

Courtesy Chicago Historical Society

Kate Newell Doggett
1827-1884

Reproduction of Portrait Attributed to George P. A. Healy, c.
1870.

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The Doggett-Crane Manuscript Album

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Dr. Haselmayer, professor of English at Iowa Wesleyan College, prepared this study for the presentation of the Doggett-Crane Album to Iowa Wesleyan last year. His research sheds new light on soldiers' relief activities and popular social and literary tastes during the dark days of the Civil War. He is the author of a number of volumes of poetry, books on ecclesiastical history and literary articles.

In the library of Iowa Wesleyan College there is a somewhat battered black leather, gold stamped, photograph album, containing thirty-two autographs, manuscript letters, patriotic sentiments and hand written poetic extracts. These documents were gathered in 1864 from well-known political personalities, outstanding clergymen, and anti-slavery leaders. Seven of them, sent by prominent American men of letters, have a special unity and offer considerable information of significant literary value.

The assembling of this collection and the history of its transmission form an enlightening chapter in American social and political history which complements the interest of the literary fragments.

ORIGIN AND TRANSMISSION OF THE ALBUM

The years 1863-1865 saw the formation in the United States of a widely organized system of relief for wounded Civil War soldiers, the support of military hospitals and the providing of food supplies for the Union troops. Countless local groups in every town were hard at work, but their efforts were scattered and the results of their

labors sometimes never reached the proper destinations. The United States Sanitary Commission, chartered by Congress on June 6, 1861, sought to organize and direct the multiple local relief organizations into one great activity.¹

For the needs of the Union troops, desperate in 1863 and 1864, a series of Sanitary Fairs were held in every part of the country. These fairs employed endless methods of money-raising—cash contributions, the sale of donated objects of every variety, the establishment of elaborate museum exhibitions or musical and theatrical entertainments for which admission was charged. They were a combination carnival and county fair.

The Fairs held in the Middle West were especially successful, beginning with the First Northwestern Sanitary Fair in Chicago during November 1863.² Fairs were also held during 1864 in St. Louis, Mo.; Quincy, Ill.; Dubuque, Muscatine and Burlington, Iowa.³ A Second Sanitary Fair was held for five weeks in Chicago during May and June 1865.⁴ The proceeds were very sizeable, for the smaller fairs realized about \$25,000 apiece and the First Chicago Fair raised \$79,000.⁵

The ingenuity of groups and individuals in providing objects for sale and exhibition was fantastic. One particular item, popular at most fairs, were autograph albums of signatures, letters and signed photographs of

¹ Earl S. Fullbrook, "Relief Work in Iowa During the Civil War," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, XVI, No. 2 (April, 1918), p. 159. This exhaustive article treats of the whole nation as well as one state. Cf. also Charles J. Stille, *History of the United States Sanitary Commission*. (J. B. Lippincott & Co. Philadelphia. 1866).

² Sarah Edwards Henshaw, *Our Branch and Its Tributaries; being a History of the Northwestern Sanitary Commission and Its Auxiliaries*. (Alfred L. Sewell. Chicago. 1868), pp. 206-224.

³ Earl S. Fullbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 188, 238-244.

⁴ Sarah Edwards Henshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-301.

⁵ Earl S. Fullbrook, *op. cit.*, p. 162, 246.

notable persons. These were donated for either direct sale or raffle.⁶

The Iowa Wesleyan College volume is one such album, preserved intact for ninety-five years. It was gathered during September and October 1864 by Mrs. Kate Newell Doggett (Mrs. Wm. E.) of Chicago, and donated to the Western Illinois Sanitary Fair held in Quincy in October, 1864. It was purchased by a Quincy resident, Mrs. Lydia Littlefield, whose niece Abbie Elizabeth Mellen brought it to Mt. Pleasant, Iowa at the time of her marriage to Baron H. Crane on January 2, 1866. It has remained in the possession of the Crane family until it was given to Iowa Wesleyan college in 1959.⁷

The Western Illinois Sanitary Fair was held at Quincy for five days from October 11-15, 1864.⁸ The Fair was organized chiefly by two local women's relief groups, the Sisters of the Good Samaritan and the Needle Pickets with the support of a committee of men "among our most worthy and honorable citizens."⁹

⁶ *History of the North-Western Soldiers Fair*. (Dunlop, Sewell and Spaulding. Chicago. 1864), p. 85. *Catalogue of the Department of Arms and Trophies . . . Northwestern Sanitary Fair Held at Chicago . . .* (Round & James. Chicago. 1865), Section A. *Voice of the Fair. Published under the Auspices of the Northwestern Sanitary Fair*. (Round & James. Chicago), No. 16 (June 12, 1865). *Quincy Herald*, XXXI, No. 4 (Sept. 26, 1864); No. 8 (Oct. 18, 1864).

⁷ Letter of Mrs. Edith C. Lisle, Clarinda, Iowa to Mrs. Bruce Rohde, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, dated July 9, 1959. ". . . the autograph album left by my great aunt Lydia Littlefield to my Mother Abbie Elizabeth Mellen. This album was bought by Aunt Lydia to help out for some charitable organization and given to my Mother who also collected and added to it some notable autographs . . . Aunt Lydia was my mother's sister whose maiden name was Lydia Van Doorn born about 1814. The parents were David Van Doorn and Relief Kendall." Lydia Littlefield (Mrs. Eaton), Abbie E. Mellen and Mrs. Relief Van Doorn are listed in *The Directory; History and Statistics of the City of Quincy, For the Years 1864-5*. (compiled and published by S. B. Wyckoff. Quincy, Ill.) p. 79, 86, 132. Abbie E. Mellen was the daughter of Wilder J. Mellen and Abigail K. (Van Doorn) Mellen. For the history of the Baron H. Crane family, cf. *Portrait and Biographical Album of Henry County, Iowa*. (Acme Publishing Company. Chicago. 1888), pp. 339-340.

⁸ The best sources of information are: *Quincy Herald*, XXXI, August-December 1864 and the five issues of *Freedom's Progress, For the Freedmen's Department of the Western Illinois Sanitary Fair*. Oct. 11-15, 1864. Published by the Freedmen's Relief Society (Available at Historical Society of Quincy and Adams County).

⁹ *Quincy Herald*, XXXI, No. 5 (Oct. 3, 1864); No. 15 (Dec. 12, 1864).

An elaborate building, 255 ft.x78, constructed by J. G. Orr in Washington Park, housed a dazzling variety of exhibitions and sales departments: Delphic Oracle, Fish Pond, Skating Park, Flora Temple, Indian Wigwam and an immense dining hall.¹⁰

The Fair was widely supported in Quincy and by distant cities as well. For several weeks before the opening of the Fair, the local newspaper published detailed lists of donors and their contributions.¹¹ Vast crowds from as far as Chicago attended and the final proceeds amounted to \$35,128.45.¹²

Among the items of special interest was a considerable autograph collection which drew the following newspaper account as early as September 26, 1864:

The Autograph Committee of the Western Illinois Sanitary Fair have been working diligently in their department and have succeeded in making a very extensive and interesting collection of the signatures of distinguished men of the nation. We had the pleasure of examining them a day or two since, and in return for the pleasure afforded us bear testimony to the faithfulness and success with which their duty has been discharged. In their collection may be found the autographs of Chief Justice Taney, Gen. Scott, Gens. Grant, Meade, Hancock, Birney, Warren, Burnside, Hitchcock, Gov. H. Seymour, Hon. E. Everett, W. C. Broant [sic], H. W. Longfellow, O. W. Holmes, Archbishop McCloskey, Commodores Porter, Dupont, Stewart Etc. Letters are being received daily, so that the collection is expected to embrace every name of distinction in civil and military life . . .¹³

This account lists autographs of Edward Everett, W. C. Bryant, Henry W. Longfellow and Oliver Wendell Holmes, all of whom are represented in the Doggett collection. But these cannot be the same items because Mrs. Doggett's manuscripts from these writers are dated

¹⁰ *Quincy Herald*, XXXI, No. 3 (Sept. 19, 1864); No. 5 (Oct. 3, 1864).

¹¹ *Quincy Herald*, XXXI, No. 5 (Oct. 3, 1864); No. 6 (Oct. 10, 1864).

¹² *Quincy Herald*, XXXI, No. 14 (Dec. 5, 1864).

¹³ *Quincy Herald*, XXXI, No. 4 (Sept. 26, 1864).

later than September 26, 1864. These were apparently simple autograph signatures and not signed poetic extracts.

The news account of the fourth day of the Fair states that an autograph letter of George Washington had been won by Captain H. A. Castle and that others including "albums" would be raffled off on the final day.¹⁴ It is entirely possible that the Doggett album could have been in this group. But it is evident that it was sold at some time during the fair for the letter sent to Mrs. Doggett for this album by Josiah Quincy of Quincy, Mass., states clearly that "I have much pleasure in contributing the autographs you request for the Quincy Fair."

KATE NEWELL DOGGETT

(1827-1884)

The compiler of this album is identified by three letters in the collection of Mrs. Kate N. Doggett of Chicago, Illinois.¹⁵ Kate Newell Doggett, the wife of William E. Doggett, was an effective Chicago leader in women's organizations and the cultural life of the city, making special contributions in the areas of foreign languages, art and botany.¹⁶

Mrs. Doggett was a New Englander, born on November 5, 1827 in Charlotte, Vermont. She came to Chicago as a young widow, Mrs. Newell, to conduct a private school for girls and in 1875 married William E. Doggett, originally a New Englander also from Bristol County, Massachusetts. After her marriage she entered into an ex-

¹⁴ *Quincy Herald*, XXXI, No. 8 (Oct. 24, 1864).

¹⁵ The letters of Josiah Quincy (Oct. 1, 1864); Edward Everett (Oct. 1, 1864; and Oliver Wendell Holmes (Oct. 2, 1864). Everett and Holmes address their letters to "Miss" rather than "Mrs." This is an easy mistake for Mrs. Doggett almost always referred to herself simply as "Kate Newell Doggett." She had been a widow, Mrs. Newell, before her marriage to William E. Doggett and was also an ardent feminist.

¹⁶ The only systematic biographical material on Kate N. Doggett is contained in obituary notices in *Chicago Tribune*, March 28, 29, 30, 1884 and in an informal manuscript sketch "Mrs. William E. Doggett" in the *Minna Schmidt Figurine Collection* of the Chicago Historical Society. For William E. Doggett, cf. manuscript "Biographical Sketch" in *Clipping File*, Chicago Historical Society.

tremely active life as a hostess, intellectual leader and worker in a multitude of organizations and causes.¹⁷

William E. Doggett, one of the first dealers in boots and shoes in Chicago, established the firm of Doggett, Basset & Hills at Lake Street and Wabash Avenue.¹⁸ During the Civil War, he helped to finance a regiment known first as the "Doggett Guards" and later as "the Mercantile Battery." He was also active outside his business as President of the Chicago Library Association in 1863; a member of the Chicago Academy of Sciences; a member of the Board of Trustees of the Chicago Academy of Design. He was later Vice President of the Merchants' Savings, Loan & Trust Company; a Director of the 1873 Inter-State Industrial Exposition and a founder of the Chicago Christian Union. He died in 1876.¹⁹

During the Civil War, Kate N. Doggett was engaged in relief work and studies in the field of botany. After the War, she began to reach out into many other areas of women's work.

On May 15, 1869, Kate Doggett was elected one of the Vice Presidents of the National Woman Suffrage Association at its first meeting in New York City.²⁰ On September 9-10, 1869, she participated in the Western Female Suffrage Association in Chicago. During the convention she entertained in her home one of the most distinguished of the speakers, Susan B. Anthony, and at the close of the sessions was appointed a delegate to the Woman's Industrial Congress to be held in Ber-

¹⁷ "Mrs. William E. Doggett" in *Minna Schmidt Figurine Collection*, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ "Biographical Sketch," *Clipping File*, Chicago Historical Society, cf. also commercial advertisement in *Voice of the Fair. Published under the Auspices of the Northwestern Sanitary Fair*. (Round & James. Chicago), I, No. 1 (April 27, 1865), p. 3.

¹⁹ "Biographical Sketch," *op. cit.* Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago*. (Alfred A. Knopf. New York. 1957), III, p. 19 n.43; 443; 485, 494.

²⁰ Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*. (The Hollenbeck Press. Indianapolis, Ind. 1898), I, p. 327 n.1.

lin.²¹ Six months later, Kate Doggett was in Europe for she wrote from Rome to congratulate Susan B. Anthony on her 50th birthday, February 15, 1870.²²

On June 4, 1873, Kate Doggett founded the Fortnightly Club of Chicago, a pioneer group in women's study clubs, which became a pattern for such organizations throughout the country. As first president of the club, she continued in this office until 1879.²³ The *Chicago Tribune* obituary in 1884 stated that the *Fortnightly* ". . . will be a permanent memorial to her life."²⁴

In 1874, Mrs. Doggett devoted time to the needs of the Hahnemann Hospital in Chicago, editing from Nov. 16-25 the *Hospital Bazaar*, a newspaper published in the interests of a Fair to raise funds for the institution.²⁵ From 1878-1881, she was President of the Association for the Advancement of Women, a national women's club federation.²⁶ Mrs. Doggett died on March 13, 1884 while visiting in Havana, Cuba with her son George and her name appears in the Memorials of Departed Members of the 16th Annual Meeting of the American Woman Suffrage Association on November 20, 1884 and the 1885 Annual Convention of the National Woman Suffrage Association.²⁷

Mrs. Doggett's interests in foreign languages were extensive. She sponsored reading clubs for women at which

²¹ *History of Woman Suffrage*, edited by Elizabeth Cody Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joslyn Gage. (Susan B. Anthony. Rochester, N. Y. 1881-1902), III, 570; Ida Hustad Harper, *op. cit.*, I, p. 330.

²² Ida Hustad Harper, *op. cit.*, III, p. 976 for the text of the letter.

²³ Mrs. J. C. Croly, *The History of the Women's Club Movement in America*. (Henry G. Allen & Co. N. Y. 1898), pp. 60-61.

²⁴ *Chicago Tribune*, March 28, 1884, p. 6, col. 2.

²⁵ Franklin William Scott, *Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois 1814-1879. Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*. VI (1910), p. 122.

²⁶ Belle Short Lambert, "The Women's Club Movement in Illinois," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*. 1910. Bul. No. 9, p. 315.

²⁷ *Chicago Tribune*, March 28 and March 29, 1884. For memorials cf. *History of Woman Suffrage, op. cit.*, IV, p. 61; 410.

the major classics of several modern European languages were studied in the original and produced amateur performances of foreign plays in several languages.²⁸ Her major work, however, was the translation into English from the French of Charles Blanc, *Grammar of Painting and Engraving*. This was published in Chicago in 1873 and had at least a third edition.²⁹

Her reputation as a botanist was recognized. For years she was the only woman member of the Chicago Academy of Sciences and prepared several herbaria which gained widespread comment.³⁰

The popular histories of Chicago, of which there have been many in recent years such as Emmett Dedman, *Fabulous Chicago* (1953), Arthur Meeker, *Chicago, With Love* (1955), Herman Kogan and Lloyd Wendt, *Chicago: A Pictorial History* (1958), do not mention Kate Newell Doggett. But a study of the primary records reveals that the influence of this woman was at least as effective as that of many of the more glamorous personalities who appear in those volumes. The anonymous author of an informal manuscript biographical sketch in the files of the Chicago Historical Society writes: "Her best epitaph might be 'She enlarged the mental vision of Chicago women.'"³¹

Of particular interest is Kate N. Doggett's work during the Civil War for the Sanitary Fairs in Chicago and Quincy.

The records of the First Northwestern Sanitary Fair, held in Chicago, October-November 1863 indicate that Mrs. Wm. E. Doggett was a member of the Committee in charge of "The Curiosity Shop." This was an exhibition

²⁸ "Mrs. William E. Doggett," *op. cit.*

²⁹ *The Grammar of Painting and Engraving. Translated from the French of Blanc's Grammaire Des Arts du Dessin* by Kate Newell Doggett. With the original illustrations. Third Edition. (S. C. Griggs and Company. Chicago. 1891).

³⁰ "Biographical Sketch," *op. cit.*, cf. also *History of the Northwestern Soldiers' Fair. Oct.-Nov. 1863* (Dunlop, Sewell & Spalding. Chicago. 1864), p. 85; *Chicago Times*, June 6, 1865; *Chicago Tribune*, June 3, 1865.

³¹ "Mrs. William E. Doggett," *op. cit.*

of military flags and trophies, especially those that had been actually carried in battle by Union troops. The Shop also served as a sales booth for a great variety of personal relics and special collections. The official history of the Fair, in describing The Curiosity Shop, states:

Mrs. Dr. Carr, of Madison, Wis., and Mrs. Wm. E. Doggett of Chiago, aided by Mrs. A. Fox and Mrs. Charles H. Morton of Quincy, Ill., presided in this hall, and were busily occupied each day in giving to the curious multitude the histories of the innumerable articles here collected. Much of the interest felt in this department was due to their efforts.³²

The extremely detailed list of donors reveals that Mrs. Doggett's personal contributions consisted of:

1 frame of sea mosses	\$ 25.00
1 herbarium of prairie flowers	25.00
1 embroidered toilet cushion	10.00
1 anti-slavery album containing photographs of anti-slavery leaders	100.00 ³³

These included examples of her work as a botanist which will receive even greater commendation at the Second Chicago Fair of 1865. But of interest for her work at the Quincy Fair is the album of photographs of anti-slavery leaders. There is no indication that these were autographed, although it is entirely likely that they were. But it is a parallel to her Quincy album, for, aside from the literary persons represented, the bulk of the other autographs are those of anti-slavery leaders.

Two years later at the Second Northwestern Sanitary Fair in Chicago May-June 1865, Mrs. Doggett was a committee member of the Department of Arms and Trophies.³⁴ This department again displayed flags and mili-

³² *History of the North-Western Soldiers' Fair Oct.-Nov. 1863.* (Dunlop, Sewell & Spalding. Chicago. 1864), p. 29. Sarah Edwards Henshaw, *Our Branch and Its Tributaries; being a History of the Work of the Northwestern Sanitary Commission and its Auxiliaries.* (Alfred L. Sewell. Chicago. 1868), p. 223.

³³ *History of the North-Western Soldiers Fair . . . op. cit.*, p. 85.

³⁴ *Catalogue of the Department of Arms and Trophies donated and exhibited at the Northwestern Sanitary Fair Held at Chicago, Illinois, May 30th to June 21st, 1865.* (Round & James. Chicago. 1865). n.p. Committee List on first page.

tary trophies and sold an assortment of donations. Impressive among these were many autographs and photographs which are listed individually in the printed catalog. Attention was drawn regularly before and during the Fair to these items in the *Voice of the Fair*, a newspaper published in the interests of the Fair.³⁵ Mrs. Doggett's gift to the Second Fair was an herbarium of flowers which attracted colorful newspaper comment.

Perhaps one of the most magnificent gifts made to our Fair is a floral album, presented by Mrs. Wm. E. Doggett. This is no mere representation of God's ornaments to the earthly sod, but the genuine wild flowers of our prairie preserved in living colors and perfect forms, so as to be perpetual in their beauty. By the donor it is valued at \$30. and at this price lotteried, the fortunate individual being G. W. Bell of San Francisco.³⁶

Between these two Chicago Fairs, Kate Doggett apparently assembled the autograph collection for the Quincy Fair. She had no particular family ties with this city, but donation lists of the Sanitary Fairs show that contributions came from many places. Those interested in the work supported many of the Fairs. One small point, however, should be noted. At the 1863 Chicago Fair Mrs. Doggett was ". . . aided by Mrs. A. Fox and Mrs. Charles H. Morton, of Quincy, Ill. . ."³⁷ Here no doubt is the link—a friendship formed in 1863 in Chicago resulted in a gift to Quincy in 1864.

But whatever the personal motivations may have been, they produced a significant autograph manuscript collection, formed in Chicago, sent across the state to Quincy, carried by a bride over the Mississippi to Mt. Pleasant,

³⁵ *Voice of the Fair*. Published under the auspices of the Northwestern Sanitary Fair. (Round & James. Chicago). No. 2 (May 4); No. 3 (May 11); No. 5 (May 25); No. 9 (June 3); No. 10 (June 5); No. 11 (June 6); No. 16 (June 12); No. 17 (June 13).

³⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, June 3, 1865. A difference in the content of the herbarium and the middle initial of the purchaser appears three days later in the *Chicago Times*, June 6, 1865. "A herbarium of marine flowers presented by Mrs. Doggett and valued at \$30, was raffled for and drawn by G. M. Bell, of San Francisco."

³⁷ *History of the North-Western Soldiers' Fair*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Iowa where it has remained in one family since January 2, 1866.

THE CONTENTS OF THE ALBUM

The manuscripts in the album differ in form and substance and may be arranged in five categories.

First there is a group of sixteen patriotic or anti-slavery "sentiments" which revive intimately the war time tensions of 1864. They were written by prominent political persons, journalists, educators and clergymen. The names of these individuals were well known in 1864, although the course of history has dimmed a few of them today. One unifying element is a strong anti-slavery attitude. Many of these persons were closely associated with each other in abolitionist societies. The documents reveal the close-knit character of the political activity against slavery spearheaded by this group of intellectual idealists of the North.

The group consists of: John Albion Andrew, governor of Massachusetts (1861-1864); Charles Sumner, abolitionist and U. S. Senator from Massachusetts (1851-1874); Matthew Hale Carpenter, distinguished Milwaukee lawyer, intellectual leader of the Republican party, and later U. S. Senator from Wisconsin; Roswell D. Hitchcock, Congregational minister and professor of Church history at the Union Theological Seminary, New York City (1855-1880); Gerrit Smith, American philanthropist, leader in many reform movements, abolitionist closely associated with John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry; George William Curtis, journalist, lecturer and editor of Harper's Weekly from 1863; Elizabeth P. Peabody, educational reformer who introduced Froebel methods into the United States and established the first American kindergarten; J. H. Stephenson, pioneer street car builder who achieved a record production of gun carriages and pontoons during the Civil War; Robert Collyer, Unitarian minister of the Church of Unity, Chicago (1859-1879), active in the work of the U. S. Sanitary Commission; William H. Furness, leading Unitarian minister in Phila-

delphia (1825-1875), active anti-slavery leader; James Freeman Clarke, minister of the Unitarian Church of the Disciples, Boston (1854-1888), anti-slavery leader, pastor of Julia Ward Howe; Wendell Phillips, Boston reformer and abolitionist, president of the Anti-Slavery Society (1865-1870); Samuel Gridley Howe, humanitarian and reformer, newspaper editor, active in the U. S. Sanitary Commission, husband of Julia Ward Howe; Samuel J. May, reformer, abolitionist, Unitarian minister in Syracuse, N. Y. (1845-1867); Theodore Tilton, one of the greatest American journalists of the day, editor of the New York Independent (1862-1871); Andrew Johnson, 17th President of the United States (1865-1869).³⁸

The sentiments are strongly, even violently, worded. They are short, consisting usually of just a few lines or a single line. Some of them are placed in quotation marks, a fact which would seem to suggest that they are extracts from speeches of writers. The contents have no special value and one example will illustrate the group. That of Andrew Johnson, 17th President of the United States is chosen because of the prominence of the man and the special conditions under which the document was written.

The statement is: "Treason must be made odious, traitors punished and imprisoned." It is not attributed to any source and is not dated.

In the summer and early autumn of 1864, the time when this was presumably written, Andrew Johnson was in the midst of his campaign for the vice presidency of the United States as the running mate of Abraham Lincoln. He had been nominated by the National Union Convention in Baltimore on June 6, 1864. Although a southerner by birth, his loyalty to the Union had been vigorous during his term as U. S. Senator from Tennessee and as Military Governor of the same state during the Civil War. In his speeches he had long warned the

³⁸ Biographical accounts of these persons appear in *The Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Dumas Malone.

country of the coming secession and, after it occurred, he denounced it as both a heresy and a crime.³⁹

His formal letter of acceptance of the vice presidential nomination, dated July 2, 1864, contains a passage which is parallel in opinion and, in some instances, identical in vocabulary, to this quotation. In reference to secession, he states:

. . . I denounced it as treason, worthy the punishment of death . . . and now, if we would save the Government from being overwhelmed by it, we must meet it in the true spirit of patriotism, and bring traitors to the punishment due their crime, and, *by force of arms*, crush out and subdue the last vestige of rebel authority in every state.⁴⁰

There would seem to be no doubt that this thought was dominant in Andrew Johnson's mind during the election campaign and that it provided an appropriate "sentiment" to write when Mrs. Doggett made her request.

Secondly, there is a group of single autographs. These were sent by Goldwin Smith, Regius Professor of History at Oxford University (1858-1866), a British champion of the northern cause in the Civil War, later a professor at Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; Henry Wilson, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts (1855-1873), a founder of the Republican party and anti-slavery leader; B. Gratz Brown, U. S. Senator from Missouri (1863-1867), a leader in the organization of the Republican Party; John Greenleaf Whittier, popular American poet, known as "the Quaker poet."⁴¹ These signatures fit the general character of the album, but have little other interest aside from autograph value. The signatures of Senator Brown and John Greenleaf Whittier are dated 1863, and must have been obtained by Mrs. Doggett before the actual formation of the volume.

The third group includes two letters, not written for

³⁹ George Fort Milton, *The Age of Hate. Andrew Johnson and the Radicals*. (Coward-McCann, Inc. N. Y. 1930), II, pp. 37-58.

⁴⁰ Lillian Foster, *Andrew Johnson. His Life and Speeches*. (Richardson & Co. N. Y. 1866), p. 187.

⁴¹ For Goldwin Smith, cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Sir Sidney Lee, Second Supplement, III, pp. 328-340. For others, cf. *Dictionary of American Biography*, *op. cit.*

this occasion, but gathered earlier or received from some secondary source, since both of the authors were dead in October 1864, when Mrs. Doggett made the collection. The first is a letter, dated May 23, 1854, from Theodore Parker, a Unitarian minister of Boston and an inflammatory anti-slavery speaker and writer. This letter, written ten years earlier than the collection, reflects the bitter dispute over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854. Parker was one of the first persons to see the implications of this bill as a repudiation of the Missouri Compromise and a deliberate extension of slavery into free territory. For months before its passage, Parker preached, spoke and wrote against it.⁴² The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed in Congress on May 25, 1854. The letter was written two days before the passage and referred to a "Nebraska sermon" which he had written. The major theme of his letter, "Slavery will master Freedom" is more fully developed in an address which Parker made some weeks later on July 4, 1854.⁴³ He also expressed a desire for a convention of Free States to meet on July 4th at some central spot to take action against slavery. In Parker's printed correspondence, there is a letter dated May 24th, one day after the Doggett letter, to his German friend, Edward Desori, in which he expresses exactly the same hope.⁴⁴ The letter has considerable interest for Parker's life, although this convention apparently never took place. Where Mrs. Doggett obtained the letter is a mystery, for the addressee's name is quite illegible.

The second document is a personal message, undated and written on a scrap of paper, from Owen Lovejoy, a Congregational minister and a U. S. Representative from Illinois (1856-1864), the brother of the famous Elijah Parish Lovejoy, known as "the Martyr Abolitionist." Lovejoy died on March 25, 1864, six months before Mrs.

⁴² John White Chadwick, *Theodore Parker, Preacher and Reformer*, (Houghton, Mifflin Company. Boston. 1900), pp. 320-323 for the list of speeches.

⁴³ John White Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁴⁴ John Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*. (D. Appleton & Company. N. Y. 1864), II, p. 156.

Doggett made her collection. She must have had the letter in her possession or obtained it from some third person. Its contents are negligible.⁴⁵

The fourth group consists of three letters, dated and specifically addressed to Mrs. Kate N. Doggett from Josiah Quincy, O. W. Holmes and Edward Everett. These are externally important for this collection, since they provide the only evidence by which the compiler and the purpose of the collection can be identified. But they have some intrinsic interest of their own because of the importance of the writers.

The letter of Josiah Quincy, dated Quincy, Massachusetts, October 1, 1864, reads:

Mrs. Kate N. Doggett

Chicago

Illinois

My dear Madam:

I have much pleasure in contributing the autographs you request for the Quincy Fair. I have added those of John Quincy Adams.

It is said that the events of the Revolution impressed both Washington and Franklin, with a profound conviction of an over-ruling Providence in the affairs of the Nation. I feel such an assurance today in the contemplation of the bravery & patience of our noble army under suffering. Such Soldiers are made only in a cause in which God is the leader.

With thanks for the opportunity of expressing my interest in your noble object

I have the honor to be
very truly your Ob t St
Josiah Quincy.

Josiah Phillips Quincy (1829-1910) was a man of leisure, an author and lecturer. As a member of an old, distinguished and wealthy family, he devoted his time to public affairs and local historical research, particularly the work of the Massachusetts Historical Society.⁴⁶ The chief importance of the letter lies in the fact that it is the only item in the entire album which refers to Mrs.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Dictionary of American Biography*, *op. cit.*, XI, pp. 435-436.

⁴⁶ *Dictionary of American Biography*, *op. cit.*

Doggett's place of residence as "Chicago" and to the purpose of the solicitation as "the Quincy Fair." Upon this one letter the entire investigation has depended and from it the search for information began.

The letter of Edward Everett, dated Boston, October 1, 1864, reads:

Miss Kate N. Doggett,

I have great pleasure, in complying with your request for my autograph. We cannot do too much for the relief and comfort of the sick and wounded soldiers. With the best wishes for your success, I remain, Respectfully yours,

Edward Everett

Edward Everett (1794-1865) was one of the most distinguished American educators, statesmen, diplomats and orators of the day.⁴⁷ He was widely known at this time for the great oration which he had delivered at the dedication of the Battlefield of Gettysburg as a National Cemetery on November 19, 1863, on the same occasion when Abraham Lincoln delivered the Dedicatory Address.⁴⁸ This letter is important for its identification of the compiler and the general reference to the aims of the collection.

The letter of Oliver Wendell Holmes, from 21 Charles St., Boston, October 2, 1864, reads:

Dear Miss Doggett,

You must let me off with some copies of my Poems adorned with autographs and I give you free leave to select any sentiments you like from the volumes to serve your patriotic purpose.

Respectively yours

O. W. Holmes

Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894) was a distinguished medical educator and man of letters. He had been, since 1848, the Parkman Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at the Harvard Medical School and had by 1864 published heavily in periodicals as well as several volumes of prose and poetry.

A considerable number of his published poems dealt

⁴⁷ Paul Revere Frothingham, *Edward Everett, Orator and Statesman*. (Houghton, Mifflin Company. Boston. 1925).

⁴⁸ Paul Revere Frothingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-462.

with the war situation. He had written a poem for the National Sanitary Commission in 1860 and was later to write one for the 1865 Northwestern Sanitary Fair in Chicago.⁴⁹ Any number of these war poems would have been appropriate for the Quincy Fair. These autographed volumes were apparently sold separately for they have never been linked with the Doggett album since it came into the possession of the Crane family. The letter was inserted into the album, but there is no trace of autographed volumes of poetry.

Finally, there is a fifth group of seven literary extracts which are the most important and valuable items in the collection. These consist of poems or selections from poems, copied by the poets themselves. Some of these are unpublished; some were unpublished at the time that the copies were made; others show interesting variations from the published texts. These manuscripts shed light upon the work of American men of letters still held in high regard by historians of literature and merit detailed examination and commentary. The chief value of the Doggett-Crane album for students of American culture rests almost entirely upon this group of poetic extracts.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW (1807-1882)

The document reads:

H W L (stamped crest)

Beside the ungathered rice he lay,
 His sickle in his hand;
 His breast was bare his matted hair
 Was buried in the sand.
 Again in the mist and shadow of sleep
 He saw his Native Land.

Cambridge, Sept. 28
 1864

Henry W. Longfellow

The passage is the first stanza of the poem, "The Slave's Dream," written in the spring of 1842 on Longfellow's return voyage from Germany and a leave of

⁴⁹ *The Complete Poetical Works of Oliver Wendell Holmes*, edited by Horace E. Scudder. (Houghton, Mifflin Company. Boston. 1920), p. 106, 123, 191-198.

absence from Harvard.⁵⁰ It is one of a group of eight anti-slavery poems which demonstrate Longfellow's first public identification of himself with the abolitionist movement of the 1840's.

Several influences lay behind the composition of these poems. The first was his reading of anti-slavery books.⁵¹ More recently during his stay in London, he had read Charles Dickens, *American Notes*, upon which he commented, "I have read Dickens's book . . . He has a grand chapter on slavery."⁵² His friend Charles Sumner, a strong opponent of slavery, also urged him to use anti-slavery themes in his literary work.⁵³

Another influence, however, came from the literary romanticism which he had encountered in Germany, especially in the person and work of Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876). With Freiligrath there sprang up a friendship which continued by correspondence for a lifetime.⁵⁴ Freiligrath's poems were intensely lush glamorizations of distant places and things—deserts, jungles, caravans, African natives, lions and other wild beasts. Some of these details were carried over by Longfellow into these anti-slavery poems and one may trace bits of imagery to Freiligrath's "Der Mohrenfürst."⁵⁵

The actual composition of the poems is described by

⁵⁰ Henry W. Longfellow, *Poetical Works*. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Boston, 1886), I, pp. 83-84.

⁵¹ *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, With Extracts from his Journals and Correspondence*, edited by Samuel Longfellow. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Boston, 1881), I, pp. 433-444. Herbert Gorman, *A Victorian American, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*. (Charles H. Doran Company. N.Y. 1920). p. 237.

⁵² *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, op. cit.*, I, p. 440. Lawrence Thompson, *Young Longfellow (1807-1848)*. (Macmillan Company. N. Y. 1938), p. 331.

⁵³ *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, op. cit.*, I, p. 440, 445. Lawrence Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁵⁴ James Taft Hatfield, *New Light on Longfellow, With Special Reference to His Relations to Germany*. (Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston, 1933), p. 90. Lawrence Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

⁵⁵ James Taft Hatfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104 for a detailed analysis. For text of poem, cf. *Ferdinand Freiligrath's Gesammelte Dichtungen*. (G. J. Go'schen'sche Verlagshandlung. Stuttgart. 1886), I, pp. 35-38.

Longfellow himself in a letter to Freiligrath on January 6, 1843:

We had a very boisterous passage. I was not out of my berth more than twelve hours for the first twelve days. I was in the forward part of the vessel, where the great waves struck, and broke with voices of thunder. In the next room to mine, a man died. I was afraid that they might throw me overboard instead of him in the night, but they did not. Well, there, "Cribbed, Cabined, and confined," I passed fifteen days. During this time I wrote seven poems on Slavery. I meditated upon them in the stormy sleepless nights, and wrote them down with a pencil in the morning. A small window in the side of the vessel admitted light into my berth, and there I lay on my back and soothed my soul with songs. I send you some copies. In the "Slave's Dream" I have borrowed one or two wild animals from your menagerie.⁵⁶

The poems were published as *Poems on Slavery* in December 1842, a thin volume of thirty-one pages with glazed paper covers.⁵⁷ They were extremely well received by a wide variety of persons, although this reception was quite out of proportion to the merit of the poems.⁵⁸ Longfellow's correspondence is filled with references to the enthusiasm created by the poems because of the subject matter.⁵⁹ He even allowed the New England Anti-Slavery Tract Association to reprint the group for propaganda distribution.⁶⁰

Longfellow, however, never became a violent aboli-

⁵⁶ James Taft Hatfield, "The Longfellow-Freiligrath Correspondence," *PMLA*, XLVIII (Dec. 1933), p. 1244. This letter as quoted in the annotation of the standard editions of Longfellow is incomplete with the omission of the name of the correspondent and the final sentence. These omissions have obscured the relationship to Freiligrath.

⁵⁷ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Poetical Works*, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85. *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, *op. cit.*, I, p. 445. Odell Shepard, *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*. (American Book Company. N. Y. 1934), p. 351.

⁵⁹ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Poetical Works*, *op. cit.*, p. 85. *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 446-453; II, pp. 4-10; 15; 20. Lawrence Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 420 n. 17.

⁶⁰ Edward Wagenknecht, *Longfellow: A Full-Length Portrait*. (Longmans, Green and Company. N. Y. 1955), p. 204.

tionist nor did he continue to use his poetry as a vehicle for social criticism. He remained in his ivory tower world of study and writing. The year 1864 was one of personal sorrow. His wife had died and his son in the army had been wounded. He was working diligently on his translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* and preparing annotation for the edition. His journals and letters for that year show his complete absorption in the task.⁶¹ When a request came to him in the fall of 1864 for a poem to include in this album, he turned back to *Poems on Slavery*, published twenty-two years before. "The Slave's Dream" with its emphasis on the freedom of the individual soul, even in a state of slavery, was an obvious choice.

The Doggett text has only one slight change from the published versions. In line 5, Longfellow does not set off the phrase "in the mist and shadow of sleep" by commas. This punctuation change may have been just a hasty slip, especially if Longfellow had written the copy from memory.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON (1803-1882)

The document reads:

Night dreams trace on Memory's wall
 Shadows of the thoughts of day,
 And thy fortunes, as they fall,
 The bias of the will betray.

R. W. Emerson

The four lines of poetry, undated, are titled "Memory" in the published writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson.⁶² They had not been published at the time that Emerson made this copy for Mrs. Doggett, although an earlier version of the text exists in Emerson's correspondence.

On May 19, 1854, ten years earlier, Emerson fulfilled a request from his cousin, Miss Mary Shepard. She had written to him, asking for a poem in his handwriting. He responded with an original quatrain. The text of the first version and the covering letter read:

⁶¹ *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, op. cit.*, II, pp. 28-50. Herbert Gorman, *op. cit.*, pp. 294ff.

⁶² *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. The Centenary Edition, (Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston. 1904). X, p. 295.*

My dear Cousin,

I do not find a line that I like to send you, yet—
not to fail on such a summons; & after such heinous
omissions,—I venture this quatrain.

Yours affectionately

R. W. Emerson

Night-dreams trace on Memory's wall
Shadows of the thoughts of day,
And they fortunes as they fall
The bias of the will betray.⁶³

The quatrain was written on a separate sheet and enclosed with the letter.⁶⁴

It is of interest that ten years later Emerson sent Mrs. Doggett the very lines which he had composed for an earlier autograph request.

Three years after making the Doggett copy, Emerson published "Memory" in the volume entitled *May-Day and Other Pieces*. (1867).⁶⁵ The quatrain is also used as a division page motto before the essay "Demonology," published in *Lectures and Biographical Sketches* (1884), but this use is the work of the editor of the volume.⁶⁶

There are no significant changes of wording between the original 1854 Shepard copy, the 1864 Doggett copy and the 1867 published text. Line 1 in the Doggett copy has no hyphen between the words "Night dreams," but a hyphen does appear between these words in the Shepard copy and the printed text. The word "dreams" is not capitalized in either the Shepard or Doggett manuscripts, but it is capitalized in the printed text. In line 3 Emerson sets off the phrase "as they fall" by commas in the Doggett copy and the 1867 printed text, although these commas did not appear in the Shepard text. The commas are likewise omitted by the editor in the printed text which accompanies the essay, "Demonology."

⁶³ *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, edited by Ralph L. Rusk. (Columbia University Press. New York. 1939), IV, p. 443.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 443 n. 134.

⁶⁵ *A Bibliography of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, compiled by George Willis Cooke. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Boston. 1898), p. 37.

⁶⁶ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches, The Complete Works . . . op. cit.* X. This essay was originally published in *The North American Review*, CXXIV, No. CCLV (March-April 1877), pp. 179-190, but the quatrain did not appear in connection with the periodical publication.

These tiny changes of punctuation and capitalization are minor, except for the fact that they reveal a regular tendency of Emerson to tinker with such matters in successive printings of his poetry. Collations of texts in the various editions that he prepared for the press show this characteristically finicky editorial work.

These lines have no particular appropriateness for the Civil War situation or the problems of soldiers' relief. The lines apparently were in Emerson's mind when he received the request for an autographed extract. He simply copied them on a sheet of paper without giving time to find a passage better suited to the occasion.

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT (1794-1878)

The document reads:

Dreary is the time when the flowers of earth are withered;
 Dreary is the time when the woodland leaves are cast,
 When upon the hillside, all hardened into iron,
 Howling like a wolf, flies the famished northern blast.

Dreary are the years when the eye can look no longer
 With delight on nature or hope on human kind,
 Oh, may those that whiten my temples as they pass me
 Leave the heart unfrozen, and spare the cheerful mind.
 Copied at Roslyn, Long Island William Cullen Bryant

October 3d, 1864

The extract consists of the final two stanzas of a seven stanza poem, "The Third of November, 1861," written at Roslyn, Long Island on Bryant's own birthday.⁶⁷ It had not as yet been published at the time that this copy was made.

The period of 1859-1861 had been a time of severe personal grief for Bryant because of the death of many intimate friends.⁶⁸ His daily concern as editor of the *New York Evening Post* with the problems of the Civil War also introduced a note of gloom into his thinking.⁶⁹ This poem describes the autumn in nature with a contrast to the autumn in his own life. It ends, however,

⁶⁷ *The Poetical Works of William Cullen Bryant*. Edited by Henry C. Sturges. Roslyn Edition. (D. Appleton and Company. N. Y. 1910), pp. 266-267; p. lxxiv.

⁶⁸ Parke Godwin, *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant*. (D. Appleton and Company. N. Y. 1883), II, p. 129.

on a note of optimism and faith which is especially evident in the final stanzas.

The poem was not published until the end of 1864 in a volume entitled *Thirty Poems*.⁷⁰ It was well received by the general public and Bryant's friends. One of them, Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, wrote to Bryant and made special mention of "The Third of November" for its metrical structure.⁷¹

The Doggett manuscript is an exact copy of the original as Bryant notes at the end—"copied at Roslyn." It contains no reference to the Civil War or the problems of the day. The general theme of optimism in spite of changes in life is, however, appropriate for the occasion. Bryant was apparently preparing the text of *Thirty Poems* for the press when he received this request and selected these stanzas because they were close at hand. It does seem strange, however, that he should not have chosen passages from two other poems in the same volume—"Not Yet" or "Our Country's Call"—both of which dealt with contemporary war issues.⁷²

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL (1818-1891)

The document reads:

Better that all our ships with all their crews
Should sink to rot in Ocean's dreamless surge,
Each torn flag waving challenge as it went,
And each dumb gun a bronze man's monument,
Better each manchild from our land of peace
Find hush's red sleep within the foeman's lines,
Than seek such peace as only coward's crave!
Give me the peace of dead men or of brass!

Elmwood, Sept. 7, 1864. J. R. Lowell

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 150-166.

⁷⁰ *The Poetical Works . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. xc.

⁷¹ Parke Godwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 206-208.

⁷² *The Poetical Works . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-264.

Better that all our ships with all their crews
 Should sink to rot in Ocean's dreamless ooze,
 Each torn flag waving challenge as it went,
 And each dumb gun a brave man's monument;
 Better each manchild from our land of pines
 Find death's red sleep within the foeman's lines,
 Than seek such peace as only cowards crave!
 Give me the peace of dead men or of brave!

Elmwood: Sept. 1864 J. R. Lowell

Fastened to this manuscript is an autographed photograph of Lowell with the identification, "Allen 13 Winter Street." This copied passage is taken from the "Mason and Slidell" section of *The Biglow Papers, Second Series*. The complete poem had been published in periodical form, but not book form when the copy was made for Mrs. Doggett. It represents an intermediary stage toward final publication and contains special lines original with this copy only.

The "Mason and Slidell" poem was inspired by a set of events important during the Civil War. On November 3, 1861 Captain John Wilkes of the Union war sloop San Jacinto removed from the British man-of-war Trent the Confederate agents, Mason and Slidell, who were on their way to England to obtain British assistance for the Southern cause. The incident, a flagrant violation of international neutrality, gave rise to violent controversy and President Lincoln ordered the release of the men. But feelings, even in the North, were strong.

The Mason and Slidell affair occurred just as Lowell had completed the first poem for *The Biglow Papers, Second Series*.⁷³ In a desire to "mollify this bitterness,"⁷⁴ Lowell wrote the "Mason and Slidell" poem, a fanciful dream of Hosea Biglow in which he overhears a dialog between Concord Bridge and Bunker Hill Monument. These speakers represent the Yankee and the British points of view. Lowell worked on this soon after the

⁷³ *The Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell*. (Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston. 1911), p. 235. No. I is dated "Jaalam, 15th Nov. 1861," twelve days after the Mason and Slidell affair.

⁷⁴ Richmond Croom Beatty, *James Russell Lowell*. (Vanderbilt University Press. Nashville. 1942), p. 159.

actual episode, for its composition is dated "Jaalam, 6th Jan. 1862."⁷⁵ It was published the very next month, February 1862, in *The Atlantic Monthly*, in the same issue with the first printing of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."⁷⁶ The completed *Second Series* of *The Biglow Papers* was published in 1867.

The passage sent to Mrs. Doggett consists of six lines from a speech of Bridge. In the 1862 *Atlantic Monthly* text and the 1867 book text the passage, in Yankee dialect, reads:

Better thet all our ships an' all their crews
Should sink to rot in ocean's dreamless ooze,
Each torn flag wavin' chellenze ez it went,
An' each dumb gun a brave man's monument,
Than seek sech peace ez only cowards crave!
Give *me* the peace of dead men or of brave!⁷⁷

In September 1864, almost three years later, when Lowell copied these lines for Mrs. Doggett, he eliminated the dialect entirely. In line 1 he changed the phrase "an' all their crews" to "with all their crews" and made some minor alterations in punctuation such as the exclamation point in place of a colon after "crave" in the next to the final line. Such verbal and punctuation corrections gave the work more dignity and emphasis for this special occasion.

But much more significant than these slight revisions was the incorporation of a new couplet after line 4:

Better each manchild from our land of pines
Find death's red sleep within the foeman's lines.

These inserted lines give a specific emotional content which was very appropriate. It is obvious that Lowell wished to answer the request with as forceful a selection as possible.

The new couplet, however, is not entirely original. There exists a much less well-known work of Lowell—"The Power of Sound. A Rhymed Lecture"—which does

⁷⁵ *The Poetical Works . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 242. Horace E. Scudder, James Russell Lowell. *A Biography*. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Boston. 1901), II, p. 40.

⁷⁶ *The Atlantic Monthly*. IX, No. LII (February, 1862), pp. 259-270.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 265. *The Poetical Works . . . op. cit.*, pp. 250-251.

not appear in the collected edition of his poetry. It was privately printed in New York City in 1896, five years after Lowell's death, and has recently been reprinted by Dr. Thelma M. Smith.⁷⁸ In one section of "The Power of Sound," Lowell used two lines, which reappear in a slightly different form in the speech of Bridge. Line 3 appears as:

Her torn flag shaking challenge as she sank
and line 4 as:

Each rusting gun a brave man's monument.

But there is also this couplet:

Sooner, dear land, let each manchild of thine

Sleep death's red sleep within the enemy's lines

which is an earlier and less effective version of the lines in the Doggett copy.

One cannot date the composition of "The Power of Sound" with complete security, but the best evidence points to 1857 with additions made in 1862.⁷⁹ Lowell must have worked on "The Power of Sound" at the same time as "Mason and Slidell" and shifted lines from one poem to the other.

In September 1864 when Lowell decided to use an extract from "Mason and Slidell" for Mrs. Doggett, he apparently remembered the lines in "The Power of Sound." He lifted these out, made some revisions and inserted them into the copy. But it is important to note, from a purely literary point of view, that his poetic instincts led him to improve the earlier lines.

The first couplet is much looser in metrical form and there is a rhythmic awkwardness in the second line. The lines are vaguer in imagery and lack dramatic emphasis. Lowell recast the first line by inserting the sharper phrase "our land of pines" and gave rhetorical force in the word "Better." This carried over into the strong imperative of the second line with "Find" instead of "Sleep." The inept rhythm of "within the enemy's lines" was made

⁷⁸ *The Uncollected Poems of James Russell Lowell*, edited by Thelma M. Smith. (University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia. 1950), pp. 110-126; 261. I am personally indebted to Dr. Smith of Youngstown University for help with this passage.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

smoother by "within the foeman's lines." Even a casual reading of the two versions demonstrates the superiority of the second. The Doggett copy is an excellent picture of a poet at work. We can look over Lowell's shoulder, share his ear for sound and his sense of word imagery.

Yet we note that this revised couplet was never used again. Three years later in 1867, *The Biglow Papers, Second Series* was published without the insertion. Either Lowell forgot that he had written the copy for Mrs. Doggett or he regarded the two lines as a bit for a special purpose. The Doggett fragment represents an interesting unpublished bit of Lowell's creative work.

JULIA WARD HOWE (1819-1910)

(see facsimile of original manuscript on the cover)

The document reads:

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
 With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me,
 As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
 While God is marching on.

Boston Oct. 31st.

Julia Ward Howe

1863

The extract is the final stanza of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." The copy is dated October 31, 1863, twenty-two months after its first publication in *The Atlantic Monthly*, February 1862. This date is a year earlier than most of the autographs in Mrs. Doggett's collection and the copy belongs to a group which she gathered before her major work in assembling the volume for the Quincy Fair.

The circumstances surrounding the composition of this hymn are well known and oft told.⁸⁰ On November 18, 1861, Mrs. Howe was staying at Willard's Hotel in Washington, D. C. while her husband was at work for the U. S. Sanitary Commission. She had been brooding over the war and the day before had seen Union troops

⁸⁰ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences 1819-1899*. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Boston. 1900), pp. 273-276. Laura E. Richards and Maud Howe Elliott, *Julia Ward Howe 1819-1910*. (Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston. 1916). I. pp. 186-191. Louise Hall Thorp, *Three Saints and a Sinner. Julia Ward Howe, Louise, Anne and Sam Ward*. (Little, Brown and Company. Boston. 1956), pp. 236-246.

marching along, many of them singing "John Brown's Body." A travelling companion, James Freeman Clarke, Unitarian pastor of Mrs. Howe's Church of the Disciples, Boston, suggested to her that she write words for this marching song.⁸¹ She replied that she had thought of this, but that the words had not as yet come to her. In the early hours of the next morning, she awoke with the hymn in mind. In the half-light of the room, with a stump of a pen, on a sheet of Dr. Howe's Sanitary Commission stationery, she dashed off the stanzas.

This scribbled, and somewhat illegible, manuscript exists and facsimile copies are available.⁸² The text contains an additional final stanza which was discarded before publication. Some revisions exist in the manuscript itself and others were made before publication to achieve better rhythm, sharper imagery and eliminate repetitions. The revised text was published in *The Atlantic Monthly* as the lead item for February 1862, but without authorship attribution.⁸³ Mrs. Howe was paid five dollars. This was the only compensation she ever received in spite of the thousands of reprintings of the hymn in every imaginable form during her lifetime.⁸⁴

Mrs. Howe stated that the hymn was "somewhat praised on its appearance, but the vicissitudes of the war so engrossed public attention that small heed was taken of literary matters."⁸⁵ It soon found its way, however, into the military camps and the enthusiasm of Chaplain Charles Cardwell McCabe of the 122nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry made it the great army song of the

⁸¹ A sentiment, signed and dated October 1864, by James Freeman Clarke, is also included in the Doggett album.

⁸² Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences*, *op. cit.*, p. 276. Louise Hall Thorp, *op. cit.*, p. 244. The manuscript was presented by Mrs. Howe with an inscription to Charlotte B. Whipple (Mrs. E. P. Whipple) of Boston.

⁸³ *The Atlantic Monthly*, IX, No. LII (Feb. 1862), p. 145.

⁸⁴ Maud Howe, *The Eleventh Hour in the Life of Julia Ward Howe*. (Little, Brown and Company. Boston. 1911), p. 6.

⁸⁵ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences*, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

war.⁸⁶ Its popularity lasted far beyond the war and it was sung on every public appearance of Mrs. Howe until her death. It has found a permanent place in collections of patriotic songs and countless church hymnals.

The text of the final stanza in the original manuscript reads:

In the whiteness of the lilies he was born across the sea
 With a glory in his bosom than shines out on you and me,
 As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
 Our God is marching on.⁸⁷

In the original manuscript, Mrs. Howe crossed out in line 1 the "glory" and substituted "whiteness," because "glory" also appeared in line 2. In the printed version this was further changed to "beauty" and the personal pronoun "he" was made more specific by the change to the word "Christ." In line 2 the verb "shines out" was changed to "transfigures." The meter was improved by the insertion of the indefinite article before "glory" and the deletion of the preposition "on" before "you." The only other change was the substitution of "While" for "Our" in the fourth line refrain.

The requests for autograph copies of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" were countless and the Doggett document is but one example of thousands which found their way into autograph albums throughout the country. Members of Mrs. Howe's family relate this story:

From the time of writing it to that of her death, she was constantly besieged by requests for autograph copies of part or the whole of the hymn . . . Reasonable or unreasonable, she tried to meet every such request; no one can ever know how many times she copied the hymn, but if a record had been kept, someone with a turn for multiplication might tell us whether the lines put together made up a mile, or more, or less.⁸⁸

The Doggett copy is an exact version of the printed text of the hymn, without any changes. Its interest lies

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 276. Cf. also Laura E. Richards and Maud Howe Elliott, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189; Louise Hall Thorp, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

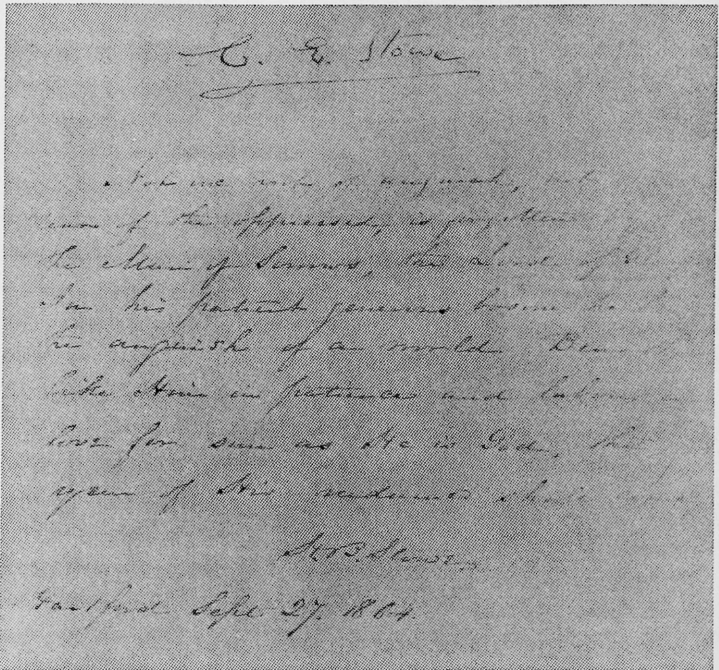
⁸⁷ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences*, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

⁸⁸ Laura E. Richards and Maud Howe Elliott, *op. cit.*, I, p. 190.

in its date—October 31, 1863. This was less than a year after its publication and just about the time that its popularity was becoming widespread. Of the countless copies made, this Doggett manuscript is one of the earliest examples. By October 1864 when it was included in the album to be sold at the Western Illinois Sanitary Fair, it was "a must" in such collections.

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE (1811-1896)

The document reads:



C. E. Stowe

Not one throb of anguish, not one tear of the oppressed, is forgotten by the Man of Sorrows, the Lord of Glory. In his patient generous bosom he bears the anguish of a world—Bear thou like Him in patience and labour in love for sure as He in God, the year of his redeemed shall come

Hartford Sept. 27, 1864

H. B. Stowe

This manuscript does not appear in any of the published works or letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe. The

title, "C. E. Stowe" could refer either to Harriet's husband, Dr. Calvin Ellis Stowe, or to Harriet's son, Charles Edward Stowe. In Harriet Beecher Stowe's letters, the abbreviation "C.E.S." is used much more frequently for Dr. Calvin Ellis Stowe. Internal evidence from the document also strengthens this interpretation.

In the summer and early autumn of 1864, Mrs. Stowe was at the family residence in Hartford, Connecticut at work on *Home and House Papers*. She had been very eager to get away for the summer, but a personal tragedy kept her in Hartford. She needed to give daily nursing care to her son Frederick who had been wounded at the Battle of Gettysburg. He had been brought home, but it was discovered that he had also developed into an incurable alcoholic. Mrs. Stowe never alluded to the latter fact in her letters, but she did speak often about the personal strain of the situation. A biographer comments:

One thing that had kept her so busy in Hartford was Fred. She wrote to Mrs. Fields, "I have had to nurse and care for poor Fred, whose wound is still open, and who suffers constantly." On no existing paper did Harriet ever write about Fred's other infirmity. She permitted her son to say in her biography in speaking of Fred: "The cruel iron had too nearly touched the brain of the young officer, and never again was he what he had been."⁸⁹

Other letters of the period reflect the mental despair and the need for spiritual consolation.⁹⁰

This document seems to suggest the emotional tension of the summer of 1864.⁹¹ Writing passages of consolation in religious terms to Dr. Stowe was a common practice of Harriet Beecher Stowe whenever a crisis occurred in their lives. At the death of another son, Samuel Charles

⁸⁹ Forrest Wilson, *Crusader in Crinoline. The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe*. (J. B. Lippincott Company. Philadelphia. 1941), p. 501.

⁹⁰ *Life and Letters of Harriet Beecher Stowe*, edited by Annie Fields. (Houghton, Mifflin and Company. Boston. 1897), pp. 272-278.

⁹¹ I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. Charles H. Foster of the Department of English, University of Minnesota and author of: *The Rungless Ladder. Harriet Beecher Stowe and New England Puritanism*. (Duke University Press. Durham. 1954).

Stowe, Harriet wrote to her husband in words which are somewhat similar in tone and content.

In those depths of sorrow which seemed to me immeasurable, it was my only prayer to God that such anguish might not be suffered in vain. . . . I felt that I could never be consoled for it unless this crushing of my own heart might enable me to work out some great good to others.⁹²

Why Mrs. Stowe should send such a personal document for an autograph collection is a real question. But some motivation is supplied by her statement in the earlier note—" . . . to work out some good to others." She believed that all individual problems must result in good to others. She wished to objectify her personal sorrow by relating it to the war situation and the sufferings of thousands of mothers whose sons were in the armed conflict. She also wished to offer the nation the same religious faith which had been of such great help to her.

We shall probably never know the complete story behind this unpublished fragment, but the date of its composition and the ascription title raise interesting speculations, which can be fitted into the larger pattern of the life of Harriet Beecher Stowe .

AMOS BRONSON ALCOTT (1799-1888)

The document, titled "The Goblet," reads:

I drank delights from every cup,
Arts, institutions, I drank up.
Athirst, I quaffed life's flowing bowls
And sipped the liquors of all Souls.
A sparkling cup remains to me,
The brimming fount of Family;
Here still I'm drinking,
For to my thinking
Good wine beads here,
Flagons of cheer,
Nor laps the soul
In Lethe's bowl.
Wine of immortal power
Into my chalice now doth pour;

⁹² Charles Edward Stowe and Lyman Beecher Stowe, *Harriet Beecher Stowe. The Story of Her Life*. (Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston. 1911), p. 123.

Prevailing wine,
 Juice of the Vine,
 Flavored of sods,
 Vintage of Gods:
 Joyance benign
 This wondrous wine
 Ever at call:
 Wine maddening none,
 Wine saddening none,
 Wine gladdening all;
 Makes Love's cup ruddier glow
 Genius and Grace its overflow

The copy, dated Concord, September 27, 1864, is that of a previously published poem. It appeared, without authorship attribution, in a Boston anti-slavery newspaper, *The Commonwealth*, for April 3, 1863.⁹³ This weekly newspaper printed considerable poetry, critical reviews of important new books and gave full coverage to the political issues of the day. Other poems of Alcott were used during 1863.⁹⁴

"The Goblet" was published with other prose sketches and poems from *The Commonwealth* in a volume *Tablets* (1868).⁹⁵ The Doggett copy is an intermediary text between the two published versions and reveals considerable variation from both.

There is some change in end line punctuation in the three copies. More important, however, are the differences in diction. In line 1, the 1863 text reads: "I drank the drops of every cup." In the Doggett copy, Alcott changed this to "delights from" and retained it in the 1868 text. In line 4, both the 1863 and the 1868 texts have "the flavor" and "the flavors," whereas the Doggett copy has "the liquors." In line 5, the 1863 text reads "one sparkling cup remained." This was changed in the Doggett copy to "a sparkling cup remains." Alcott preserved the

⁹³ *The Commonwealth*, I, No. 31 (Friday, April 3, 1863), p. 1.

⁹⁴ *The Commonwealth*, I, No. 36 (May 8, 1863), "The Return"; I, No. 41 (June 12, 1863), "The Chase"; II, No. 10 (Nov. 6, 1863), "The Patriot."

⁹⁵ A. Bronson Alcott, *Tablets*. (Roberts Brothers. Boston. 1868), pp. 93-94. Cf. also F. B. Sanborn and William T. Harris, *A. Bronson Alcott. His Life and Philosophy*. (Roberts Brothers. Boston. 1893), II, p. 524.

definite article in the 1868 version, but shifted the verb back to the past tense. In line 7, the 1863 text contained "Here still I'm drinking." This persists in the Doggett copy, but became "This I am drinking" in the 1868 text. In line 8, both the 1863 and the Doggett versions read "For to my thinking," which Alcott revised into "Since, to my thinking," in 1868. In line 16 the phrase "Juice of the Vine," in the 1863 and Doggett texts became "Juice of the Nine," a reference to the Muses of classical mythology, in 1868. Line 20 in the 1863 text had "This pleasant wine," but Alcott shifted to "This wondrous wine" in the Doggett and 1868 editions. All of this detailed verbal revision follows a clear chronological movement forward except for a shift back in line 4 from "liquors" to "flavors."

The most important variation, however, is the addition of eight new lines in the 1868 version in *Tablets*.⁹⁶ These, however, are nothing more than a rather verbose restatement of earlier ideas and phrases.

Amos Bronson Alcott was a very minor literary personality whose importance in American culture was that of a seminal thinker and an influence on Ralph Waldo Emerson and others of the Concord group. He is known best for his lectures, "conversations" as he called them. He spoke more than he wrote. His ideas and reflections are buried in the voluminous annual *Journals* which he kept from 1826 to 1882.⁹⁷ These have never been published in full. Some of his prose, cryptic utterances and poetry was published in periodicals and later issued in slight volumes. The poetry is strangley individual in its awkward rhythm, short lines and peculiar rhyme schemes. It is the evident attempt of a man whose prose

⁹⁶ *Tablets, op. cit.*, p. 94. "I drained the drops of every cup,/ Times, institutions I drank up:/ Still beauty pours the enlivening wine,/ Fills high her glass to me and mine:/ Her cup of sparkling youth,/ Of love first found, and loyal truth:/ I know, again I know,/ Her fill of life and overflow."

⁹⁷ Henry A. Pochmann, *New England Transcendentalism and St. Louis Hegelianism*. (Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc. Philadelphia, 1948), p. 523.

was marked by "orphic" qualities to evolve without success a parallel poetic style.

The poem, "The Goblet," has attracted the attention of Alcott biographers. The first eight lines are cited, with comment, by both F. B. Sanborn and William T. Harris in their 1893 biography and again by Odell Shepard in his 1937 life.⁹⁸ Sanborn and Harris quote from the 1868 *Tablets* text, but Shepard seems to have used some version which differs from the 1863, the 1864 Doggett and the 1868 texts in both punctuation and one verbal change in line 3—"life's brimming bowls."

In 1873, a New York newspaper referred to "The Goblet" and mistakenly attributed it to Emerson. This error drew from Bronson Alcott a comment and evaluation which he recorded in his *Journal*.⁹⁹

"The Goblet" has no particular appropriateness for the war situation. But it was a poem which had a personal meaning for Alcott, which he revised frequently and published twice. It is also the one poem which seems to make a consistent appeal to his biographers, although not to anthologists of American literature. It is significant, indeed, that the Doggett album contains the one poem of Bronson Alcott upon which so much interest has centered.

The Doggett-Crane Manuscript Album had its origin in an important Civil War humanitarian activity and reflects something of the home culture of American communities of the day. Its assembling and transmission reveal the literary interests of the period. Its value lies in the intrinsic merit of the contents and their relation

⁹⁸ F. B. Sanborn and William T. Harris, *op. cit.*, II, p. 640; Odell Shepard, *Pedlar's Progress. The Life of Bronson Alcott*. (Little, Brown and Company. Boston. 1937), p. 389.

⁹⁹ Odell Shepard, *op. cit.*, p. 501. "I should be proud to write verses that any poet might take to be his. But how these, first printed in the *Commonwealth* several years ago and again in my *Tablets* came to be taken as his I cannot conjecture—unless it be that my book has found but few readers and, the verses sounding perhaps Emersonian like his 'Bacchus,' are attributed to him . . . I ought perhaps to distrust the having poetic gifts after Emerson's telling me I had neither ears nor eye for melody or metre. At any rate, I have written too little verse to claim the poetic inspiration."

to American politics, sociology and literature. But its value is intensified by the fact that it is an intact collection, carefully preserved for almost one hundred years. One begins to speculate on how many other such albums, containing literary manuscripts of interest, may be hidden away in dusty attics or stored on the top shelves of family bookcases.

Good Shooting

The shooting match at Otley came off as per agreement on last Saturday, although the weather was exceedingly cold. A terrific snow-storm was blowing from the Northwest at the time, taking the bird that started with the wind like a blue streak of greased lightning. When the weather is considered we wonder at the result of the shooting, which can be considered fair even if the day had been fine. The distance was as usual, trap 21 yards, with a hundred yards boundary. The following is the result:

M. Pace	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	— 6
Andrew Pendroy	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	— 4
Alex. Mitchell	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	— 6
John Rhoads	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	— 2
P. P. Harp	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	— 5
Total									23
J. M. Huiskamp	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	— 5
James Pendroy	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	— 6
R. S. Buckley	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	— 3
A. Gillfellow	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	— 3
Geo. Nash	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	— 7
Total									24

From *The Copperhead* (Pella, Iowa), February 19, 1868.

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