazine* to document her living quarters for an article she wrote about her father. She also allowed members of preservation groups to conduct occasional small tours. And in 1913 she joined with her siblings to form the Longfellow House Trust,

which stipulated that, should no surviving family member wish to reside there, the house should be “held, preserved, maintained, and managed for the public,” both as a specimen of Colonial architecture and as a memorial to the poet.²⁰ The public, the Trust deed claimed, should be allowed to visit regularly. The conditions of those visits, however, were to remain within family control.

Fortunately for Longfellow’s house, the familial devotion to the structure continued after Alice’s death in 1928. At that point her nephew Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana (best known as Harry) became the principal resident of the house, where he remained until his death in 1950. The grandson of both Longfellow and Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Harry in 1910 earned a Ph.D. in comparative literature from Harvard and taught at the Sorbonne and Columbia. Despite the promising start, Dana’s academic career came to an abrupt and controversial close in 1917 when Columbia dismissed him for making speeches opposing American involvement in the Great War. Denounced in the Boston press for violating “the conventions and traditions” of his class, Dana never fully recovered from the loss of his academic post.²¹ Further controversy ensued when he was arrested on a “morals charge” for allegedly propositioning a sixteen-year-old Cambridge boy. With his career in tatters, Dana moved in with his aunt Alice and assumed sole occupancy of the Longfellow house upon her death in 1928.

Despite the controversy that surrounded him, Harry Dana almost single-handedly kept the house functioning. As a scholar who understood the importance of archives, he organized and catalogued the thousands of manuscripts scattered throughout the rooms, some of them dating to the Revolutionary War. He also thoroughly researched the history of the house, work that the National Park Service drew upon when it assumed control of the house in the 1970s. On several occasions he granted scholars access to private Longfellow papers and opened his doors to groups such as the Modern Language Association. Harry also continued the tradition of costume balls begun by his Aunt Alice. At one notable occasion marking the 100th anniversary of Longfellow’s breakfast with Charles Dickens, a bewigged Harry Dana in the role of his grandfather replayed the entire affair before an audience of 100 friends. At some point in the 1930s (the exact date is unclear), he began conducting formal and scheduled tours through the house, although he did not start charging admission until 1941.²² The lack of a regular outside income, however, eventually forced Harry to take in tenants. By mid-century, the Longfellow residence had become a rooming house.

When Harry died in 1950, surviving family members sought organizations interested in taking control of the house. The National Park Service turned down the opportunity in 1952, but reconsidered in 1962 when the Kennedy Administration expanded the Park Service’s jurisdiction to include the preservation of literary sites. Still, another ten years passed before formal action was taken, primarily because surviving Longfellow grandchildren disagreed over the distribution of money. Congress finally enacted legislation authorizing transfer in October 1973, by which point Hawthorne’s Wayside had earned the distinction

as the first literary monument administered by the Park Service.²³ By this time, of course, higher education had long since abandoned Longfellow. But Longfellow's critical nadir would not have mattered to the family members who kept the house in the public eye. In their case, preservation represented familial rather than literary imperatives.

Preservation by Devoted Readers: Hawthorne's Wayside

Disciples rather than descendants kept Hawthorne's Wayside intact until a suitable preservation organization could be found. One reason for this difference from the Longfellow house stems from the Hawthorne family's precarious finances following the author's death. They were simply financially unable to retain possession of his final home in Concord. Another may have been their own ambivalence regarding the role that literary landmarks play in the culture. Almost alone among nineteenth-century visitors to Stratford-on-Avon, Hawthorne professed that he "was conscious of not the slightest emotion" upon visiting Shakespeare's home.²⁴ His son Julian inherited his father's ambivalence. On the one hand, he wrote several articles that nostalgically invoked the places his father lived. On the other hand, he ridiculed people who visited them, especially for "the rare ingenuity they display in mistaking what they are looking at for something else." Too many literary pilgrims, he claimed, "insist upon it that the Wayside is the Old Manse" or "that Emerson lived in Thoreau's Hermitage."²⁵

With the Hawthorne family either unwilling or unable to help out, efforts to preserve the Wayside depended on the largesse of a few devoted readers. Those readers, however, did not hold a place in the critical and academic establishment that helped craft the twentieth-century canon. Rather, they were religiously inspired publishers of didactic children's literature which celebrated a Hawthorne who, as Jane Tompkins reminds us, had not yet attained the reputation for darkness and ambiguity so favored by twentieth-century critics.²⁶

The Wayside holds a unique place in the architectural history of the American Renaissance for having been the family home of both the Alcotts and the Hawthornes. Built in approximately 1714, the simple two story house came into the hands of Bronson Alcott in 1845. Alcott, who dubbed the house "Hillside," considerably altered the structure, most notably by adding to either side of the original boxlike outline. Unfortunately, he could not afford to maintain his family in Concord and sold it to Nathaniel Hawthorne in 1852. The home earned lasting fame in 1868 when Louisa May Alcott modeled the March residence in *Little Women* on her former home. Soon after purchasing the house, the only one he ever owned, Hawthorne renamed it "The Wayside"—the name it still carries. He had not lived there long before his friend Franklin Pierce appointed him Consul to Liverpool. Upon returning in 1860, Hawthorne added a central tower

as his workplace. After his death in 1864, his family remained in the house under reduced circumstances for another four years.²⁷

The history of the Wayside's entrance into the tourist economy begins with its purchase by Harriet and Daniel Lothrop in 1883. Important figures in the growing field of children's literature, they pounced on the opportunity to purchase the famous house. In 1868 Daniel Lothrop (1831-1892) founded a Boston publishing firm that specialized in religious tracts for children. Although works by Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary E. Wilkins, and Celia Thaxter appeared in one Lothrop magazine targeted to slightly older readers, the firm's stated creed virtually assured the production of didactic works for the very young. Lothrop promised "never to publish a book purely sensational"; instead, he would only issue works "which will make for true, steadfast growth in right living."²⁸ Harriett Lothrop (1844-1924) wrote more than forty children's books, most under the pen name Margaret Sidney. Her best-known works were the twelve installments of the *Five Little Peppers* series, which detail the domestic travails of a poor but happy family. Recently, some critics have identified a "subtle subversion of the cult of domesticity" in the *Five Little Peppers* because unmarried older women are often seen in positions of authority.²⁹ Such a reading seems strained, however, when we consider the strongly religious and patriotic element in nearly all of Mrs. Lothrop's public utterances. As her work on behalf of the Hawthorne house attests, there was virtually nothing subversive about her.

Far more than her husband, Harriet Lothrop assumed for herself the role of Hawthorne's principal memorialist. In 1904, for example, she hosted a three-day celebration to mark the centenary of Hawthorne's birth that attracted such notable figures in turn-of-the-century New England letters as Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Julia Ward Howe. Although she never offered regularly scheduled tours, she frequently opened the Wayside for meetings of organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Concord Women's Club. For nearly forty years she attempted to fuse her religious views, patriotic sentiments, and literary ambitions into a rhetoric of preservation that could successfully perpetuate the physical memory of Hawthorne. In ways that anticipate Harry Dana's devotion to the Longfellow house, Lothrop "felt it a duty to preserve the physical structures as well as the fine traditions of the past."³⁰ That past included her husband's memory as well as that of the more famous Hawthorne. In an 1896 article she notes that while Hawthorne was the best-known resident, the Wayside was additionally blessed for having been the home of her husband, "the children's friend."³¹ Here, the memory of Daniel Lothrop, the religiously inspired publisher of didactic children's works, combined with the memory of the not-yet-dark Hawthorne.

Like Alice Longfellow and other preservation-minded women, Lothrop believed that preserved historical sites could inspire patriotic and domestic sentiments. In 1893 she helped organize the Concord chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; two years later she founded the Children of the American Revolution, an organization devoted to fostering patriotic sentiments

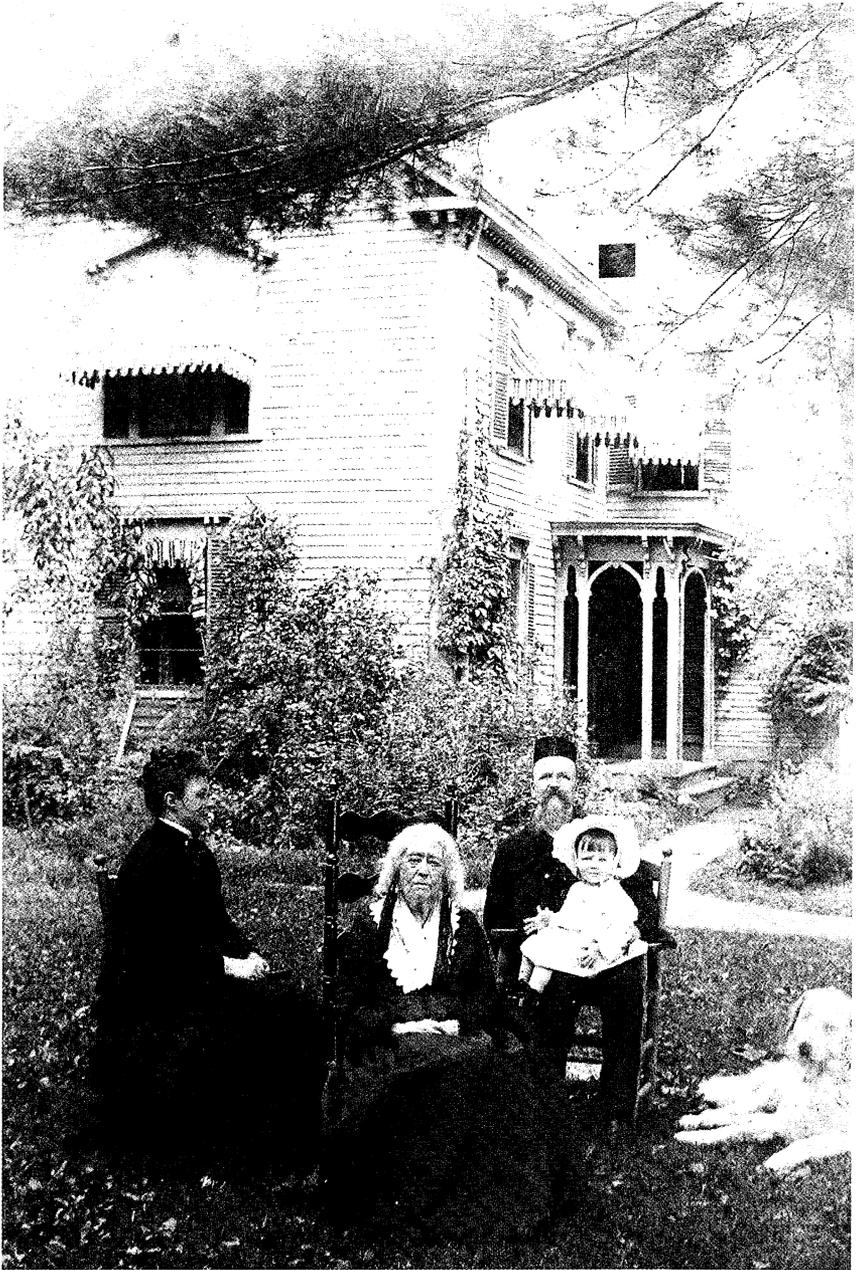


Figure 2: Lothrop Family with Elizabeth Peabody on west lawn of the Wayside. Left to right: Harriet Lothrop, Elizabeth Peabody, Daniel Lothrop, with Margaret Lothrop on his lap. Circa 1880. From the Museum Collection of the Minute Man National Historic Park, catalog number 33103.

among the nation's young people. She directed most of her preservation activities, however, to the restoration of American literary homes. Aside from Wayside, she led the campaign to construct a house museum in Concord devoted to the memory of Louisa May Alcott. As Rebecca West has noted in her history of American house museums, Lothrop in 1901 purchased Orchard House—which the Alcotts owned from 1858 to 1880—to preserve and re-direct the popular image of the Alcott family. Whereas Bronson Alcott was known for trotting his family off to reside in experimental communes, the Orchard House that Lothrop purchased and eventually sold to the Concord Women's Club, presented visitors with a model of middle-class virtue of the sort outlined in Louisa's *Little Women*.³² Indeed, at a 1913 speech delivered to the Friends of the Harvard Summer School, she claimed that the preserved Orchard House would permanently recall a "happy home center" where love rather than Bronson's Orphic musings "prevailed."³³

For more than forty years Lothrop researched and wrote about the domestic arrangements of authors. Just months before her death in 1924, for example, she served on a committee charged with identifying the exact location of Poe's birthplace in Boston.³⁴ She also wrote a series of articles on the homes of popular American writers, including Whittier, Longfellow, and Poe. In each case, Lothrop finds that an author's physical environment could transcend the symbolic power of his or her words. When "only the books remembered," she claimed, the person who created that book "slips into the dim shadows of skirting oblivion." But when we "stand in the presence of that personality that evolved the book, we are brought directly into the creative process itself."³⁵ Even a figure as problematic as Poe could be transformed when she referred to his household. While his sordid reputation could not be easily explained away, Lothrop took solace in the tears that the poet shed upon the death of his wife, Virginia: "All of this makes the little cottage at Fordham eloquent with the tragedy of life, and up borne by love, sacred for all time."³⁶ Tear-filled sentiments such as these, even for someone as unlikely as Poe, run throughout Lothrop's remarks on authors and their homes.

Harriet Lothrop's emphasis on the physical manifestations of literary accomplishment underscores the difference between biographical and textual criticism. Indeed, her various projects suggest a completely different relationship to the written word than has been in favor for the last fifty years. When Lothrop wrote in the first decades of the twentieth century, literary criticism—academic or not—emphasized the accumulation of biographical facts; the primary scholarly tendency was archival rather than theoretical. Early scholarly works on American literature such as those by Barrett Wendall and Moses Coit Tyler today read like extended biographical summaries. When they were written, however, they contained all the studious historical analysis that many believed necessary to provide the study of American literature a semblance of methodological rigor.³⁷ Only with the rise of the New Criticism after World War II did textual attention turn more fully to the interplay of words in texts. In this sense, Lothrop was in keeping with her times. To be sure, her form of popular criticism eventually lost its cultural influence to the scholarly journals devoted to American writing, but

her fascination with the details of her subjects' lives—particularly their domestic arrangements—continued to play a role in popular discussions of the country's literary heritage. We would not be mistaken, then, to call Lothrop's early efforts at the Wayside an exercise in literary criticism. To her eyes, the physical and the literary were inextricably intertwined.

Upon Lothrop's death in 1924, ownership of the house transferred to her daughter Margaret, who spent the next forty years intermittently running it as a form of private museum or searching for a group interested in assuming control. Like Harry Dana, Margaret Lothrop (1884-1970) began her professional career in academia; she earned an M.A. in economics from Stanford, where she also taught from 1915-1928. And like her mother, Margaret Lothrop encouraged patriotic sentiments among children, serving for several years as Honorary Vice President of the Children of the American Revolution. Her mother's death and the financial difficulties of running of Wayside, however, brought Margaret back to Concord in 1928. Almost immediately, she sought to sell the house, first to SPNEA and later to the Trustees of Public Reservations, a group primarily concerned with preserving open space.³⁸ Lothrop's \$30,000 asking price, however, scared away many potential purchasers.

Between attempts to sell the house, Margaret continued to live there while also opening its doors for regularly scheduled tours. From 1928 until 1965 she served as the building's curator, guide, and principal promoter. She also had architectural plans drawn up to document the various changes to the house. Tourists, then, saw *her* home as well as that of her more illustrious predecessors; once inside, visitors wandered between the domestic space of both the living and the dead. Oddly, despite Margaret's reverence for the genteel past, the experience of visiting her home allowed for a thoroughly modern blending of experiences. At once a living space, a commercial enterprise, and a monument to the past, Lothrop's Wayside stands as the architectural analogue to the imaginative space that Hawthorne created in his best-known romances. Like his writings, her home hovered between the real and the ideal while moving in and out of the present and the past.

This odd blending of discursive fields at the Wayside underscores the equally odd rhetorical space occupied by most authorial house museums. Memorials such as the Hawthorne home came into public memory prior to architectural modernism's mid-twentieth century rejection of historical referents and signs. By its very nature the museum that Lothrop set up at Wayside foregrounds the historical. It operates quite purposively within the realm of the sign, signifying anything and everything that she hoped to gather around her favorite author. In our own time, this and other authorial museums might present what Carole Blair and others have identified as a post-modern conundrum: they offer a meta-narrative of literary talent and accomplishment within a culture increasingly suspicious of such explanations.³⁹ Meta-narratives, however, were precisely what Lothrop and other like-minded preservationists sought to create. So even as she could not (or would not) decide whether she lived in a museum or a home, she

clearly understood that the Wayside still operated within a memorial system that privileged patriotic and sentiment values, the meaning of which were transparently clear.

Still, Margaret continually tinkered with the public image she wished the house to project, trying out various forms of literary patriotism to present to the public. In 1935 she tried to drum up business with a series of radio advertisements, the first of their kind for a literary house. One spot featured a young girl pleading with her mother, "Oh how I wish I could go" to Concord "and see Hawthorne's old home, the Wayside."⁴⁰ Two years later, she hired a public relations expert, only to scold him for emphasizing that the house once belonged to Bronson Alcott. "I do NOT want that stressed," she wrote, a demand that apparently did not apply to Louisa May Alcott, whose name is featured prominently in Margaret's advertisements concerning the house. A 1941 brochure invited visitors to view the house "not as a museum, but as a home still used as a residence and little changed from the days" when Emerson and Thoreau visited. Finally in 1960, five years before she sold the house to the National Park Service, Margaret urged her guests to "reflect upon" the "Integrity, Hard Work, and Love of Liberty" that "influenced the former owners of this house." We need these standards, she added in a patriotic vein, "in order to preserve our country."⁴¹

These final patriotic statements, informed as they are by pietistic statements regarding hard work and enterprise, reflect Margaret Lothrop's thinking as she prepared to sell the house to the National Park Service. Although Hawthorne's critical reputation soared during the 1950s, none of the ambiguity so favored by critics of the time comes across in Margaret Lothrop's promotion of the house. Indeed, the contrast between Hawthorne's critical standing and Lothrop's views is startling. As one 1964 survey of the literature stated, the Hawthorne beloved by post-War academic critics could be found in "the ambiguity of sin or sorrow of 'The Minister's Black Veil'" or "the inscrutable moral paradoxes of 'Rappaccini's Daughter.'"⁴² These New Critical terms—"ambiguity," "paradox"—stand in stark contrast to the pious sentiments proffered by Lothrop. Of course, as Jane Tompkins has noted, the dark ambivalence of Hawthorne is largely a creation of twentieth-century reading habits and preference. He was far better loved in his own day for such sentimental tales as "Little Annie's Ramble" or "Sunday at Home"—which, not incidentally, contain the same pietistic domestic overtones championed by Lothrop.⁴³ This is not to say that Margaret Lothrop was a poor reader of Hawthorne; on the contrary, she simply possessed a view of the man and his works that, for many reasons, no longer held sway in the modern academy. But the difference between her preservationist views and those in post-World War II English departments underscore just how divergent the paths of literary canonization and architectural memorialization can be. As was the case with Longfellow's house and reputation, the two cultural forces at work at the Wayside—criticism and memorialization—followed their own agendas.

Even the National Park Service, which purchased the Wayside from Margaret Lothrop in 1966, inscribed the structure within a rhetoric of patriotism and national purpose. The Park Service, which began its program of literary preservation at the Wayside, undertook the task as part of a larger plan to commemorate the Battle of Lexington and Concord. In 1959 Congress established the Minuteman National Historic Park, within which the Wayside sat. Over the next decade the Park Service acquired several buildings and properties within the current park, the principal aim of which is to impart lessons in American history. Of course, the Service presents the Wayside primarily as an artifact of literary history, but the geographical coincidence of its location within a park devoted to the start of the American Revolution should not be overlooked. Everything the Lothrop had done over the previous eighty years would have predicted such an outcome.

A Critical Consensus: The Case of Poe

Finally, I want briefly to consider the early preservation history of Edgar Allan Poe's cottage in Fordham, one of four Poe residences now open to the public. The cottage's odd journey into public memory began after Poe's mother-in-law moved out shortly after the poet's death in 1849. For the next forty years the house passed from owner to owner, most of whom rented it to tenants. Popular interest in the cottage increased following an 1874 article by M. J. Lamb in *Appleton's Journal* that described a pilgrimage to the site. Although he found the house "dreadfully out of repair," Lamb approached the structure "with a feeling of reverence" for the poet who briefly resided within its walls. Like those who visited Shakespeare's house at Stratford, Lamb's experience with the physical traces of Poe's domestic arrangements produced powerful emotional effects. As the landlady showed him around, he believed he heard and saw the footsteps of the long-departed poet. Indeed, he imagined Poe's "tall, lithe, graceful, and manly figure" staring down at him through "dark melancholy eyes."⁴⁴

In the years following the *Appleton's* article, newspapers and magazines periodically printed accounts of visits to the house. Most lamented its ongoing physical deterioration. An 1892 article in the monthly magazine *The Critic*, for example, noted that "everything about the place is going into decay." The windows had been nailed shut and the doors had been barred as protection against vagrants. Moreover, a "malarial dampness" permeated every room so that "even the humblest people will not live in the house owing to its unhealthy condition."⁴⁵ The house had deteriorated so badly that in 1889 the structure and everything in it was sold at a public auction.⁴⁶ Its future seemed dim.

The first attempt to remove the house from the workings of the market occurred in the same year as the auction, when the owner offered to donate the cottage to the city. The New York City Department of Parks, however, claimed that because the neighborhood had become so densely populated the structure

could be adequately protected only if moved to a nearby park. Not willing to cover the expense for such a project, the city insisted that “admirers of the erratic poet” should pay for the removal, a demand that ultimately doomed the deal. After this failed transaction, the house was used by tenants or small businesses. At various times one could find a dentist’s office or “Poe’s Laundry” on the premises. By the late 1890s, Poe’s fame worked against the cottage, as the owners had difficulty finding tenants willing to stand the increased number of visitors while living in such ramshackle conditions. One renter threatened to have her dog attack the curious. Frustrated by his inability to rent the cottage, the final owner contemplated selling Poe’s home to a Coney Island amusement park, the proprietor of which wanted to add it to the attractions along the boardwalk.⁴⁷

The major difference separating the Poe restoration from the others was the level of support offered by the academic, literary, and political establishments. Far more than either Longfellow and Hawthorne, the architectural enshrinement of Poe proceeded apace with his literary canonization. For a writer who in many ways remains the most enigmatic figure of the American Renaissance, the public nature of his memorialization might seem out of place. But the official effort devoted to preserving the Poe Cottage is precisely what made the effort unique among literary landmarks established during the early decades of the twentieth century. As in so many other ways, Poe here stands alone.

Two efforts in the mid-1890s reveal the level of interest in Poe Cottage among the critical and literary elite. The first was an unsuccessful 1895 effort by the New York Shakespeare Society to raise money to remove the structure from harm’s way by relocating it to the nearby park where city officials had hoped to place the structure in 1889. They arranged to rent the structure and use the cultural authority of the Shakespeare Society to raise public consciousness about the house. Poe, the society’s president claimed, was “an American Shakespeare” who deserved a permanent memorial. The second example of official interest in the Poe Cottage occurred in 1896, after it was revealed that a clause in an earlier deed legally barred anyone from moving it from the original location. At the time plans for the widening of Kingsbridge Road necessitated that the house be either destroyed or removed to a safe site. The restrictive stipulation propelled a drive by leading writers, political figures, and educators to lobby the New York State Legislature to allow alterations to the deed. For the first time in American history, an elected body was asked to take a stand on the disposition of a literary site.⁴⁸

An 1896 article in *The Review of Reviews* entitled “Shall We Save the Poe Cottage at Fordham” urged the legislature to act and included enthusiastic endorsements from, among others, Theodore Roosevelt, Hamlin Garland, William Dean Howells, Rudyard Kipling, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and the professors Henry Van Dyke and H. E. Scudder. Predictably, they urged the saving of the cottage. Kipling claimed that he generally did “not approve of buying dead man’s camps,” but his “own personal debt to

Poe” was so great that he overcame his scruples. Roosevelt believed that “Poe was perhaps the most brilliant genius America had produced.” And while Howells claimed that Poe “was not a man whom it would have been easy to honor in his lifetime,” the opportunity should not be missed now that he was dead. Only Julian Hawthorne offered a different view. He praised Poe, but perhaps recalling his own apprehension about literary monuments, he also made no mention of the house. Despite the younger Hawthorne’s silence regarding the physical aspects of memory, the distinguished and influential contributors, all of whom were male, would have agreed with Professor Scudder’s belief that “the mind longs to connect an affection or regard for an author with some tangible sign of the living thing.”⁴⁹ Eventually the house was moved twice, once when the Kingsbridge Road was widened in 1909 and again in 1913, when the City of New York finally purchased the cottage and removed it to nearby Poe Park, a small green space created by the city in 1906. After a series of construction delays, the house opened as a museum in 1917.

Aside from the confluence of critical and popular opinion at Poe Cottage, the structure is significant for the role the public sector played in its preservation. While the Longfellow and Hawthorne homes were eventually subsumed within the National Park Service, their preservation and entrance into the tourist economy first came about through private efforts. Thus, the National Park Service became a major force in authorial home preservation, but when New York City’s Department of Parks assumed control of the poet’s cottage in 1913, such a move by a public agency was unprecedented.

To be sure, the question remains of what the public actually saw when visiting such sites. In the case of the Poe Cottage, they saw very little. Few of the author’s possessions survived long past his early death, and those that did were scattered into the hands of private collectors. In the Bronx, park workers first opted to furnish the house with pieces believed typical of a modest Fordham residence of the mid-1840s. But the scarcity of Poe-related objects did not discourage visitors during the first years the house was open to the public. In 1925 alone more than 34,000 people visited the Poe Cottage.⁵⁰ Whatever physical reminders of the poet’s brief stay emanated primarily through the structure’s simple ceilings and walls.

The early popularity of the Poe Cottage suggests that the physical manifestations of literary acclaim are not necessarily expressed through objects so much as by the opportunity to occupy the physical space once trod upon by a well-known writer. The Longfellow and Hawthorne homes each contained several pieces of furniture belonging to the authors, but the popularity of the various Poe sites (where the author’s possessions are rare) suggests that they too would be popular should all the furniture be removed. As I stated at the beginning of this essay, literary production has very little to do with how and why literary shrines are established. Visitors to these sites would agree with Professor Scudder’s contention, stated in the petition to save Poe Cottage, that when

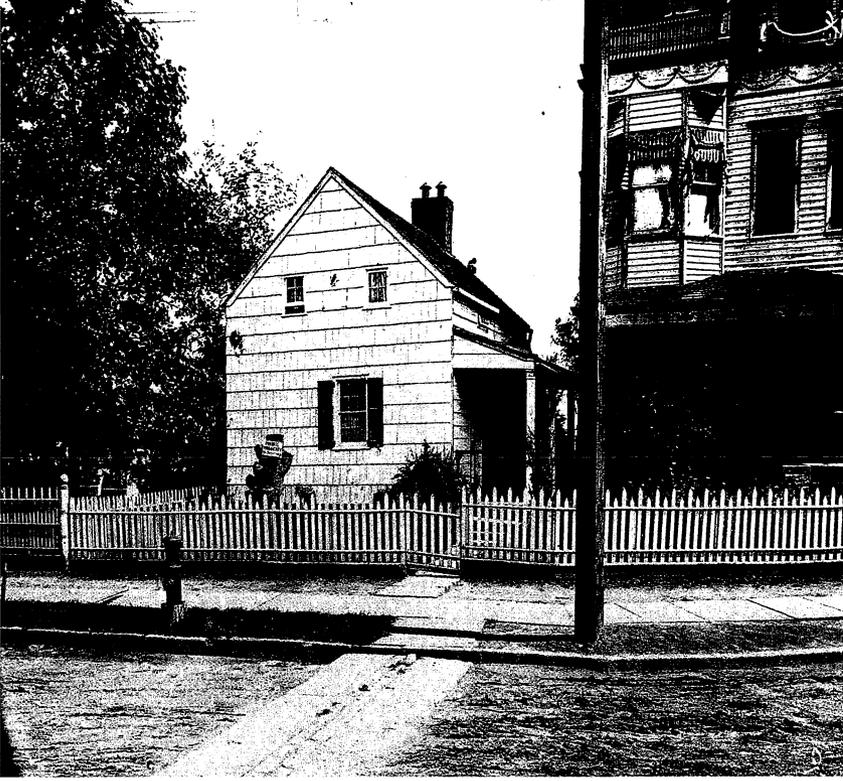


Figure 3: Poe cottage at its original location on Kingsbridge Road. c. 1909. Bronx Country Historic Society, Steven Scher Collection.

considering an author's memory, "a house above all things is the center about which our interest gathers."⁵¹

In closing, I suggest that Professor Scudder's remarks, as well as the activities of Alice Longfellow and Margaret Lothrop, can help us re-conceive the relationship between canonization and preservation. While they each have strands of their own history, the two cultural forces interact, conflict, and converge with each other in ways that demand our consideration. There is precedent for such a view. In his justly acclaimed New Historicist reading of American realism, Walter Benn Michaels claimed that the "only relation literature as such has to culture as such is that it is a part of it."⁵² The same may be said for the relationship of literature and preservation. They unfold at different paces, but they are never really different things.

Notes

1. For a survey of early preservation efforts of authors' homes see Miriam Levine, *A Guide to Writers' Homes in New England* (Chester, Conn.: Applewood Press, 1984).

2. For the role of the Longfellow house in Portland tourism see "The Director's Report," *Main Historical Society Quarterly*, 17 (Summer 1977) and Robert H. Babcock, "The Rise of Portland's Waterfront," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly*, 22 (Fall 1982), 63-98.
3. Paul Lauter, *Canons and Contexts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 22-47. The history and theory of American literary canon building is also discussed by David R. Shumway in *Creating American Civilization: A Genealogy of American Literature as an Academic Discipline* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994). See especially Chapters One and Two.
4. Ian Ousby discusses the intersection of religious and literary values at literary sites in *The Englishman's England: Taste, Travel, and the Rise of Tourism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 22.
5. For discussion of the English literary shrines and Poets Corner, see Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, 23-33.
6. Ousby, *The Englishman's England*, 46-49. See also Levi Fox, *In Honor of Shakespeare: The History and Collections of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 1972), 7-11.
7. Alison Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims: The American Traveler in Great Britain, 1800-1914* (East Brunswick, N.J.: Cornwall Books, 1981), 82.
8. Archibald Alison, *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790 Hildesheim, West Germany, 1968), 16. For the impact of Association Psychology in American letters see William Palmer Hudson, "Archibald Alison and William Cullen Bryant," *American Literature*, 12 (March 1940), 60-68; and Robert E. Streeter, "Association Psychology and Literary Nationalism in the *North American Review*," 17 (March 1945), 243-54.
9. Irving to Jane Renwick, July 27, 1815, *Letters of Washington Irving*, vol. I., Ralph Aderman, Herbert L. Kleinfield, Jennifer S. Bank, eds. (Boston: Twayne, 1978), 403.
10. Lockwood, *Passionate Pilgrims*, 82.
11. "The Birthplace," *The Complete Tales of Henry James*, vol. 11 (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1964), 411, 420, 450-51.
12. Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose*, Lawrence Buell, ed. (New York: Modern Library, 1981), 747.
13. Ludwig Lewisohn, "The Polite Writers," in *Expression in America* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1932), 32.
14. See Newton Arvin, *Longfellow: His Life and Times* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1962) and Edward Wagenknecht, *Longfellow: A Full-Length Portrait* (New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1955).
15. Richard Ruland "Longfellow and the Modern Reader," *English Journal*, 55 (September 1966), 622. For a sense of the defensive nature of the 1960s Longfellow studies see Newton Arvin.
16. Samuel Longfellow, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow: Final Memorials* (Boston, 1887), 337-338.
17. For discussion of the various ways that Alice used the house see Marie L. Carden and Thomas Denenberg, *Longfellow National Historic Site: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Historical Overview and Evaluation of Significance* (Cambridge, Mass.: National Park Service, 1996), 48-61.
18. The most concise biographical account of Alice Longfellow's life can be found in Bernice Brown Cronkite, "Grave Alice," *Radcliffe Quarterly* 49 (November 1965), 11-14.
19. For the role of women in early historical preservation see Karal Ann Marling, *George Washington Slept Here: Colonial Revivals and American Culture, 1876-1986* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 91-97. See also Barbara J. Howe, "Women and Architecture," in *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*, Page Putnam Miller, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 27-33; and Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays in American Memory* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996), 4-32.
20. Quoted in National Park Historian Dwight Pitcaithley's unpublished history of the preservation of Longfellow's house. This report offers the most comprehensive narrative of Alice's activities on behalf of the house. See Pitcaithley "Longfellow National Historic Site: A Preservation History," Longfellow National Historic Site, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
21. *Boston Herald*, October 2, 1917. Details about Harry Dana's biography are drawn from his obituary in the *Cambridge Chronicle-Sun*, May 4, 1950, 10D. Pitcaithley also supplies biographical data. See also the *Harvard College Class of 1903, Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Report* (Norwood, Massachusetts, privately published, 1928), 246.
22. Pitcaithley, "Longfellow National Historic Site," 11.
23. *Ibid.*, 12.
24. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Our Old Home* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1900), 141.
25. Julian Hawthorne, "Scenes of Hawthorne's Romances," *Century Magazine*, 6 (July 1884), 384.

26. Jane Tompkins, *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1780-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 10-11.
27. Edwin Haviland Miller, *Salem is My Dwelling Place: A Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 526-27.
28. Quoted in Margaret M. Lothrop, *The Wayside: The Home of Authors* (New York: American Book Company, 1940), 155.
29. See Eve Kornfield and Susan Jackson, "The Female Bildungsroman in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American Culture*, 10 (Winter 1987), 69-75.
30. Margaret Lothrop, *The Wayside*, 5.
31. Margaret Sidney (Harriet Lothrop), "Hawthorne at the Wayside," *The Interior*, November 26, 1896, 154.
32. Patricia West, "The Historic House Museum Movement in America: Louisa May Alcott's Orchard House as a Case Study," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY Binghamton, 1992, 63.
33. Harriet Lothrop, "Louisa May Alcott: An Appreciation of Her Life and Work," Lothrop Papers, Box 23, folder 10, Minuteman National Park, Concord, Massachusetts.
34. *Boston Globe*, January 21, 1924.
35. Lothrop, "Louisa May Alcott: An Appreciation of her Life and Work."
36. "Poe at Fordham Cottage," *The Interior*, April 7, 1898, 426. Similar sentiments regarding triumph over adversity propelled Lothrop in 1900 to purchase and begin to restore Orchard House, the house next door in which Louisa May Alcott wrote *Little Women*. The house had fallen into a state of disrepair that Lothrop believed demeaned the memory of Alcott. To prevent further insult she held the house until 1911, when she agreed to sell it to the Concord women's Club, a group of local citizens interested in the history of their own town. See West, "The Historical House Museum Movement in America," 163-167.
37. See James A. Berlin, *Rhetoric and Reality: Writing Instruction in American Colleges, 1900-1985* (Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1987), 32-58.
38. Summer Appleton of SPNEA was particularly anxious that the house come under the auspices of an established preservation group, claiming that "Hawthorne's Wayside is one of the most historic buildings in the country." Appleton to Charles Rackerman, October 14, 1929, SPNEA microfiche on the Wayside.
39. See Carole Blair, Marsha S. Jeppson, and Enrico Pucci, Jr., "Public Memorializing in Postmodernity: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial as Prototype," *Journal of Speech Quarterly*, 77 (August 1991), 263-288.
40. Radio script of advertisement aired on radio on August 2, 1935, Lothrop papers, Box 79, folder 10.
41. The brochures and correspondence with public relations experts are in Box 81, folders 3 and 4 of the Lothrop papers.
42. Seymour L. Gross and Randall Stewart, "The Hawthorne Revival," in *Hawthorne Centennial Essays*, Roy Harvey Pearce, ed. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964), 351.
43. Tompkins, *Sensational Designs*, 10-11.
44. M. J. Lamb, "Poe's House at Fordham," *Appleton's Journal*, July 18, 1874, 75-77.
45. *The Critic*, 20 (February 20, 1892), 120.
46. Information regarding the final years of private ownership of the Poe cottage is from Jay Filan's unpublished history of the Poe Cottage on file at the Bronx County Historical Society. Pages 49-73 are especially useful. Unless otherwise stated, all references to the history of the cottage are from Filan's impressive piece of detective work. It should be published in its entirety.
47. Filan, unpublished history, 51, 53, 68, 75.
48. Filan, unpublished history, 57, 61; Burton R. Pollin, "Theodore Roosevelt to the Rescue of Poe Cottage," *Mississippi Quarterly* 34 (1980-81), 52-53.
49. Fred M. Hopkins, "Shall We Save the Poe Cottage at Fordham," *The Review of Reviews*, April 13, 1896, 458-462.
50. Poe Cottage Committee, "Report to the Bronx Society of Arts and Sciences," 1926.
51. Quoted in Hopkins, "Shall We Save the Poe Cottage at Fordham," 462.
52. Walter Benn Michaels, *The Gold Standard and the Logic of Naturalism: American Literature at the Turn of the Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 27.