

Reintroducing Fuller: Periodical, Transatlantic, Urban

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This collection of new work on Margaret Fuller was prompted by the 200th anniversary, in 2010, of her birth. The level of interest in Fuller during her bicentennial year was striking. An academic conference at the Massachusetts Historical Society was well attended and attracted a high level of scholarly participation. The many public events sponsored by the Margaret Fuller Bicentennial Committee,¹ itself organized by Unitarian Universalist women, historical societies, scholars, and others, attracted strong attendances, an enthusiasm I also witnessed as part of a panel on Fuller at the First Parish Church in Concord, Massachusetts. The surge of interest in Fuller in 2010 signaled to me – in addition to interest in Fuller the Transcendentalist and the feminist – that this antebellum figure spoke to our current experience of living in a global, transnational world, a world increasingly routed through cities, and a world whose modes and technologies of communication are rapidly changing.

The efflorescence of Fuller scholarship surrounding her bicentennial caps a sustained period of serious critical and biographical work that has recovered her as one of the most important public intellectuals of the pre-Civil War era. It has also broadened both the scope of research and the methods of interpretation critics have engaged, an interpretive expansion that keeps pace with widening understandings of the scope of Fuller's own critical engagements. Bell Chevigny observes in her contribution to this issue that during the forty-year history of the Fuller revival readers have often found in Fuller an anticipation of their own concerns – about gender, sexuality, social justice, literary theory, and political representation. What

the following essays confirm is the emphasis, in much of this new scholarship, on Fuller's participation in a transatlantic and often urban discursive world whose communications issued from the characteristic media of journalism and other periodical publications. This direction of Fuller criticism was not altogether new but received a strong new impetus from the publication, in 1991 and 2000, of scholarly editions of her journalism for the *New-York Tribune*.² Indeed, Fuller's position as a front-page columnist writing on literary, political, and cultural books and events issuing from cities on both sides of the Atlantic highlights the important conjunction of, especially, reform periodicals and public intellectuals in the 1840s. Fuller's journalism may be read together with Lydia Maria Child's writings for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* in New York or Heinrich Börnstein's work in Paris for the *Vorwärts!*, as authors in this issue demonstrate, or with William and Mary Howitt's work for the *People's Journal* and *Howitt's Journal* in London, as Charles Capper has done in his biography (II:296-97, 324).

The critics contributing to this special issue elaborate on the above emphasis – especially Fuller's circulation in a transatlantic world whose lines of communication often ran through periodicals. However, they also flag, sometimes indirectly, the urban context of this broader conversation. In introducing their work, I will touch on the state of the scholarship on these three related contexts – periodicals, transatlantic exchanges, and the increasingly urban location of writing – and then turn to the essays themselves.



Fuller grew up in a rapidly changing publication landscape. In his classic study, *Literary Publishing in America, 1790-1850*, William Charvat documented the early nineteenth-century shift in the publishing industry, especially in New England, from scattered sites in cities and small towns to its consolidation in the emerging metropolitan areas of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. Until the 1820s generally and until the 1840s-1850s in New England, writers tended to publish in the towns where they lived (25-30). Although small-town presses and periodicals never completely faded

away, publishers proliferated in these growing cities and periodical publication became centered there. Scholars have noted that Horace Greeley's move from New Hampshire to New York to establish the *Tribune* is emblematic; as John Nerone says, "Greeley's career would span all the changes in the national press system, from the world of the country print shop to the dawn of mass circulation newspapers" (in Casper *et al.* 233). Mary Kelley's and Michael Gilmore's influential studies in the 1980s similarly depict market and technological revolutions that transformed literary production and centered it in cities, and they point to these decades as the launching of a national publishing industry. Another way of putting this, as the editors of Volume 3 of the *History of the Book in America* do, is to say that the era of the "industrial book" – and of parallel growth in the production and distribution of newspapers and magazines – began in about 1840 (see Casper *et al.*). Fuller went to work for Greeley's paper in 1844, at the moment of the consolidation of periodical publication in cities and of the ascent of newspapers from local to national. As Catherine Mitchell has explained, the *New-York Tribune* is a major example of this phenomenon in the 1840s-1850s (Mitchell 8-10). In addition, Kelley points out that the subscription libraries founded in the eighteenth and during the first third of the nineteenth centuries were being replaced by periodicals as the site of access to texts by a broad range of readers at precisely this moment (10).

I am rehearsing this familiar history of the transformation of publishing, reading, and writing to situate Fuller more clearly within it and to emphasize her self-conscious seizing of the new opportunities this world offered. Albert von Frank, in his contribution here, notes the "robust proliferation of journals and newspapers" during Fuller's youth and brings in the twentieth-century term "new journalism" to describe their capacity "to reinvent" themselves in this period (60-61 n. 14). Indeed, Fuller's writings and publication venues seem to anticipate the advice twenty-first-century journalism programs at universities give their students in a similarly transformative moment in media and publishing: embrace evolving media, innovate, and publish on multiple platforms. Fuller, one might say, publishes on multiple platforms: travel book, translations, literary criticism, a

theoretical intervention, the experiment of the “little magazine” *The Dial*, and finally journalism. As the editors of a recent special issue of the journal *American Periodicals* put it, “the periodical” is a “major literary form of the nineteenth century that can perhaps help us to find precursors to the ‘multilinear connectedness’ of the Internet” (Fagg *et al.* 94, 93). Christina Zwarg, whose essay particularly makes this parallel, notes that Fuller’s research and writing methods in her best-known work anticipate this “multilinear connectedness”: “What is *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* but a Google search *avant la lettre*?” (173 n. 2). Studying Fuller as a reader of and contributor to periodicals means studying an author whose discourse community consisted of other journalists, often urban readers, and an internationally circulating body of texts. Interest in Fuller’s journalism coincides with a burgeoning scholarly interest in nineteenth-century periodicals as a rich archive to be explored, analyzed, and integrated into the scholarship on the period.³ Future Fuller scholarship will, I think, read her journalism more often in the context of periodical writings and conventions.

What more recent research adds to this picture is the reminder of the transnational reading that periodicals always entailed. Scholars have never lost sight of the fact that Transcendentalists read deeply in European writers; Philip Gura’s intellectual history of the movement has a particularly detailed discussion of this reading. And the analysis of the transatlantic reading of such Transcendentalists as the early Fuller and her friends is becoming even more textured, as in Charlene Avallone’s studies (here and elsewhere) of their readings both of George Sand and of the British periodical discussions of Sand⁴ – and in John Matteson’s argument (below) that Fuller drew on Goethe’s example to shape her U.S. travel book. But it is increasingly clear how much transatlantic “traffic,” to use Meredith McGill’s term, there was in all kinds of texts.⁵ McGill identifies the period 1834-1853 as the height of a “culture of reprinting,” when courts ranked the private right of intellectual property (and, therefore, the need for international copyright) below the public good of the dissemination of knowledge and when periodicals operated on this “republican understanding of print as public property” (*American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting* 43, 14) by reprinting a

wealth of British and American (and other) writings of all kinds. It is helpful to realize that Fuller's career as a published writer unfolded exactly within this span of years and this publishing environment. Attention to the transatlantic Fuller of course goes back to Jay Deiss, Bell Chevigny, Larry Reynolds, and others and includes more recently: *Margaret Fuller: Transatlantic Crossings in a Revolutionary Age* (2007), edited by Charles Capper and Cristina Giorcelli.⁶ These scholars all read her *Tribune* dispatches from Europe in illuminating ways, and there is still room for interpretations that take McGill's points about the nature of periodical publication in this era fully into account. The essays in the present issue point to the ways Fuller inhabited transatlantic periodical culture, from Fritz Fleischmann's situating of her thought in the context of the various socialisms expressed in American and European newspapers, to Marina Kizima's recovery of reviews of her life and work in Russian literary magazines.

Finally, urban studies of this period and its literature correlate with studies of periodicals and transatlantic reading and publishing to mark the 1840s, the decade of Fuller's arrival at the *Tribune* in New York, as transformative. As Mary P. Ryan has observed, in this decade in the U.S. the modern city fully emerges, especially in New York, characterized by a public sphere at once more democratic and more exclusively masculine than before – but nevertheless a space women found ways to traverse as reformers or writers (Ryan 135, 82, 84). The historian David Henkin describes this antebellum urban space as saturated with an ephemeral, constantly changing, popular print culture (10-12). Such literary critics as Dana Brand and Hans Bergmann have analyzed strategies writers developed at this time to read the new metropolitan environment in what was very much, as Bergmann puts it, a "newspaper culture" (20). In addition, urban geographers and theorists from David Harvey to Mona Domosh to Henri Lefebvre have given critics tools to recognize both the urban space referenced in antebellum writings and the complexities of textual representations of that space. Attention to the urban Fuller is fairly recent and usually biographical in approach. Among her biographers, Capper has mapped out the physical environment through which Fuller moved, such as

the *Tribune* building itself (*Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life* II:197). Robert Hudspeth, the editor of her letters, has identified Fuller as “a city woman” – “urban environments [...] were life itself to Fuller.” Indeed, literary critics, especially Jeffrey Steele, have begun to analyze Fuller as an explicitly urban writer, a project he carries further in his essay here.⁷ In the introduction to their edition of Fuller’s New York columns in the *Tribune*, Judith Mattson Bean and Joel Myerson connect urban life in the 1840s with its newly characteristic medium – “city life was mediated through the daily press” – and emphasize the transatlantic nature of both urban consciousness and the press: “Mirroring New York life in the 1840s, the *Tribune* displays a heteroglossia of urban cultures and international dialogue” (xxii, xxi). As their remarks indicate, this urban backdrop and sensibility, together with a transatlantic periodical print culture, implicitly shape much of Fuller’s writing.



This issue features new research and interpretive arguments on Fuller and her works. Framing this new research, however, are retrospective essays by two major Fuller scholars that reflect on the process of bringing her back into her central position in antebellum intellectual life. The intellectual historian Charles Capper discusses the challenge of putting this “eclipse[d]” figure back into history, of articulating “a compelling *idea* of Fuller *in her time* that would yet resonate with ours” (21, 18). The literary critic Bell Chevigny recounts the process of rediscovering Fuller’s writings, as well as her own growth as an intellectual through a series of returns to the provocations Fuller offered. Capper and Chevigny look back on the developments in their respective disciplines and at their own approaches to Fuller that led to Chevigny’s ground breaking edition of and commentary on Fuller’s writings in *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller’s Life and Writings* (1976) and to Capper’s two-volume intellectual biography, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life* (1992, 2007). Both note the completeness of Fuller’s excision from the Modernist canon; Capper points out that her works remained in print and read until about 1900, when “suddenly” they went out of print, although her figure remained available for

uninformed biographical commentary (20). Both Chevigny and Capper sketch histories of the representation of Fuller; in doing so, they go beyond simply exposing the failures of past depictions and raise deeper questions about the work of such representations, about the urge to "claim" important figures from the past, to "project," as Chevigny puts it, "our [...] experience onto them," or to make them "serve [our] needs" (252). And they point to the transformative impetus of second-wave feminism in prompting what Capper calls Fuller's "extraordinary resurrection" in the 1970s (17).

Capper surveys the history of Fuller biographies – from the nineteenth-century memoirs of her friends to the Modernist accounts that defined Fuller either as a sidekick of major (male) writers or as a victim of Victorian repression – as an object lesson in the difficulties for biographers of negotiating the distance, or, in the case of her friends, managing the proximity, between themselves and their subject. He discusses, for example, the irony of the Modernist dismissal, "by a perverse misreading," of the "quintessentially avant-garde" Fuller in their "revolts against Victorianism" (21, 29). Central to his own task was to recover Romanticism "as an historical language," as Fuller and her contemporaries spoke it, with its heightened sense of human possibility, its "faith" in "an organically connected ideal universe," and its "prophetically subjectivist" rhetoric – and then to "*translate* it for modern ears" (28, 26). This task, he notes, was made substantially easier by Hudspeth's multivolume edition of Fuller's letters in the 1980s. He concludes by making Fuller available for "our time" in three ways (30). The first is through her "humanistic theory of gender relations," where gender is "both a fluid and a chosen category" (30). Fuller's analysis of gender in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* reconciles late twentieth-century feminist divisions between what Chevigny also discusses as "radical" feminists, focused on political equality with men, and "cultural" feminists, examining women's distinctive identity (245). Secondly, twenty-first-century culture needs her example of the public intellectual; on the "*Tribune's* front page," she addressed a broad public with the democratic (and accurate) assumption that "farmers and

mechanics” followed the complexities of social and political debates (32). Finally, her focus on human rights remains, as always, necessary to U.S. public life.

In her more autobiographical essay, Chevigny foregrounds the dialogic relationship between the recovery of Fuller’s life and texts and the developments of critical thought – especially feminist thought – in the last four decades. This “mutual interpretation,” in which Fuller’s revival at once was made possible by second wave feminism and spurred it on, plays out in Chevigny’s account of the give and take between her work with Fuller and her own intellectual and political development especially in the 1960s and 1970s. “Fuller’s life,” she says, “held uncanny resonance for me” (239) – Fuller’s analysis of the social position of women, her protests in the *Tribune* against the U.S. war with Mexico, her visits to prisons, her criticism of the U.S. treatment of Native peoples, and, later, her support for antislavery, interest in socialism, and revolutionary activities in Rome anticipated the activism and critique of this twentieth-century period of rethinking issues of gender, race, class, and nation. Similarly, Fuller’s methods in her conversations, correspondence, and other writings seemed to anticipate the feminist discussion groups that Chevigny documents, as well as such conversations and collaborative research moments as those, for example, with the Italian scholar Liana Borghi, also reading Fuller’s papers at the Houghton Library at Harvard, or with Buckminster Fuller, who passed on Fuller family stories, or with Fuller’s biographer Joan von Mehren, as they found Fuller’s residence in Rome. Finally, this method shapes *The Woman and the Myth*, where Fuller’s voice exists alongside those of her contemporaries. Chevigny’s description of a pattern of returning to Fuller, or, rather, of Fuller as a thinker returning as issues recur, makes Fuller appear “periodical” in another sense, a recurrent figure in American thought.

The seven essays between these retrospective pieces are ordered chronologically, as they move from Fuller’s early work to her reception after her death. All but one locate her firmly within the world of periodical publishing, five read her as engaged in transatlantic conversations, and most

implicitly understand her writing within an urban context, although only one essay foregrounds this context. It is fitting that this sequence of essays should begin with Albert von Frank's edition of Fuller's first publication, in 1834: an article, "Brutus," published in the *Boston Daily Advertiser and Patriot* and written in response to a previous article in the *North American Review* by George Bancroft. This is the first modern edition of what has been a difficult piece to find; its reprinting will allow Fuller scholars to rethink her entrance into print. In his commentary, von Frank argues that this early piece already shows Fuller's characteristic voice as a journalist. In her debate with Bancroft over the status of Brutus as an historical figure or – as Fuller claims – a moral exemplar available for cultural work in the present, she presents an alternative, dialogic rhetoric to Bancroft's traditionally masculine "command[ing]" rhetoric and, by doing so, makes the "case [...] for a woman's social, interlocutory place in journalism" (53-54).

John Matteson's essay on Fuller's Midwest travel book, *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*, picks up the thread of Fuller's transatlantic reading that runs through many of these essays. Noting the "disjunctures" of Fuller's "nonlinear" text – whose interpolated genres, varying topics, and semi-fictional figures frustrate readers' expectations – Matteson argues that her text is "mimetic" of the discontinuities inherent in the nation and the self (64, 74). If the West emblemized the future of the U.S., then Fuller discovered and represented it as a fissured space both of possibility and of "still greater oppression," especially for Native Americans and for women; similarly, her forays into fiction, poetry, literary criticism, and social critique within the travel book flag her "awareness that the processes of the mind are themselves nonlinear and multilateral" (65, 81). Searching for "an idea of prose writing" to accommodate this sense of fragmentation, Fuller drew on – Matteson suggests – one of "her favorite books," Goethe's "unnerving," "meandering," and experimental *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, whose connections between physical and intellectual wandering offered her "the stylistic freedom" to represent the disjunctions she saw and to "escape the limits of a single subjectivity" (72, 74).

Moving from Fuller's better-documented reading of German writers to her reading of the French writer George Sand, Charlene Avallone brings to light Fuller's complex engagements with Sand as a multi-genre writer whose works, as Avallone says, may "inform ... Fuller's most visionary experiments in writing, her *Dial* fragments," as well as the "hybrid form" of her travel book and the style and topics of her journalism (107, 111). Like Matteson, Avallone is interested in Fuller as an experimental writer who explores fragmentation; Fuller responds most forcefully not to Sand's novels but to her "experiments with form" in travel writing, journalism, and the "dramatized philosophical dialogue of *Sept Cordes de la Lyre*" (94). In a meticulous reading of both Sand and Fuller, Avallone argues that Fuller was inspired by Sand's literary style, as well as by her progressive politics, to create such sketches of nocturnal female seekers as Leila in her *Dial* pieces (based in part on Sand's *Lélia*), to draw on Sand's "romantic mode of subjective, digressive travelogue" (in *Lettres d'un voyageur*) in *Summer on the Lakes*, and as a journalist increasingly to move from the "male tradition of American public rhetoric," which shaped her "earliest periodical writing," to the "colloquial" voice in journalism "that Sand raised to an art" (111, 113).

Jeffrey Steele expands on this quality of innovation in Fuller's journalism by treating her columns for the *Tribune* during her sojourn in New York (1844-46) as an inventive and critical form of urban writing. He describes antebellum habits of seeing cities and Fuller's critique of these habits. Steele argues that Fuller resisted the usual journalist's – the flâneur's – view of the city as spectacle and tendency to reduce complex urban space to a continuous visual field. Drawing on the postmodern geographer Edward Soja, Steele explains that "the panoramic model of urban spectatorship [...] obscure[d] awareness of the ideological structures shaping social behavior" and claims that Fuller sought, instead, to "include aspects of urban experience that were discontinuous or invisible" (126-27, 129). In discussing her visits to the institutions of incarceration and reform and other sites that represented the social crises of the modern metropolis, he notes Fuller's conflation of the tools of the literary critic with those of the social reformer

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as she develops a "new kind of journalism," one which reads the city "as a multi-layered text" (131). Steele highlights her use of the term, "attention," arguing that Fuller's *Tribune* columns attempt to elicit a "critical" form of public "attention as a shared communal response" (137, 136).

Analyzing one of Fuller's book reviews for the *Tribune*, Christina Zwarg unpacks the complexity of her reading of Atlantic world texts and argues for the demands her reviews – her acts of reading – make on her readers. Like Steele, Zwarg sees Fuller's journalism as an attempt to generate critical forms of "attention" in her public. Fuller's review of *The French in Algiers*, a translation of texts by German and French soldiers fighting in colonial French wars, – a review written while she was probably reading one of the next books she reviewed, Frederick Douglass's slave narrative – becomes an implicit analysis of war and trauma narratives. Juxtaposing two quotations, one of a "massacre" of a Berber village and the other of the lamented death of a fellow soldier, Fuller treats these vignettes almost as the photographs that would soon come to newspapers, "as tools registering far more than the authors could control"; the "shock" of their juxtaposition prompts a reading, against the author's intentions, of the "traumatic costs" of colonial warfare both for those being slaughtered and for the soldiers enacting this violence (161, 156, 166). Her strategy has parallels as well with the "ethic of similitude" that, scholars argue, underpins certain Homeric similes: an "insight into the traumatic experience" of war that the characters in the epics "cannot yet work through" (163). As do the previous essays, Zwarg's highlights Fuller's "restless approach" to "familiar forms": her manipulation of media that were themselves undergoing transformation makes her work and Walter Benjamin's readings of the emergence of "modern modes of reproduction" in this period mutually illuminating (156).

Fritz Fleischmann's contribution takes up the question of Fuller's socialism (what did she mean by that term?) through a study of her readings in American and European journals and a comparison of her writings with Marxist and socialist documents. Fleischmann pays close attention to Fuller's language by situating it with respect to the "emerging Marxist analysis" of the 1840s, the Christian socialism of her fellow

Transcendentalist William Henry Channing, and the socialism of Heinrich Börnstein, at one point Marx's co-editor of the *Vorwärts!* and later a correspondent for the *Tribune* (182). He observes that Fuller's particular "radicalism" emerges from her understanding of her gendered position, which produces an analytical method marked by "inclusiveness and mutuality" rather than by the "categorical exclusion" that defines Marxist analysis (186). Drawing on Adam-Max Tuchinsky's accounts of Fuller and Greeley's participation in an "'American social democratic discourse,'" located "'between Marxism and bourgeois liberalism,'" Fleischmann nevertheless departs from this historian's conclusion that Fuller was, finally, in the liberal camp (184-85). A close reading of her rhetoric indicates that "her vision is right in the mainstream of revolutionary thinking" and, he argues, "It is time to begin recognizing this" (201). Like Fourier, Fuller is a "'critical-utopian socialist'" (a phrase used disparagingly in the *Communist Manifesto* but positively by Fleischmann) and, like the Marxist thinker Ernst Bloch, she is a "'militant optimis[t]" whose open-ended methods align with her capacity for "hope" in the face of the injustice and military defeats she witnessed in the U.S. and Italy (183, 203-4).

A new and, to me, surprising widening of "transatlantic Fuller" comes in Marina Kizima's essay on three reviews of the *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (1852), edited by Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Henry Channing, and James Freeman Clarke – reviews published immediately in "leading Russian literary magazines" (212). This brief surge of interest in Fuller as a "representative figure" of the "young American republic" focused on her life rather than her works: the anonymous reviewers discussed her childhood, education, association with the Transcendentalists, labor on behalf of her family, marriage to Ossoli, and devotion to her child (212). Even as they genuinely grappled with her cultural significance, they saw Fuller as a "riddle" (214). Russian society shared the restrictive ideology of womanhood normative in the U.S., and reviewers were puzzled by the confluence of womanly qualities and intellectual work depicted in the *Memoirs*. Working under tsarist censorship, they also suppressed Fuller's association of women's

rights with antislavery and her participation in the revolutions of 1848. Kizima analyzes this silence; antislavery statements would have been associated with agitation for the abolition of serfdom, and Fuller's support for the Roman Revolution would have evoked the political exile and associate of the republican revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini, Alexander Herzen, whose writings "linked America, revolutionary events in Italy, and the revolutionary transformation of Russia" (227). Kizima's newly discovered reviews indicate Fuller's "importance [...] as a symbolic figure in the European cultural consciousness" (213).

This body of scholarship – divergent in methodology, contexts, and texts discussed – asks that we attend to the convergence of periodical forms of expression, transatlantic circulations of writings, and urban locations in Fuller's writings. I hope for more such studies of Fuller and of the 1840s transatlantic urban intellectual publishing in popular print media.

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Notes

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¹ Although the calendar of events in 2010 is no longer accessible, the Margaret Fuller Bicentennial Committee's website is still online: <http://www.margaretfuller.org/>.

² See Fuller, "*These sad but glorious days*," ed., Reynolds and Belasco Smith, and *Margaret Fuller, Critic*, ed. Bean and Myerson.

³ An example of this research interest is the journal *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism, and Bibliography*, sponsored by the Research Society for American Periodicals (founded in 1991), and which includes articles on Fuller and her contemporaries. The advent of digital technologies has also significantly opened up research possibilities.

⁴ See Avallone's "Circles around George Sand: Margaret Fuller and the Dynamics of Transnational Reception," in Bailey, et al., *Margaret Fuller and Her Circles* (206-28).

⁵ McGill discusses primarily fiction and poetry in *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting* and *The Traffic in Poems*. Robin Peele and Daniel Maudlin call their recent collection of essays on literary exchanges between England and (primarily) New England *Transatlantic Traffic*.

⁶ See also Chapter 2 in Eckel's *Atlantic Citizens* and some of the essays in Bailey et al.'s *Margaret Fuller and Her Circles* (derived from papers presented at the Massachusetts Historical Society's 2010 conference) and in *Transatlantic Women*, edited by Lueck et al.

⁷ Hudspeth, "Margaret Fuller and Urban Life," in Bailey et al.; *Margaret Fuller and Her Circles* (197); and see Steele, "Sympathy and Prophecy: The Two Faces of Social Justice in Fuller's New York Writing," in Bailey, et al., *Margaret Fuller and Her Circles* (161-78). See also Brigitte Bailey, "Fuller, Hawthorne, and Imagining Urban Spaces in Rome," in *Roman Holidays: Hawthorne, James, and Others in Italy*, ed. Robert K. Martin and Leland S. Person (University of Iowa Press, 2002), 175-90.

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