

APPENDIX
AUTHOR LIST

The Gilded Age (1873)

Mark Twain
Charles Dudley Warner

The King's Men (1884)

Robert Grant
John Boyle O'Reilly
Frederic Jesup Stimson
John T. Wheelwright

Brander Matthews's

Collaborators:

Walter Herries Pollock
H. C. Bunner
F. Anstey
George Jessop

The Whole Family (1907–1908)

Mary Shipman Andrews
John Kendrick Bangs
Alice Brown
Mary Stewart Cutting
Mary Wilkins Freeman
William Dean Howells
Henry James
Elizabeth Jordan
Elizabeth Stuart Phelps
Henry Van Dyke
Mary Heaton Vorse
Edith Wyatt

NOTES

Introduction

1. For one opinion of Rice and Besant's respective contributions to the writing project, see Boege. For a more complex evaluation, see Eliot.
2. Marriage is surprisingly uncommon among acknowledged writing teams, although unacknowledged literary collaborations are doubtless common among married couples. Indeed, the scholarship that has been directed towards unearthing unacknowledged women as partners to male authors (usually a husband or lover) has likely spurred much of the contemporary feminist scholarship upon the dynamics of acknowledged collaborations. The metaphor of marriage is hard to escape in these discussions. For one example, see *Marriage of Minds: Collaborative Fiction Writing*, a how-to-book about collaborative fiction writing, written by a married couple. This book chooses to use the metaphor of marriage and courtship throughout their manual about writing—a writing contract is described, for instance, as a “prenuptial agreement.” See McGoldrick and McGoldrick.
3. For an introduction to the field of collaboration in science fiction, see Pronzini and Malzberg.
4. Wayne Koestenbaum's study, *Double Talk*, is to date the primary study of the theoretical implications of exclusively male collaborations. He limits his analysis, however, to fin-de-siècle British literary collaborations and the nascent rhetoric of homosexuality. “Bluntly stated,” he argues, “men who collaborate engage in a metaphorical sexual intercourse, and . . . the text they balance between them is alternatively the child of their sexual union, and a shared woman” (3). This argument, although useful, does not adequately address the many other impulses surrounding the construction of collaborative texts in different eras and situations. Koestenbaum does not address the differences between collaboration that is publicly performed and that which is privately practiced. This conflation confuses the implications of such practice for the broader issues surrounding authorship as a profession which are the implications I am most concerned with in this study.
5. For an overview of issues pertaining to collaborative authorship in a wide variety of fields, see Harsanyi.
6. No Pulitzer Prize, for example, has ever been awarded to a collaboratively composed novel or poem. Out of the 139 prizes the Modern Language Association has awarded to scholarly studies in the humanities, as of 1999, only seven were ever given to multiple-authored texts. All of these winning texts were awarded prizes in the area of educational pedagogy and the teaching of literature.

1 Where the Twain did Meet—*The Gilded Age* of
American Authorship

1. While satire and humor had long been a staple of subscription publishing (the Connecticut Wits frequently published their work by subscription in the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century), full-length novels are not to be found on subscription lists until *The Gilded Age*. And so while the claim of *The Gilded Age* to be the first novel ever to be written and sold by subscription seems suspicious, I have not been able to find any informed challenge to this fact. See Farren for a thorough overview of eighteenth-century subscription publishing.
2. Bryant Morey French's interest in Twain's contributions are the chief example of this, but scholars such as Hill, Leisy, and Martin have also worked with manuscripts, letters, and vocabulary analysis to establish precisely what they see as Twain and Warner's discrete work.
3. Preface, vi. This citation and all citations that follow are to the Oxford edition of *The Gilded Age*, edited by Shelley Fisher Fishkin unless otherwise noted.
4. On 30 April 1871 Twain wrote his brother Orion: "Joe & I have a 600 page book in contemplation which will wake up the nation" (Fisher and Frank 386).
5. Bryant Morey French is most responsible for the extended treatment of *The Gilded Age* as a parody of the novel form in general. Susan K. Harris persuasively argues that Twain used sentimental discourse to contain what he felt was an increasingly threatening and uncontained female character.
6. Twain evidently regretted the joke, for in 1880 he wrote in *A Tramp Abroad* that he had "a prejudice against people who print things in a foreign language and add no translation. When I am the reader, and the author considers me able to do the translating myself, he pays me quite a nice compliment,—but if he would do the translating for me I would try to get along without the compliment" (146).
7. This was so true that Twain and Warner themselves lost track of their characters. Twain and Warner added an afterwards at the end of *The Gilded Age* apologizing for having "lost" Laura's father and that whole sub-plot somewhere along the way. "Perhaps some apology to the reader is necessary in view of our failure to find Laura's father. We supposed, from the ease with which lost persons are found in novels, that it would not be difficult. But it was; indeed it was impossible; and therefore the portions of the narrative containing the record of the search have been stricken out. Not because they were interesting—for they were; but inasmuch as the man was not found, after all, it did not seem wise to harass and excite the reader to no purpose" (575).
8. This joke may have been carried out to far better effect in works such as *Puddn' head Wilson* in which the headings are so vibrantly funny and telling that they almost supercede the story. Gregg Camfield observed in the Mark Twain Forum: "Twain and Warner were parodying the prevailing practice of beginning chapters with quotations. They upped the ante, so to speak, in showing off worthless erudition."

9. Jeffrey Steinbeck discusses the labor-saving techniques Twain developed or tried to develop and terms them “The Mark Twain Machine.”
10. *The Atlantic Monthly* recently published a good account of this scheme as well as the long undiscovered manuscript of Twain’s story itself. See Blount’s two essays and Twain’s “A Murder, A Mystery, and a Marriage.”
11. Mark Twain’s writing was often marked by heartache and trauma—often causing him to set aside projects for years. This occurred most famously with *Huckleberry Finn*. He began it in 1876 and didn’t finish it until 1887—taking a seven-year hiatus.
12. Twain did assert his rights to a dramatization based upon Sellers. A decade later he persuaded William Dean Howells to work with him on a play about Sellers, “Colonel Sellers as a Scientist.” This was a flop but the play inspired Twain to compose, in 1891, *The American Claimant*, a sequel to *The Gilded Age* that revolves around Colonel Sellers’s claims to a British earldom. When approached to work on *The Whole Family*, a collaborative novel of 1906, he refused. See chapter 4 of this book.
13. Occasionally, the title pages would get even more specific. On the title page of *Roughing It*, the American Publishing Company issued a statement reading “Not for Sale in Book Stores.” See Blanck.
14. While Twain later had great problems with the way in which The American Publishing Company conducted business, there is no evidence that this particular practice bothered him, as long as he was aware of it. There is certainly evidence that he was aware of subscription book “dumping.” In a letter to James R. Osgood concerning sales of *The Prince and the Pauper*, written on 12 February 1882, Twain wrote: “. . . it might be a good thing to cut under the unfaithful gen’l agents by shoving books into the stores at a little cheaper terms than they can afford—doing this either openly or clandestinely as shall seem most judicious” (qtd. in Blanck 185). By 1885, Twain’s patience with forgeries and unauthorized sales ended and he sued a Boston bookstore for selling sub rosa copies of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Thus, when he was aware of it, he didn’t object, but when it was done without his knowledge, he would sue. See MacDonnell.
15. In 1894, Twain’s publishing firm, Charles L. Webster & company declared bankruptcy. Although Twain was not legally liable for all of the firm’s considerable debts, with his wife’s strong encouragement he worked furiously for the next four years to pay back all of the firm’s debts in full. His fascination with the ethical responsibility in discharging debts that had been taken on by an incorporated body and which clearly had never been intended to fail, illustrates clearly his dedication to resolving the problems of effects irrelevant of intentions.

2 *The King’s Men*, or a Parable of Democratic Authorship

1. Some representative observations from this review are as follows: “Mr. Grant’s [work] is but a puppet show, in drapery and setting that look faded and distorted when thrown into such imperative comparison with

- things as they are . . . all the people talk alike. It would be something if they were clever, but the author throughout is in the same strait as his own good hero: 'The wished-for epigram failed to respond to his need.' . . . The scene with the crucifix in Ethel Fielding's house is sacrilege—nothing less." ("Recent Novels," rev. of *An Average Man*).
2. The St. Botolph Club was Boston's answer to New York's exclusive Century Club. The St. Botolph Club was designed to advance the contacts for gentlemen with an interest in literature and the arts. As for the contract: although the copyright for the entire novel was held solely by Robert Grant, his memoirs indicate that the *Boston Globe's* assignment fee was \$5,000 to be split four ways. Selling the royalty and re-publication rights to Scribner's for \$5,000 dollars more meant that, presumably, each writer received a total of \$2,500 for his role in *The King's Men* project.
 3. Unlike the others, Wheelwright pursued a quiet career in law and public service for the rest of his life. He wrote from time to time on historical issues and, not surprisingly for a literary collaborator, he went on to found an exclusive Boston club, The India Wharf Rats. Stimson's decision to use the pseudonym, J. S. of Dale was actually part of an elaborate legal joke. Although he incorporated the name into the story of *Guerndale*, "J. S. of Dale" was actually the name of a character taken out of *Blackstone's Commentaries*, perhaps the single most important law book in the history of British and American jurisprudence. As Stimson later recalled, this was not a very effective means of preserving his identity, since the joke allowed him to be "rapidly traced" (*My United States* 114). A "John Stiles of Dale" was repeatedly invoked in William Blackstone's textbook as a hypothetical landowner who needs have his immensely complicated family tree sorted out for inheritance purposes. The difficult life led by J. S. of Dale was often remarked upon in parodies of the omnipresent Blackstone and since every law student or scholar in the US would likely have been familiar with *Blackstone's Commentaries*, the joke would have been easily recognizable.
 4. This proved so very true that most appropriately in 1890 another collaborative serial was run by the *Boston Globe* that featured a chapter supposedly written by P. T. Barnum. It is unlikely that Barnum or any of the other celebrity contributors actually wrote the sections attributed to them, but the mocking hyperbole and invocation of sideshow hucksterism only underscored the obvious fraud. See John L. Sullivan, Pauline Hall, P. T. Barnum, Inspector Byrnes, Howe & Hummel, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Mary Eastlake, W. H. Ballou, Alan Dale, Maj. Alfred Calhoun, Nell Nelson, and Bill Nye, "His Fleeting Ideal; or, A Romance of Baffled Hypnotism."
 5. Historians often refer to upper class Bostonians of the late nineteenth century, especially those with prestigious pedigrees, as "Brahmins." As Ronald Story explains, the term "Brahmin" "at times connotes an ineffectual literati, alienated from the economic barons of the realm. But by 1870 the term meant the rich and well-born as well as the cultivated; was used interchangeably with 'upper-class'; and was a sign, accordingly, of distinctiveness as well as attainment, the achievement of a degree of secularity, cultivation, and arrogance that struck observers as noteworthy, if not unique" (xiii).

6. The authors received \$5,000 for the work, which was said to have increased the circulation of the *Boston Globe*, in which it appeared serially, “to the extent of thirty thousand subscribers” (Roche 241).
7. O’Reilly in particular was sympathetic to the ideas of social reform promoted by Edward Bellamy although he found them ultimately paternalistic. See O’Reilly, editorial response to *Looking Backward*.
8. Stimson became a big player in the Massachusetts Democratic organization throughout the early twentieth century and into the progressive era. He was eventually awarded an ambassadorship to Argentina as reward for his lifetime service to the conservative democratic Mugwump cause. John T. Wheelwright was a member of the Young Men’s Democratic Club of Massachusetts which historian McFarland links to Wheelwright’s later appointment as Massachusetts Gas and Light Commissioner and Assistant Corporation Counsel of Boston. See McFarland for how Grant, Wheelwright, and Stimson perfectly fit the profile of the essential Mugwump in every respect.
9. Another factor often attributed to the defeat of Blaine was an incident in which Blaine received a Protestant clergyman who complained to him about the Democratic Party as being one of “Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion.” Blaine did not publicly refute this statement, and the Democrats seized upon the insult to attract offended Irishmen to Cleveland. See McFarland, 28.
10. O’Reilly loathed Blaine for many reasons, but he was particularly riled up about what he saw as Blaine’s shoddy support of Irish–American interests—a betrayal made particularly bitter because of Blaine’s own Irish heritage. Blaine had served as the Secretary of State under Garfield and O’Reilly, and as a good Irish–American Democrat devoted many editorials to accusing Blaine of utterly ignoring the rights and interests of Irish Americans during his tenure.
11. At the publication of *The King’s Men* in 1884, O’Reilly was forty, Stimson was twenty-nine, Wheelwright was twenty-eight, and Grant was thirty-two.
12. The combination of classic old boy networking, the Irish Political Machine, and the commission-style governance which was a hallmark of Mugwump politics, enabled Grant, Stimson, O’Reilly, and Wheelwright to all progress rapidly through various offices of Civil Service. The close association all four of these men had with the Mugwump politicians served them well. Grant served as a private secretary for Mayor Samuel Green, was later appointed to the city’s Water Commissioner, and eventually obtained his position as Judge of Probate Insolvency of Suffolk County through the influence of William Russell, the ultimate Mugwump politician. (Russell was a Harvard man who went on to become prominent as a Reform Democrat in both local and state politics, eventually serving as Governor of Massachusetts from 1890–1893.) In addition to Wheelwright’s early position with the public utilities office, he was later appointed chairman of the Board of the Massachusetts Gas and Electrical Light Commission in 1893. Grant wrote: “It was through Boyle O’Reilly’s and Charles H. Taylor’s generous solicitation from Mayor O’Brien that I was appointed a Water Commissioner in 1888 in place of Horace T. Rockwell, who had resigned. The success of this gracious advocacy, actuated by liking for me and my

- writings and sympathy because of my father's failure, found me a grateful but astonished office-holder." (Grant, *Fourscore* 172.)
13. Reports vary regarding the circulation figures, but during the 1870s the circulation was certainly over 40,000 and one scholar reports that the paper seems to have been aiming at an audience of 100,000. For a history of the *Pilot*, see Lord. For specific treatment of this period and O'Reilly's immediate successor on the *Pilot*, see Lane, 341–363.
 14. Although O'Reilly's death was termed as "heart failure" by the Catholic Archdiocese and by his friend, James Roche, as a "tragic accident," John Ibson argues in his dissertation that "O'Reilly's death was not only a suicide, but was commonly known to have been one." He claims that O'Reilly's death was the consequence of an "intolerable tension" arising from an agony that was culturally specific. According to Ibson, O'Reilly "was not enticed by the promise of America into assimilation and success; he was intimidated by American cultural pressures into submission" (111).
 15. O'Reilly's vision was that, although men had a right to cooperative associations and collective bargaining, both the brains of and the risks taken by management meant that the stratified profit distribution was, ultimately, right and just. In one editorial he proclaimed "Any system of arbitration which will tend to bring about a fair settlement of the respective claims of labor and capital to the combined fruits of both will be a blessing to both. The present system is only a makeshift, seldom satisfactory to either and almost never so to equity" ("Hard Times for Labor"). O'Reilly's demands for compulsory arbitration and his call for the creation of a special mediator were consistent with his dedication to advancing collective identities in such a manner as to not crush what he saw as essential American individualism.
 16. Although many of these reviews may have been puff pieces, the 1886 edition of *In Bohemia* features an advertising supplement on its end pages, promoting *Moondyne*. In the advertising supplement, they quote sixteen different positive reviews appearing in a broad spectrum of newspapers and periodicals.
 17. Thomas Brown is likewise troubled by O'Reilly's refusal to explore Irish–American assimilation or the immigration experience in his literary works: "O'Reilly remained silent about that which he knew best. Had it been otherwise, he might today have a place in the body of American literature" (90).
 18. There are many examples of Brahmin Boston's view of O'Reilly as the token Irishman. In one such instance, Oliver Wendall Holmes congratulated O'Reilly for having delivered his poem, "America" at the June 1882 reunion of the Army of the Potomac. Holmes wrote "I am thankful you are with us as a representative Americanized Irishman" (qtd. in Roche 214–215).
 19. Stimson reports that before international copyright law, "American letters at the time—. . . were commercially, perhaps, at their lowest level. The Franklin Square and other cheap paperback editions pirated everything English for ten or twenty cents; and so the American public deemed it extravagant to pay \$1.25 for an American novel bound in cloth. So when

Guerndale sold its poor four or five thousand in six months, it was deemed a huge success" (*My United States* 94). Stimson collaborated with O'Reilly twice: once with *The King's Men* and for a second time with the far more successful *King Noanett*. *King Noanett*, which was a best-selling book of 1896, was published three years after O'Reilly's death but Stimson had planned the book out with O'Reilly during their many canoe trips together (Hart 310). Stimson announced his debt to O'Reilly in *King Noanett's* dedication which read, "To the Memory of / John Boyle O'Reilly / This Book / so often planned together and now executed/ Alone." This poignant dedication was almost unnecessary, for even without the dedication, the story itself clearly shows the O'Reilly influence. One can sense some of O'Reilly's vivid personality throughout this work. As the reviewer for the *Nation* noted, in reference to the character of Miles Courtenay, "His delightful 'Irishry,' as his friend puts it, keeps one recurring to the dedication," and although the reviewer complains of the hokey historical dialect, he admits that ". . . it has been a hard task to keep a wild Irishman strictly antique in his language, and it is not surprising to find him 'muchly tickled,' . . ." ("Recent Novels" rev. of *King Noanett* 400).

20. One example of this would be how he dealt with O'Reilly's death. Stimson was an especially close friend and after O'Reilly's death, Stimson channeled his grief in the best manner a Boston Brahmin could: he helped John Wheelwright and others found a John Boyle O'Reilly Club dedicated to "bring the Puritan Yankee into sympathy with the Irish Catholic" and carry forth the ideals of cross cultural ambassadorship. O'Reilly's friends did this because "until the Catholic and Protestant, Irish and Italian and Yankee, can get together and work for the perfect commonwealth, Massachusetts will not show the way this century to the perfect State, to civic government, as she showed it in the last century and the two before, to civic liberty" (*My United States* 116). This impulse was still persuasive almost forty years later, when a reviewer of Stimson's memoir commented that the motivations that founded a John Boyle O'Reilly Club were precisely what was needed to cure society's ills. "The truth is that the best thing for Boston would be to have all the most exclusive clubs and organizations take in the best of every race of strangers within the gates, so that the community, if it must divide at all, should divide on the horizontal lines of merit and not vertical lines of race" (Nutter 373). Under such a system, Boston's touted meritocracy could continue to operate with the assurance that all concessions to justice and democracy were made.
21. "The book well supplies a need with that class who do not care for an exhaustive or very technical treatment of the subject." (Rev. of *Hand-Book to the Labor Law of the United States* 127.)
22. Grant's *Face to Face* (1886) was likely a reference also to Edward Everett Hale's novel of 1878, *Back to Back*, which dealt with how the surplus of labor and the surplus of capital in America must be brought together by men known as "capitalizers." Hale saw these "capitalizers" as middlemen, able to solve America's social and economic woes. Grant worked with Hale during the late 1879s on Hale's magazine venture, *Old and New* and was doubtless familiar with the issues Hale was promoting during this time.

23. Or at least *The King's Men* project had many professional benefits. Grant recalled that "... my correspondence with Charles [Scribner] concerning *The King's Men* was the initial step in an association of nearly fifty years" (*Fourscore* 172).
24. *The King's Men* may have inspired other ventures as well. Stimson wrote his close friend Barrett Wendell in 1879 with a reference to his composition of an unpublished story written in collaboration with Wendell's wife, Edith. "I put a burlesque finish on the cooperative novel and sent it to Edith from Cambridge. The plot was ingenious enough to deserve more elaborate development, which you can give it, if you like. Why don't you do literary work together? Her conversations would be admirable, & you might stick in an occasional epigram" (Letter, Wendell papers).

3 Clubbing, Conversing, and Collaborating: Brander Matthews as Professional Man of Letters

1. H. L. Mencken (1880–1956) satirist, iconoclast, journalist, critic, essayist and editor of *The American Mercury* from 1923–1933; Randolph Bourne (1886–1918) often termed the "spokesman of his generation," known for his radical politics, pacifism, and anti-sentimentalism; and Ludwig Lewisohn (1882–1955), novelist and critic who wrote many novels about marriage, about the experience of Jews in America, several studies of modern drama, and various sociological studies of Zionism.
2. Twain's speech continued: "You can curse a man's head off with that name if you know how and where to put the emphasis . . . To have overcome by the persuasive graces, sincerities and felicities of his literature the disaster of a name like that and reconciled men to the sound of it, is a fine and high achievement; and this, the owner of it has done. To have gone further and made it a welcome sound and changed its discords to music, is a still finer and higher achievement; and this he has also done. And so, let him have full credit. When he got his name it was only good to curse with. Now it is good to conjure with" ("Dinner Speech" 269–270). Like Twain, Brander Matthews had selected a name for himself that he had not been born with. Brander Matthews was christened "James Brander Matthews" in 1952 but dropped his first name early in his career. He also occasionally wrote drama criticism under the pseudonym "Arthur Penn."
3. After quoting Matthews's fulsome praise for Cooper, Twain opens his scathing essay with "It seems to me that it was far from right for . . . the Professor of English Literature in Columbia, . . . to deliver opinions on Cooper's literature without having read some of it." See "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses," 180.
4. There was great inconsistency about the use of an apostrophe "s" at the end of Author's Club, even in the publications authorized by the club. I have standardized all references to the club throughout this essay.
5. Matthews was a Simplified Spelling proponent and irritated many of his readers with idiosyncratic spellings in his novels and essays. This particular

hobbyhorse prompted Rudyard Kipling to exclaim in irritation: "WHY do you spell after the manner of the Savage and the Insane?" (qtd. in Barrineau 16). Reviewers of Matthews's books frequently commented upon his idiosyncratic spelling. For example, the reviewer for *Yale Review* wrote: "Mr. Matthews is interested in Spelling reform, a subject that singularly agitates the reformers, while leaving the rest of the world cold. In his otherwise well-printed pages the reader stumbles on 'thru' and 'thoroly.' . . . 'thoroly' seems to need reform as much as the word it is destined to replace" (Perry 644).

6. Much of this scholarship or the omissions and inaccuracies in the scholarship were called to my attention by Lawrence J. Oliver's discussion of Matthews's status in the literary canon (xiv–xv). I would like to call attention here to the great debt my essay owes to the careful research and analysis found in Oliver's writings.
7. Lewis recounts meeting an unidentified Brander Matthews-ish Professor who was a famous member of the American Academy of Letters and a much published essayist of the old school. Lewis recalled with disdain, "from these essays I learned, as a boy, that there is something very important and spiritual about catching fish, if you have no need of doing so" (Lewis 10). Brander Matthews may well have been on the committee to award the Pulitzer Prize in the 1920s. Membership was kept secret but the members were largely drawn from Columbia University. Lewis, who had turned down the Pulitzer Prize in 1926 as a public show of disgust for the values and taste promoted by the Pulitzer committee, would likely have known Brander Matthews and his circle quite well. If not Matthews, another candidate for inspiring Lewis's disgust might be Robert Grant, who served on the Pulitzer committee for several years, wrote books on fishing as well as collaborative novels, and embodied a Bostonian version of the professional man of letters.
8. Trilling reports that "Lloyd Morris, who as a student knew Matthews . . . gives us the engaging picture of the shining coupe drawn by two fat horses in which the professor was driven twice weekly to the University . . ." (Trilling 24).
9. The original seven were Matthews; Gilder (1844–1909); Charles de Kay (1848–1935), a poet and art critic; Noah Brooks (1830–1903), who although originally a newspaper and magazine journalist also wrote a popular boy's book, *The Boy Emigrants* (1877), a local color collection, *Tales of the Main Coast* (1894), and various historical studies; Edward Eggleston (1837–1902), best known for *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* (1871), also wrote many melodramatic western romances and historical texts and was a notable lobbyist for American Copyright issues; Lawrence Hutton (1843–1904), a New York drama critic who wrote over fifty books on travel and the theater; and Edmund Clarence Stedman (1833–1908), a well known genteel essayist and poet as well as a successful Wall Street broker.
10. Membership records are not entirely clear but Harriet Beecher Stowe was the only woman awarded honorary membership before 1912 and I have not seen any other indication that women were included in the club. Explicitly

ethnic names, with the exception of the Norwegian–American writer Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, are notably absent from the Author’s Club roster and there seems to have been little internal or external effort to alter this state of affairs.

11. Prominent members may have lent their name to the Club, but it is hard to say if they regularly attended meetings. Although most mentions of the Author’s Club testify to the lively encounters of prominent writers, I have come across at least one account that was not impressed. After attending one of his first gatherings of the Author’s Club, popular novelist Paul Leicester Ford wrote in a private letter to his mother “. . . it seems to me that the men were for the most part of small calibre minds, and there were painfully few men one had ever heard of before. But that may be my painful ignorance of the new poets and authors” (Ford).
12. The Program Committee Action plan of 1919 is quoted in Richard Fine’s excellent overview of the early history of the Author’s League of America in *James M. Cain and the American Authors Authority* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 62–68.
13. Sir Walter Besant (1836–1901) was knighted in 1895 for his work as a social reformist and philanthropist rather than for his popular fiction. One of the most prolific writers in Britain at the time, Besant wrote dozens of successful novels in collaboration with James Rice and on his own. He wrote several works in collaboration with Walter Herries Pollock, a British writer who also wrote collaboratively with Brander Matthews. As a tireless advocate of the rights of authors, Besant founded the British Society of Authors in 1884 and served as its first chairman.
14. His observation about his regret at having continued to write seven more books with Rice is in Sir Walter Besant, *Autobiography*, 189.
15. Eliot surmises that the publishing house’s steady “under-valuation of Besant’s literary property” left “a bitter taste in the author’s mouth and was to lead, indirectly and as a form of psychological compensation, to Besant’s campaigns for improvements in the financial conditions of authorship. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that Besant inaugurated what was to become the Society of Authors only a year after his long apprenticeship to Rice had been dissolved by the latter’s death in 1882” (Eliot, “Unequal Partnerships” 74). For information about the history of the Society of Authors, see Bonham-Carter.
16. Although not within the scope of this study, it is intriguing to note that Eugene Scribe (1791–1861), the nineteenth-century French playwright who regularly wrote in collaboration and is discussed by Matthews in “The Art and Mystery of Collaboration,” also spearheaded an attempt to found an Authors’ Association in nineteenth-century France. See Vessillier-Ressi, 26.
17. There was never much doubt in anyone’s mind about who was the dominant partner in the Rice, Besant relationship. Who was to be the sole author, however, was frequently an issue. As Eliot points out, this confusion resulted in some rather absurd situations. In 1882, Rice and Besant’s own publisher advertised *All Sorts and Conditions of Men* as written by Besant at the top of the advertisement and as written by Besant and Rice at the

- bottom of the very same page. See Eliot, "His Generation Read His Stories" 26.
18. For further discussion of James's theories of authorship in the context of professionalization see Culver, 114–136; Anesko; and Jacobson.
 19. For a thorough discussion of the "Art of Fiction" debate, see Spilka 101–119.
 20. Matthews was evidently pleased with his collaboration essay for his thoughts on the subject were reprinted in a number of different forms. It originally appeared in an 1890 issue of *Longman's* magazine, was reprinted in his 1891 collection of collaborative fiction *With My Friends: Tales Told in Partnership*, and was later included in his 1896 essay collection *Aspects of Fiction*. None of this, of course, is surprising for an author who also wrote an essay titled "On the Right of an Author to Repeat Himself" (1926).
 21. One of Brander Matthews's closest friends, H. C. Bunner (1855–1896), edited and wrote for *Puck* magazine through the 1880s and early 1890s, establishing himself as one of the foremost American humorists of the late nineteenth century.
 22. "Edged Tools, A Play in Four" was first published by Brander Matthews in 1873 but he seems to have re-written it as a short story with Pollock. This was a reversal of the more common technique of taking collaboratively written plays and "novelizing" them under the name of only one author. Matthews wrote an essay on the subject, of course, titled "The Dramatization of Novels" (1894). Matthews's other collaborator, George Jessop, created several novels out of the plays he and Matthews had written in collaboration. Walter Herries Pollock (1850–1926) wrote with Matthews and Besant and also collaborated with Andrew Lang on a satiric novel titled "HE" (1887) mocking Rider Haggard's "SHE" (1887).
 23. F. Anstey was the pen name of Thomas Anstey Guthrie (1856–1934), a highly successful British author of fantasy fiction for adults and children.
 24. George H. Jessop (d. 1915) also collaborated with Matthews on two plays, *On Probation* and *A Gold Mine*. Jessop, who was an extremely prolific author in his own right, individually wrote a novel, *Judge Lynch* (1889), based upon *On Probation*.
 25. For bibliographic information about Matthews's extensive personal library and book collections, see Matthews, *The Bookshelf of Brander Matthews*.
 26. Matthews, "The Art and Mystery," 170.

4 Veribly a Purple Cow: *The Whole Family* and the Collaborative Search for Coherence

1. William Dean Howells suggested a number of authors who did not end up participating, some of whom were especially appealing candidates because they had previously participated in collaborative projects, among them—Robert Grant and Brander Matthews. (See chapters 2 and 3 for further discussion of these writers.) Matthews declined, explaining that he was too busy to participate. No extant letters report Grant's reaction. See Matthews, Letter to Elizabeth Jordan, 12 June 1906.

2. James was particularly disgusted with Edith Wyatt's chapter. He wrote Jordan: "the Mother treated as she actually stands seems to me—I confess to you brutally—a positive small convulsion of debility!—without irony, without fancy, without anything! Does your public want that so completely lack-lustre domestic sentimentality?" James, Letter to Jordan, 13 Aug. 1907. For a fuller discussion of James's letter and its possible implications, see discussion in Crowley.
3. This collection featured chapters by Paul Leicester Ford, Bertha Runkle, John Kendrick Bangs, Robert Grant, Frank R. Stockton, Octave Thanet (the pseudonym of Alice French), Sarah Orne Jewett, Ruth M. Stuart, Owen Wister, Mrs. Burton Harrison, Stockton, George Washington Cable, Sir Charles George Douglas Roberts.
4. Promotional advertisement for Evalyn Emerson, *Sylvia: The Story of an American Countess*, located on the back pages of *A House Party*.
5. It was not uncommon for magazines of the 1890s and early 1900s to use contests to encourage participation in the magazine. See Garvey.
6. The one exception to this editorial silence on the subject occurred when Jordan was clearly unable to resist responding to "S. F. of Brooklyn" who wrote: "even the most careless reader must recognize your first chapter as the work of Henry James." The editorial reply was "Our correspondent has handsomely cleared herself of the suspicion that she may be a 'careless reader.' The first chapter of '*The Whole Family*' was not written by Mr. James." See H. B. A. "As to '*The Whole Family*,'" letter, and Jordan, "As to '*The Whole Family*,'" reply.
7. Although she signed most of her correspondence with her married name, Ward, her professional writing was published under her maiden name, Phelps.
8. Although her *The Whole Family* chapter was written alone, previous collaborations with her husband had been relatively successful. *Youth's Companion* selected their collaborative book, *A Lost Hero*, as the best juvenile story of 1890. In that same year, the husband and wife team collaborated on "The Master of the Magicians," a story about the Biblical Daniel, and on *Come Forth* (1891), a novel based on the story of Lazarus.
9. The letter is signed Katharine Riggs, but her professional writing was generally published under "Kate Douglas Wiggin." Despite her hesitations about this project and about joint composition in general, Wiggin had previously published a collaborative novel, *The Affair at the Inn* (1904), written with Mary Findlater, Jane Findlater, and Allan McAulay. This group later composed another collaborative novel, *Robinetta* (1910–1911).
10. The Genteel Tradition is a reference to George Santayana's understanding of the American literary tradition as having split artistic life into a feminine and masculine mentality. The supposed feminine mentality was idealistic and controlling and prevented the vital energies of the masculine author from being expressed. See Cyganowski.
11. In her autobiography, Jordan reports that Joseph Pulitzer heard her observe that at *Harper's Bazar* she "felt as if I had died and gone to heaven" (*Three Rousing Cheers* 166). Pulitzer was angry at her ingratitude and Jordan claims he cut her out of a \$10,000 legacy because of her remark.

12. Mary Stewart Cutting (1851–1924) published a series of short story collections about married life in a small New York suburban town, including *Little Stories of Married Life* (1902), *Little Stories of Courtship* (1905), and *Just the Two of Us* (1909), perhaps reflecting a continuing interest in the differences between individual and collaboratively shared experiences.
13. Freeman later publicly retracted this support presumably because of what she saw as the unseemly activities of labor unions. She wrote: “In view of the recent labor doings, I have changed my mind absolutely about the advisability of Affiliation of the Author’s League with the Federation of Labor, and wish to go on record as opposing any such affiliation.” This may have been surprising for those who had been familiar with her labor novel of 1901, *The Portion of Labor*, but the Author’s League affiliation was a tremendously controversial issue and there was intense lobbying from many interested parties. See chapter 3 for a discussion of the Author’s League of America. In 1919, Freeman again voiced her frustration at how writing wasn’t popularly understood: “Writing is very hard work, as you know, although nobody among the laboring ranks, or the resting ranks, thinks authors labor.” Freeman, Letter to The Author’s League of America, June 1916; Letter to The Author’s League of America, Nov. 1916; and Letter to Fred Pattee, as qtd. in Kendrick 353, 355, 384–385.
14. Regionalist writer, Alice French, who seems to have been contacted to replace Edith Wyatt whose first draft had been found wanting, expressed her initial enthusiasm by writing, “I like the company and I like the idea . . . Please send the proofs as soon as you can. I want to get acquainted with my husband and children.” French added a postscript explaining, “I feel quite in the mood for the character; because I am just helping my younger sister to be married in June and I am to have the wedding” (Letter to Jordan, 14 March 1907). Edith Wyatt’s second draft was found to be acceptable and Alice French did not end up participating in *The Whole Family*. French (1850–1934), who often wrote under the name “Octave Thanet,” was a minor local colorist who published stories largely set in the west often focussing upon labor issues.
15. Jordan’s memoirs include letters that were considerably edited or altered from the original but in this case the original Deland letter is not in the Jordan Papers at the New York Public Library, so Jordan’s version is the only source for these quotations.
16. Frederic Duneka, the general manager of Harper and Brothers, wrote Jordan: “The chapter of *The Whole Family* is simply awful—confused, dull, stupid, vapid, meaningless, halting, lame, holding up action and movement of the story which has run along splendidly thus far” (Letter to Jordan, 19 Dec. 1906).
17. The term “metafiction” is generally agreed to have been coined by William Gass (Gass 25).
18. Van Dyke’s reputation as spokesman for genteel writer was seared into posterity by Sinclair Lewis, whose 1930 Nobel Prize acceptance speech attacked Van Dyke for having stymied American literary achievement by his genteel posturing.

19. June Howard has devoted an entire book to *The Whole Family* and how it illuminates cultural values particularly pertaining to understandings of the family and literary realism. See Howard.
20. The most egregious example of this occurs when Elizabeth Jordan hints that the Daughter-in-Law, Lorraine, had some sort of emotional entanglement with Lyman Wilde, an old suitor of Aunt Elizabeth's. This rather disturbing and incongruous plot line is never resolved.
21. Although *The Whole Family* was the only truly collaborative venture Henry James is known to have participated in, he lent his name to "The Ghost," a play largely written by Stephen Crane in 1899. This play, for which there are no extant copies, was supposedly written in collaboration with James, H. G. Wells, Rider Haggard, George Gissing, Joseph Conrad, Robert Barr, H. B. Marriot-Watson, Edwin Pugh, and A. E. Mason, but was most likely written only by Crane who asked the authors "to write a mere word—any word 'it', 'they', 'you',—any word and thus identify themselves with this crime." There is some indication that James once considered collaborating with his good friend, Constance Fenimore Woolson, on a play. Unfortunately, James burned most of their correspondence after she died in 1894 and hence there is little evidence the play was ever written. See Edel, *Henry James: The Middle Years*. At this same time, around 1892, James wrote a short story, "Collaboration," which concerns the relationship between a French poet and a German composer who both reject their families, their lovers, and their national loyalties in order to compose an opera together. Whether or not James had seriously considered collaborating with Woolson, he was certainly interested in various permutations of the idea. See Aswell.
22. Brown is referring to the popular nonsense rhyme of 1895 by Gelett Burgess: "I never saw a purple cow, / I never hope to see one; / But I can tell you, anyhow, / I'd rather see than be one." Its very adaptability led Burgess to later write "Ha, yes, I wrote the 'Purple Cow'—/ I'm sorry now, I wrote it! / But I can tell you, anyhow, / I'll kill you if you quote it" (24–25). Brown's quotation of Burgess was especially apt, for Burgess also wrote a short story titled "A Collaboration; A Story."
23. In 1895, Freeman wrote "The Story of Sarah Tompkins" for the Bacheller, Johnson & Bacheller Syndicate's detective story contest. Her friend, Joseph Chamberlin, suggested that they use the Lizzie Borden murder case as a model and he evidently revised the "Sarah Tompkins" story so that it could fit the technical requirements of the contest. They split the \$2,000 prize for the story which, once revised, they called "The Long Arm." See *The Infant Sphinx*, 122.
24. For further discussions of how the autonomy of the regional enclave is imagined only as a response to a variety of broad social determinants in addition to the gendering of separate spheres, see Brodhead and Donovan.
25. Several writers who did not end up participating but were invited to do so were local color writers, among them: Brander Matthews, who wrote New York City local color stories and also criticism on the genre of local color; Alice French, who published extensively under the name of "Octave

- Thanet"; Hamlin Garland, who wrote a short story collection, *Main-Travelled Roads* (1891) as well as *Crumbling Idols* (1894), the famous series of essays reflecting upon the role of veritism and regional writing in American Literature; and Mark Twain, whose many novels, especially *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884) and *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), were essentially local color fiction. Indeed, almost every writer involved in *The Whole Family* could be considered a writer who at least dabbled in local color writing. This testifies not merely to the broad definitions of the category and to the incredible popularity of the local color form, but to the proclivity of local color writers for collaborative projects. Frances Hodgson Burnett, the well-known author of *Little Lord Fauntleroy* (1886), was invited to join the Family. "Fluffy" Burnett, even though she was a good friend of Jordan's, declined because she felt the project was too American. "it would be an impertinence for an outsider to meddle with it" Burnett, Letter to Jordan, 20 Aug. 1906.
26. Leon Edel noticed a certain similarity between the narrative problems of *The Whole Family* and the problems James remembered having had with *The Awkward Age*. Edel cites the following passage from James's preface to vol. 9 of the New York Edition: "I remember that in sketching my project . . . I drew on a sheet of paper . . . the neat figure of a circle consisting of a number of rounds disposed at equal distance about a central project. The central object was my situation, my subject itself, and the small rounds represented so many distinct lamps, as I liked to call them, the function of each of which would be to light up with all due intensity one of its aspects." See Edel and Powers, eds., *Howells and James: A Double* 32, fn4.
27. He refers to his character, Charles Edward, as CE. He refers to Aunt Elizabeth as Aunt Eliza (Letter to Jordan, 25 Jan. 1907).
28. James elevated multiplicity to such an extreme to see if it might be possible to get beyond the subjectivity of viewpoints. It is especially ironic, therefore, that he utterly failed to appreciate Wyatt's first draft of the infamous "Mother" chapter. Wyatt too, with her epistolary framework, had attempted to construct the mother as an amalgam of other points of view. It seems likely, though, that this was just too formulaic and forced an approach for James to accept as genuinely objectifying a character.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF COLLABORATIVE FICTION

The following works illustrate well the perils of categorizing collaborative fiction; for while some are anonymously written, others are written under composite names. This list in no way pretends to be exhaustive but it should at least give a sense of the variety and number of collaborative fiction published by Americans at the turn of the century. Several British, Irish, and other international authors may have slipped into this list, often as the result of having participated with an American colleague. A number of more contemporary works are included because they were used elsewhere in the text as a point of contrast or reference.

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