



# Horace Elisha Scudder and the "Riverside magazine"

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## Horace Elisha Scudder and the *Riverside Magazine*

IN *Graham's Magazine* for December 1846, Edgar Allan Poe commented on a literary phenomenon of the day, saying: 'Whatever may be the merits or demerits, generally, of the Magazine Literature of America, there can be no question as to its extent or influence. The topic — Magazine Literature — is therefore an important one. In a few years its importance will be found to have increased in geometrical ratio. The whole tendency of the age is Magazine-ward.'<sup>1</sup> Indeed there were magazines for everybody — for financiers, for scholars, for philosophers, for farmers, for mill-workers, for ladies, and, of course, for children. In the United States recognition of the child as a paying audience had its inception in 1826 with the appearance of the *Juvenile Miscellany*, a duodecimo bimonthly. Clearly printed and with at least one full-page woodcut or engraving, it was published in Boston and edited by Lydia Maria (Francis) Child.<sup>2</sup> There had been magazines for the young before 1826; the first was probably the *Children's Magazine*, which ran for three issues in 1789. Others there were, but with the briefest of histories, some subsidized by sectarian organizations. The most successful of these religious juveniles was one published by the American Sunday School Union — the *Teacher's Offering*, later the *Youth's Friend and Scholar's Magazine*, which began in 1823, sold for twenty-five cents a year, and by 1827 had achieved a subscription list of 10,000.<sup>3</sup> However, the *Juvenile Miscellany* was the first independent magazine for children to enjoy sustained publication.

Mrs Child's direction of the magazine was determined by a num-

<sup>1</sup> 'Marginalia,' XXIX, 312.

<sup>2</sup> Lydia Maria Francis married David Lee Child in 1828. First as Miss Francis, then as Mrs Child, she edited the *Juvenile Miscellany* from September 1826 to August 1834, when she resigned her position to Sarah Josepha Hale, who continued the magazine at least through December 1836 (terminal date questioned in *Union List of Serials*). For a detailed examination of the first independent magazine for children, see my article, 'As the Twig Is Bent,' *New-England Galaxy*, II (1960), 13-21.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1741-1850* (New York, 1930), p. 144. Mott gives a terminal date of 1864, the *Union List of Serials* 1843(?).

ber of theories clearly derived from Jean Jacques Rousseau as adjusted to nineteenth-century morality and practicality by Thomas Day and the Edgeworths. Two of these theories were that literature for the young should be illustrative of moral principles and that it should constantly increase the child's store of information about the world in which he lived. The Edgeworths had another important follower in this country — Samuel Goodrich, whose first Peter Parley book was published in 1827 but whose *Parley's Magazine* did not come into being until 1833, a year before Mrs Child resigned as editor of the *Juvenile Miscellany*. Between them, Mrs Child and Goodrich established the pattern that magazines for the young were to follow for the rest of the century, not in size but in organization and content — stories, biography, essays embodying entertaining and useful knowledge, poems, riddles, conundrums, and illustrations. Although both Mrs Child and Goodrich inclined to be admonitory, their approach to their youthful readers was warm and human; they wished to entertain as well as instruct. Nathaniel Willis, on the other hand, owner and editor of the *Youth's Companion*, which began in 1827 (to run until 1929), was forbidding in his attitude toward the child. In an early editorial he told his audience that the magazine was intended to be religious, that he wished the children to realize that they were 'dying creatures, whose souls must be saved or lost, according to the deeds done in the body.'<sup>4</sup> Not until after the Civil War, when the magazine's second editor, Daniel Sharp Ford, assumed full control, did the *Youth's Companion*, obviously reflecting the work of Mrs Child and Goodrich, acquire the quality, tone, and list of distinguished contributors for which it is now remembered.

Mrs Child and Goodrich agreed that the transmission of knowledge should be one of the functions of their magazines — that the child must be taught to cherish facts and to observe his surroundings. However, they differed in their evaluation of fiction. Goodrich would banish from the child's library all imaginative literature, from Homer to Mother Goose. He ridiculed the theory 'that education should, at the very threshold, seek to spiritualize the mind, and lift it above sensible ideas, and to teach it to live in the world of imagination. A cow,' he wrote of this type of story, 'was very well to give milk, but when she got into a book, she must jump over the moon; a little girl going to see her grandmother, was well enough as a matter of fact,

<sup>4</sup> *Youth's Companion*, II (1828), 4.

but to be suited to the purposes of instruction, she must end her career in being eaten up by a wolf.'<sup>5</sup> Fancy must yield to reality. Mrs Child also considered Mother Goose, Tom Thumb, and Cock Robin 'absurd nonsense,' the horrors of Blue Beard and Jack the Giant Killer as unnatural.<sup>6</sup> But she saw no harm in tales like Cinderella; fairy tales of this type, as well as fables, are an allowable delight. They are the 'novels of infancy,' dreams that have meaning to the child even though he does not take them to be true. In contrast to Goodrich, Mrs Child thought that 'to check our affections, and school our ideas, till thought and feeling reject every thing they cannot see, touch, and handle, certainly is not wisdom.'<sup>7</sup>

With the exception of Peter Parley's and Hawthorne's stories, few books designed specifically for children were written before the Civil War; consequently, there was small call for criticism of literature in this area. For a few such books as did appear, Mrs Child offered guidance to parents in their selection of reading matter for their children through sporadic, brief notices in the *Miscellany*.

From the 1860's on the child as an enfranchised member of the republic of letters with a constitutional claim to joy figured importantly in the plans of both authors and publishers. As a result of this new evaluation, books as well as periodicals designed for youthful readers made their appearance. Two of these juvenile classics that many of us cherish in affectionate remembrance are *Hans Brinker; or, The Silver Skates* (1866), and *Little Women* (1868-69). Two periodicals continued to blaze the trail opened by Mrs Child and Goodrich — *Our Young Folks* (1865-73), published by Ticknor and Fields, and the *Riverside Magazine for Young People* (1867-70), published by Hurd and Houghton. The latter is of special interest because in its pages are to be found critical comments on the new phenomenon — literature for young people.

In the first number of the magazine (January 1867), its editor, Horace Elisha Scudder, wrote

It may seem suicidal, but we begin this series of informal notes, intended for children's elders, with the remark that children have too much reading nowadays. Any one who recalls his resources of reading among books designed expressly for children forty, thirty, or even twenty years since,

<sup>5</sup> Samuel G. Goodrich, *Recollections of a Lifetime* (New York, 1856), II, 311.

<sup>6</sup> Lydia Maria Child, *The Mother's Book* (Boston, 1831), p. 92.

<sup>7</sup> Lydia Maria Child, *The Coronal* (Boston, 1832), p. 160.

will see that not only has the style of such books changed, but there has been increased fertility of production, and the signs all point to a still greater fruitfulness. A literature is forming which is destined to act powerfully upon general letters; hitherto it has been little disturbed by critics, but the time must soon come, if it has not already come, when students of literature must consider the character and tendency of *Children's Letters*.<sup>8</sup>

Horace Elisha Scudder (1838-1902) in 1867 was on the threshold of a distinguished career as editor and critic. In the first capacity he served Henry Oscar Houghton (1832-1895) and his various publishing firms — Hurd and Houghton, Houghton Osgood, and Houghton Mifflin — long and well.<sup>9</sup> In 1875, Scudder decided to specialize in American literature, a decision that made him especially valuable to a publishing house that was shortly to acquire (1878) the unrivaled Ticknor and Fields' list of American authors. Houghton's frequently reiterated policy of 'reworking' this list was ably and intelligently executed by his editor. At least in part, as a result of this economic policy, the house survived the various financial crises of the second half of the century. At the same time, under Scudder's careful editorial direction, the most distinguished New England authors of the period were repeatedly reintroduced to readers in a variety of editions — the handsome, large format *Riverside*, the *Household*, the *Handy Volume*, and a variety of *Holiday* [gift] *Books*, profusely illustrated. Perhaps the most significant of the various editions was the *Riverside Literature Series*, the first educational paperbacks, inaugurated by Scudder in 1882. Through these clearly printed, attractively bound little volumes, high-school students were introduced to complete selections, rather than excerpts, of Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, and Hawthorne. Scudder was also responsible for the Houghton, Mifflin *Riverside School Library Series*, the *Cambridge Poets*, and the *American Commonwealth Series*.

Scudder's critical writing, which is chiefly anonymous, appeared in a wide variety of periodicals, but his chief vehicle was the *Atlantic*

<sup>8</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, I, 43-44.

<sup>9</sup> The name of Hurd and Houghton was changed in 1878 to Houghton, Osgood and Company, when Melancthon M. Hurd retired and Houghton formed a merger with James R. Osgood & Company, formerly Fields and Osgood, successors to Ticknor and Fields. In 1880 Osgood retired, and the title of the firm became Houghton, Mifflin and Company. George H. Mifflin had been a partner since 1872. Scudder also became a partner in 1872, but he withdrew from this association at the end of 1874.

*Monthly*. Immediately after Houghton purchased the magazine in 1873, Scudder became active in its conduct, contributing many pages of criticism, both signed and unsigned, during the editorial regimes of William Dean Howells and Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Finally, in 1890 — to save money — Houghton gave his loyal servant the post he had long coveted: that of editor of the *Atlantic*. For the following eight years Scudder conducted both the editorial work of the firm and that of the magazine. In 1898, he reluctantly resigned his *Atlantic* post to Walter Hines Page, who had come as assistant to the editor in 1895. In the few years that remained to him, he continued to make vital contributions in developing and maintaining the publishing standards of the house. At the same time he completed a long cherished labor of love and scholarship, his biography of James Russell Lowell, Scudder's ideal 'Man of Letters' and the first editor of the *Atlantic*.

Scudder's work as editor of the *Riverside Magazine for Young People* is important for at least two reasons. As editor his critical theories had an effect not only on contributors to the magazine but also on writers who were studying the market. His close association with a publishing house gave to his critical pronouncements a practical as well as a theoretical value. This dual position of critic and editor he was to hold throughout his life. In the pages of the *Riverside* he began to develop and clarify principles that would form the basis of his selection of books for the Houghton, Mifflin list; these principles also determined the character of the significant analytical writing he was to do for the *Atlantic Monthly* from 1875-1901. For these reasons a closer examination of the *Riverside Magazine* than has yet been made is appropriate.

Scudder met Henry Oscar Houghton for the first time in 1858, when Scudder, a senior at Williams College and editor of the *Williams Quarterly*, employed the H. O. Houghton Company of Cambridge, Massachusetts, as printer for his periodical. Six years later, in search of a printer for his memorial life of his brother, David Coit Scudder, he turned to the Houghton Company, with its well established Riverside Press. Immediately thereafter the publishing firm of Hurd and Houghton was organized, with headquarters in New York, and the biography appeared under its imprint, although Scudder paid all the costs of production.<sup>10</sup> The new firm needed a reader of taste and dis-

<sup>10</sup> Horace E. Scudder, *Life and Letters of David Coit Scudder, Missionary in Southern India* (New York, 1864). David, who had died while on missionary duty

crimination, and the young Williams graduate seemed to be the man. Because of his modesty his financial demands would not be exorbitant; yet he already enjoyed something of a reputation as a writer. He was the author of two successful children's books, *Seven Little People and Their Friends*<sup>11</sup> and *Dream Children*,<sup>12</sup> one of which had been pirated in Scotland.<sup>13</sup> He had also been published in the *National Quarterly Review*,<sup>14</sup> the *North American Review*,<sup>15</sup> the *Atlantic Monthly*,<sup>16</sup> and a variety of religious periodicals, as well as in newspapers in New York, Boston, and Springfield.

While negotiations were progressing for the printing of his brother's biography, Scudder was making a successful entree into Boston's literary enclave. Charles Eliot Norton commissioned him to write an article on William Blake for the *North American*,<sup>17</sup> he sold a story,

in India, was the father of Vida Dutton Scudder, to whom Horace stood *in loco parentis* for the rest of his life.

Information concerning the printing and publishing arrangements is found among the Scudder papers now in the Harvard College Library. These fall into two groups. First is the considerable collection placed on deposit by Mrs Ingersoll Bowditch, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, which includes diaries, journals, notebooks, scrapbooks, financial records, and letters. Mrs Bowditch has very kindly made all these manuscripts of her father available to me; for this kindness and for permission to quote, I am deeply in her debt. The second group of material forms part of the collections of the Harvard College Library. I am likewise very grateful to the library for allowing me to consult and quote from this material. Hereinafter, manuscripts deposited by Mrs Bowditch will be identified as B, those in the collections of the Harvard College Library as HCL. For the negotiations concerning the printing and publishing of the biography, see Scudder to Charles Stork, 1 February 1864 (B), Diary, 12 March 1864 (B), and Memorandum Journal of Study and Work, 17 June 1864 (B).

<sup>11</sup>New York, 1862. This work had reached a third edition by the fall of 1863 (Diary, 6 October 1863 — B).

<sup>12</sup>Cambridge, Mass., 1864.

<sup>13</sup>Diary, 9 June 1865 (B).

<sup>14</sup>'Hans Christian Andersen and His Fairy Legends,' *National Quarterly Review*, III (1861), 235-251.

<sup>15</sup>'Phases of Scholarship,' *North American Review*, XCVI (1863), 73-87. Scudder was paid \$14 for this essay (Record of Copyrights and Receipts from Literary Undertakings, p. 121 — B).

<sup>16</sup>'A Picture,' *Atlantic Monthly*, X (1862), 594. 'Received a notification from the Eds. of the Atlantic of the acceptance of my verses called "A Picture [after Wither]" . . . In commemoration of this entrée into the Atlantic I went to Welford's and bought a copy of Chaucer. It certainly is rather odd that I should make my bow to the public as a poet!' (Memorandum Journal, 29 March 1862 — B). Scudder was paid \$5 for this contribution (Record of Copyrights, p. 121 — B).

<sup>17</sup>In the form of an unsigned review of Alexander Gilchrist's *Life of William*

'Five-Sisters Court at Christmas-Tide,' to James T. Fields for the *Atlantic*,<sup>18</sup> and was asked by that editor to write a monthly story for Ticknor and Fields' projected juvenile magazine, *Our Young Folks*.<sup>19</sup> He was also making frequent contributions to E. P. Dutton's *Church Monthly*.<sup>20</sup> By the end of the year Scudder had added to his already busy schedule by accepting an offer to act as literary advisor to Houghton's new publishing venture.<sup>21</sup>

Since the association was to be a loose one, the compensation was to be determined by experiment. The salary finally agreed upon was \$150 a quarter with extra pay for extra work.<sup>22</sup> Under this arrangement Scudder hoped he would have time to continue his independent literary activity. However, he found himself busier than he had expected. In his first three months with Hurd and Houghton, he not only read manuscripts and wrote 'judgments' for the firm, but he also collated an edition of Macaulay, wrote advertising copy, and completed a book on croquet.<sup>23</sup> More important than these activities were the plans for a juvenile magazine to rival Ticknor and Fields' *Our Young Folks*. In the 1860's competition in this type of periodical was keen, but Scudder was confident. His two children's books, which

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*Blake* (London, 1863), *North American Review*, XCIX (1864), 465-482. Scudder wrote to Norton requesting permission to write the article: 'It would be more becoming in me, perhaps, to write my article and let it announce itself but a spirit of economy governs me and I am desirous of avoiding any fruitless work' (Scudder to Norton, 11 March 1864—HCL). He later noted: 'The Blake paper cost me much pains as I was anxious to treat the subject carefully. I did not expect to be in any sense "exhaustive," but I wanted to write such an article as would please a careful reader of Blake's life, by giving a philosophic sketch of Blake' (Memorandum Journal, 10 August 1864—B). Scudder was paid \$35 for this article (Record of Copyrights, p. 122—B).

<sup>18</sup> For \$87.50 (Record of Copyrights, p. 122—B). The story appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XV (1865), 22-39.

<sup>19</sup> Memorandum Journal, 10 October 1864 (B). 'Wrote a story for the January number of "Our Young Folks," "Enchantment of Old Daniel" . . . Not at all pleased' (Memorandum Journal, 10 November 1864—B). 'Enchantment of Old Daniel' did not appear in *Our Young Folks*; rather Scudder retained it for the first number of the *Riverside Magazine*, January 1867, where it appeared as the first story.

<sup>20</sup> 'Doctor Sturm,' VI (1864), 197-200, 'The Roadside Well,' VI, 284-288, 'Sunshine on Sunday,' VII (1864), 15-18, 'The Fugitive,' VII, 152-156.

<sup>21</sup> Memorandum Journal, 31 December 1864 (B).

<sup>22</sup> Diary, 17 March 1865 (B).

<sup>23</sup> *The Game of Croquet; Its Appointments and Laws; with Descriptive Illustrations*, by 'R. Fellow' (New York, 1865). The author was paid \$50 for his work on this small book (Record of Copyrights, p. 122—B).

had won him the sobriquet of the American Andersen,<sup>24</sup> and his stories in the *Church Monthly* had established him as an authority on literature for juveniles.<sup>25</sup> However, the firm did not intend to rush into the field until a prospectus had been painstakingly worked out and considered.

This prospectus Scudder completed in early March 1865. Just at this time, Hurd was planning a trip to Europe. Scudder and his employers agreed that six months abroad would be excellent preparation for his future work. Accordingly, within less than a month of his having talked of the trip, he found himself aboard the steamship *Pennsylvania* bound for Liverpool. The summer months he gave to his own pleasure, traveling in Scandinavia and elsewhere on the Continent. In both the spring and fall he was in England, devoting himself largely to the interests of the firm. In London he made publishing contacts, studied book lists, discussed Blake with the Rossettis and Swinburne, and spent hours in the British Museum copying Blake and Browning manuscripts. Here he 'fell in with a Mr. Howells . . . who swore eternal friendship with me on the score of Blake affection.'<sup>26</sup>

On his return to America in late November, he was sure that the trip had accomplished its purpose. He wrote to his classmate Charles Stork:

Well, it is all over — the charming peeps into English life, the revisiting of the haunts of Wordsworth, Coleridge & De Quincey, the never wearying walks in London streets, the belfry chimes of Belgium, the cathedral services, the Rhine, the Alps, Paris — all I was going to say gone, but the

<sup>24</sup> 'My highest praise has been in being called "The Andersen of America"' (Scudder to Andersen, 25 October 1866; quoted in *The Andersen-Scudder Letters*, ed. Waldemar Westergaard (Berkeley, 1949), p. 7. See also Scrapbook I (B), which contains reviews of *Seven Little People* from the *Boston Transcript* and the *Home Journal*.

<sup>25</sup> Indeed, Charles Eliot Norton had suggested that he write an article on the subject for the *North American Review* (Scudder to Norton, 6 January 1865 — HCL).

<sup>26</sup> Diary, 10 November 1865 (B). Scudder had sent W. M. Rossetti a copy of his *North American Review* article on Blake, which, in acknowledging, Rossetti had declared to be 'far the best I have seen.' He promised to send Scudder a piece of Blake manuscript if he could 'find a convenient little bit to snip out' (W. M. Rossetti to Scudder, 27 November 1864 — HCL). It is perhaps worth noting here that Scudder brought Walt Whitman's *Drum-Taps* to W. M. Rossetti's attention, sending him a copy of the book, which the Englishman had not at that time seen. Scudder also sent D. G. Rossetti information on Thomas Holley Chivers (W. M. Rossetti to Scudder, 16 May 1866 — HCL).

repeated recollection of them here makes me think that I am only just setting out on my real travels. It is indeed just like the hum of distant music, to be studying, writing, reading and yet to have these remote scenes and incidents going their course somewhere along the back of my head.<sup>27</sup>

But he was eager to begin work: 'You do not know how delightful it is for a horse that has been capering about in the pasture once more to put on blinders and be harnessed to a cart and jog along in the old ruts. I do know! for I am just such a horse.'<sup>28</sup>

However, plans for the magazine did not come to fruition until September 1866. In the meantime there were endless conferences with his two superiors, in Boston at the desk that he and Houghton shared at Dutton's,<sup>29</sup> at Houghton's Cambridge house, on long drives that the two men took together, at the Riverside Press, at Hurd's in Brooklyn, and at the New York office in Broome Street. At long last a contract was drawn up and signed. Scudder was to have 'absolute control' of the *Riverside Magazine for Young People*. His salary was to be \$1,800 a year. In addition, as soon as the magazine became remunerative, he was to have one per cent on the retail price of all copies sold.<sup>30</sup>

The editor assumed his duties with a high sense of dedication, feeling it 'so grave a matter to direct the reading of thousands of children's minds.'<sup>31</sup> Houghton, on the other hand, made quite clear to Scudder that the periodical was to serve the interests of the house as much as it was to serve its readers. He directed Scudder to tell his authors that 'publication first in the magazine would not interfere with a subsequent publication in book form but would rather help the latter.'<sup>32</sup> To

<sup>27</sup> Scudder to Charles Stork, 25 December 1865 (B).

<sup>28</sup> Scudder to Stork, 25 December 1865.

<sup>29</sup> Diary, 3 January 1866 (B). E. P. Dutton purchased the retail stock of Ticknor and Fields in 1865, when the latter firm moved to new quarters at the corner of Hamilton Place (*American Literary Gazette and Publishers' Circular*, V, 1865, 212-213).

<sup>30</sup> Scudder speaks of 'absolute control' in a letter to his sister Jeanne, 11 May 1866 (B). For his remuneration see *Literary Journal*, 2 August and 18 September 1866 (HCL). The Harvard College Library has two manuscript notebooks of Scudder (MS Am 1885.17) that record in journal form his editorial and literary activities during 1866-69. Scudder frequently used a kind of shorthand in these notebooks, transcribing parts of important letters as well as noting the daily details of his editorial administration. (An example of this shorthand is shown in Plate IV.) In quoting, I have expanded the shorthand into normal English.

<sup>31</sup> Scudder to his cousin Lucy Perkins, 15 May 1866 (B).

<sup>32</sup> *Literary Journal*, 16 June 1866 (HCL).

secure for the house and the magazine distinguished contributors, both men agreed that the rates should be generous. They must meet if not surpass those of Ticknor and Fields' *Our Young Folks*. The *Riverside* would have about 1,000 words to the page, or half again as many as *Our Young Folks*. Since Ticknor and Fields paid their contributors \$4 a page, Scudder announced his rates as \$6 if the copyright were sold to the publisher, or \$5 if the author retained the copyright, payment on publication. These rates were for prose; for verse Scudder suggested \$5 'for the shortest piece' and as much more as he could afford for longer poems.<sup>83</sup> As a further attraction for writers (as well as subscribers), the magazine was to have a gay, variegated cover (see Plate I),<sup>84</sup> excellent paper, and numerous illustrations. All the facilities and experience of the Riverside Press would be used to make the magazine the best of its kind. It was an expensive undertaking, as both editor and publisher were shortly to discover.

At least since his Williams days Scudder had had a keen interest in art. In his senior year he had acted as one of the founders and the first president of the Williams Art Association. During his European tour he had acquired a portfolio of prints, which included a number of Blake items — a Job and 'two or three small sketches and engravings: amongst others the Joseph of Arimathea.'<sup>85</sup> His determination that the *Riverside* should have illustrations of the highest quality is not surprising. Contemporary pictures of children he felt to be especially lacking in charm and reality. In this regard, only two pictures in the four volumes of the magazine satisfied him — La Farge's 'Pied Piper' and Lambdin's 'Town and Country.'<sup>86</sup> His theory was that each issue of the magazine should have at least one original work of art, 'a picture for its own sake and not for the good of something in the text.' He wanted 'good workmen in art with whom the subject

<sup>83</sup>Literary Journal, 7 July, 28 July, and 2 August 1866 (HCL).

<sup>84</sup>Plate I is reproduced from a copy of the July 1870 issue in the Harvard College Library bearing the mailing label of 'Alice Elliott,' the misspelled ('Elliott' for 'Eliot') pseudonym of Sarah Orne Jewett (see also note 71, below).

<sup>85</sup>Scudder to Charles Eliot Norton, 4 July 1865 (HCL). In this letter, Scudder offered to act as Norton's agent, concluding with a list of Blake items on sale at Harvey's, in London.

<sup>86</sup>*Childhood in Literature and Art* (Boston, 1894), p. 237. This book is made of Scudder's Lowell Institute lectures for 1882, which in 1885 were published serially in the *Atlantic*. John La Farge's 'Pied Piper' appeared as frontispiece for January 1868, George C. Lambdin's 'Town and Country' as frontispiece for September 1869.

and not their personal distinction would be the main thing'; at the same time, he was on the 'alert to find and use men of original power.'<sup>37</sup> He did not wait for artists to come to him; he sought them out in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. As a result he secured work from such established artists as Winslow Homer,<sup>38</sup> Thomas Nast, and F. O. C. Darley. He also found and developed new artists; two of these were John La Farge (to whom he offered \$500 for a series of twelve illustrations)<sup>39</sup> and S. G. W. Benjamin. For these as yet unknown men Scudder made an especial effort, soliciting 'puffs' for them in other periodicals, calling attention of friends to the illustrations, and discussing the pictures with his young readers in his editorial column, noting implicit movement, the details, the significance. Thus for John La Farge's dramatic frontispiece for December 1868 (see Plate II) he wrote:

Here, to begin with, is Mr. La Farge's picture of the "Wise Men out of the East" following the star that is to lead them to where the young child lay. See! the fresh wind is blowing on the little knoll, stirring the horses' manes, and cooling the faces of the Wise Men. They have stopped, and let the caravan go on a little, while they take a new observation of the star. Perhaps it is the morning after the Shepherds have heard the song of the Angels. Nowadays even humble watchmen in city streets may see sights that show them the light of the world.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to work by these notable men, the *Riverside* provided attractive illustrations by Henry L. Stephens, Annette Bishop, Courtland Hoppin, E. B. Bensell, and a variety of anonymous artists. In this latter group, the beguiling gaiety of the stories and illustrations of 'Anne Silvernail' must have charmed the magazine's youngest readers (see Plate III).<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Scudder to H. O. Houghton, 28 May 1870 (A.L.s. in the possession of Mrs Alexander Dole, Cambridge, Massachusetts). I am indebted to Mrs Dole for my introduction to Horace Scudder through a collection of miscellaneous letters to her grandfather, H. O. Houghton, and subsequently for my meeting with Scudder's daughter, Mrs Bowditch.

<sup>38</sup> Winslow Homer provided only one illustration for the *Riverside Magazine*, I (1867), 14. However, *Literary Journal* (HCL) reveals that the artist was engaged to supply an entire series at \$30 for less than a page, \$35 for a full page (15 September 1866), but that Homer's work was unsatisfactory (29 October 1866).

<sup>39</sup> *Literary Journal*, 29 May 1867 (IJCL).

<sup>40</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, II, 576. Plate II is reproduced from a proof print preserved with the Scudder-La Farge correspondence (HCL).

<sup>41</sup> Plate III is reproduced from the Harvard set of the *Riverside*. I have sought

As with artists so with writers: the liberal rates made it possible for Scudder to secure men and women of established reputation. He did not wait for contributions to come in; he was active in solicitation, securing commitments well in advance of the printing of the first number. In fact, so generous was the response to his appeals during 1867 that by the end of the year he had more than sufficient inventory for all of 1868, a matter of genuine concern to him. 'It is really alarming,' he wrote. 'Must decline everything hereafter that I possibly can.'<sup>42</sup> His most provocative promise of a story was from Herman Melville<sup>43</sup> — a promise that never materialized. Other writers were happy to respond to his invitation. Jacob Abbott, Christopher Pearse Cranch, Rose Terry, the Cary sisters, Celia Thaxter, Edward Everett Hale, Lucretia Peabody Hale, and Hans Christian Andersen all appear in the columns of the magazine.

It is for this last writer that Scudder has received the most notice. Long an admirer of the Danish author, who had been known in America since Mary Howitt's translation of 1847, Scudder had attempted to establish friendly relations with Andersen in 1861, when he sent him a copy of the September *National Quarterly Review* containing Scudder's essay 'Hans Christian Andersen and His Fairy Legends.'<sup>44</sup> Andersen did not acknowledge this communication or a later one with which Scudder sent a copy of his recently published *Seven Little People*.<sup>45</sup> Andersen's silence, however, did not discourage the American editor from requesting contributions for his new undertaking in October 1866.<sup>46</sup> Not until April 1868 did Andersen respond to the invitations of his devotee. Thereafter, stories from the Danish author appeared more or less regularly in the *Riverside*, ten of them being written especially for that periodical and appearing there before being published in Denmark. During the course of his literary friendship with Andersen, Scudder taught himself Danish and thus was able ultimately to make his own translations of some of the wonder

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hard, but without success, for the identity of 'Anne Silvernail.' Perhaps some reader of this article will provide the answer.

<sup>42</sup> *Literary Journal*, 2 December 1867 (HCL).

<sup>43</sup> 'Wrote to Herman Melville, asking either for a serial or for short stories,' *Literary Journal*, 9 October 1866 (HCL). On October 22, Scudder received a letter from Melville, promising to contribute.

<sup>44</sup> Scudder to Andersen, 8 March 1862 (*Andersen-Scudder Letters*, pp. 3-4).

<sup>45</sup> Scudder to Andersen, 14 November 1862 (*Andersen-Scudder Letters*, pp. 4-5).

<sup>46</sup> Scudder to Andersen, 25 October 1866 (*Andersen-Scudder Letters*, pp. 6-8).

talcs. The rate proposed to Andersen — \$500 for twelve contributions — was in excess of that offered to American contributors.<sup>47</sup> Further, it was arranged that Hurd and Houghton would be the authorized American publishers of a collected edition, on which Andersen was to be paid the standard rate of five per cent on the retail price of all copies sold.<sup>48</sup>

Undoubtedly, Scudder's success in securing Andersen for the *Riverside Magazine* and for Hurd and Houghton was an important achievement, but of more widespread significance was his lifelong devotion to the cause of American letters, which had consequences that deserve more attention than they have so far received. Scudder felt about writers much as he did about illustrators: he cared more about workmanship than the attraction of an established name. He therefore sought to enlist the co-operation of writers who had but recently appeared on the literary scene. Because of Scudder's efforts Mary Elizabeth Mapes Dodge, whose *Hans Brinker; or, The Silver Skates* had been published in 1866, and Helen Hunt (Jackson), on the threshold of her successful writing career, became contributors to the magazine. Mrs Dodge, in preparation for her work as editor of *St. Nicholas*, learned much from the editor of the *Riverside*, not only through his criticisms of her stories but also through his active participation in drawing up the plans for her popular juvenile magazine, in many ways an obvious successor to the *Riverside*. Through Scudder, Mrs Dodge acquired her assistant — Frank Stockton.

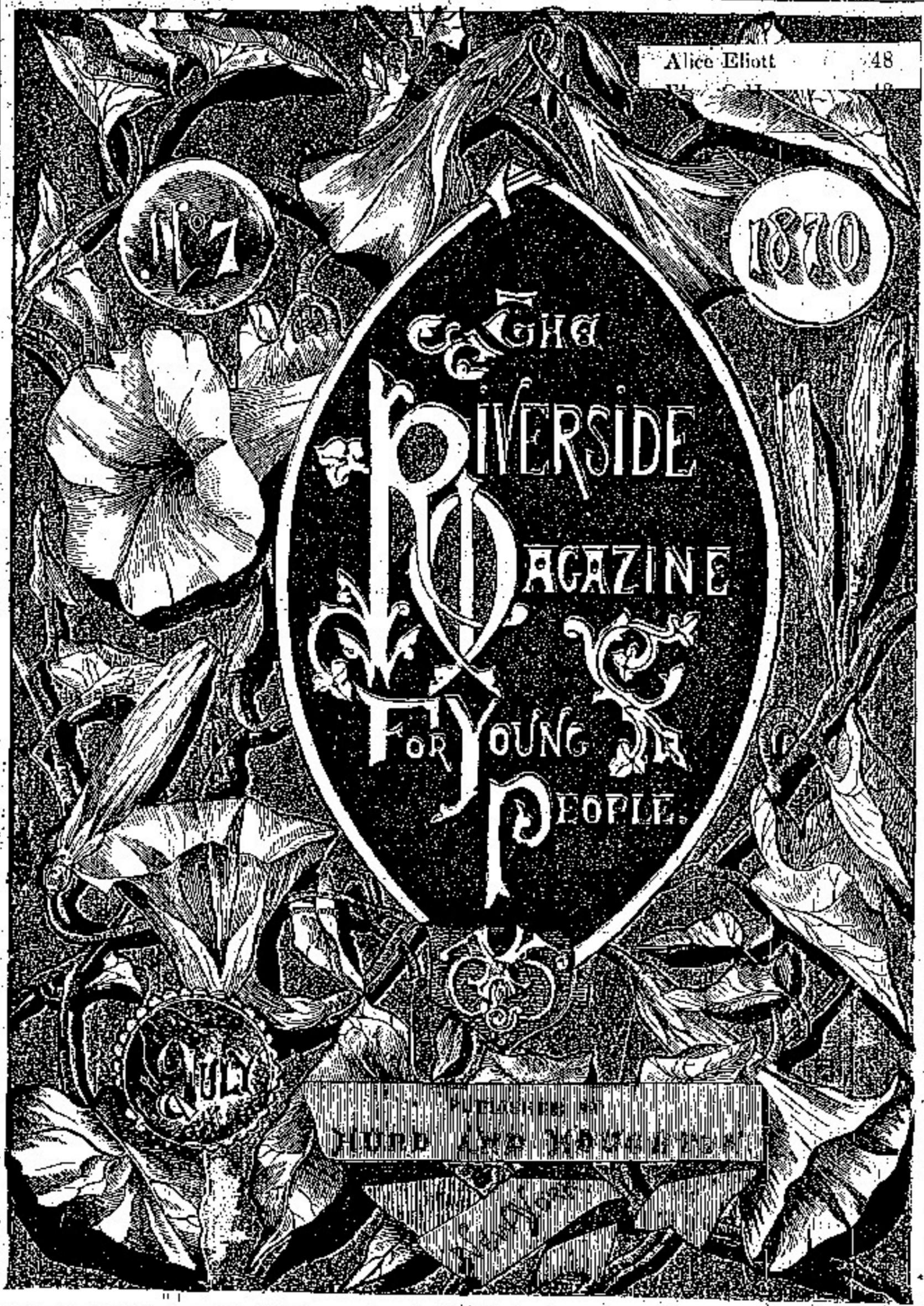
Stockton was one of two writers unknown in 1867 to whom Scudder gave unstintingly of his criticism and guidance. The other was Sarah Orne Jewett. And it is in the area of criticism that Scudder's important contribution to American letters resides.

An examination of all of Scudder's critical writing creates the dominant impression of his abiding interest in the development of American literature — a literature that should be based both on an intimate

<sup>47</sup> Scudder to Andersen, 13 March 1868 (*Andersen-Scudder Letters*, p. 9). Subsequent letters reveal the price paid for each story, seventeen in all. The total comes to £91 or approximately £5 per contribution, considerably less than the original offer. Undoubtedly, the difference may be attributed to the extreme brevity of some of Andersen's stories.

<sup>48</sup> Scudder to Andersen, 12 June 1868, and Andersen to Scudder, 24 July 1868 (*Andersen-Scudder Letters*, pp. 12-19). Scudder suggested \$2 as the retail price of each volume.

Alice Elliott 48



Entered according to Act of Congress, for the year 1870, by Hurd and Haughton, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of New York.

PLATE I  
The Riverside Magazine, JULY 1870

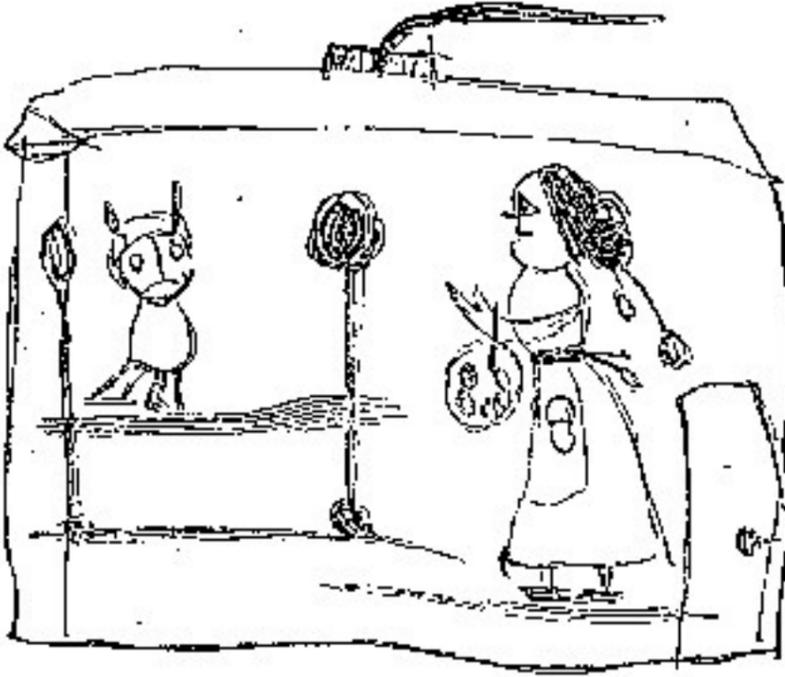


PLATE II

JOHN LA FARGE, 'THE WISE MEN OUT OF THE EAST,'  
*Riverside Magazine*, DECEMBER 1868

and dropping her slipper, while the prince was running after her.

Meanwhile Lolo drew Little Red Riding-hood in her grandmother's house, so much to her satisfaction, that she had to exclaim, a great many times, "Isn't she pretty!" Then she made the



wolf with a night-cap on, sitting up in bed; and she made the whole house, roof, chimney, smoke and all.

When their pictures were all finished, they gave them to Aunt Gitty, and told her she might have them to keep in her portfolio always.

Ida and Lolo stayed all night at grandma's, and very early in the morning they jumped up and got into bed with Aunt Gitty, one on each side, and teased her for stories. She told them one apiece, and said, "Now, Lolo, tell me a story."

"Well," said Lolo, "I will tell about the bean. Each of them had a bean, and the little girl cooked hers, but the little boy planted his; and the next day it grew up to the sky, and he said, 'Hitchet a hatchet a up I go! Hitchet a hatchet a up I go!' and he went way up to the glass house, and the woman said, 'You can't stay here, for my husband is a giant, and eats little boys.' And he said, 'Can't you stick me in the oven?' So she stuck him in the oven. Bymoby the big giant came, and he went snuff! snuff! and said 'Fee! faw! foh! fum! I smell an Englishman! I shall have some!' Then the woman said, 'Pshaw! It is only a dead crow flying over the house with an English bone in his mouth. Eat your supper!' And he eated his supper and went to bed. Then the little boy stole the pies, and put them in his

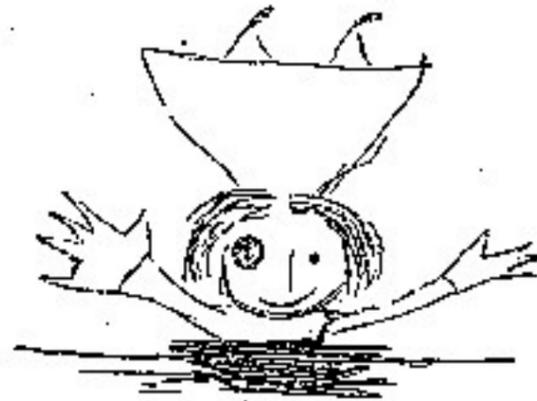
bag, and went home. Next day he said, 'Hitchet a hatchet a up I go! Hitchet a hatchet a up I go!' and got up to the glass house; and the woman said, 'You can't stay here. My husband is a giant, and eats little boys!' And he said, 'Can't you put me under the bed?' And she put him under the bed. And the old giant came



home, and went snuff! snuff! and said, 'Fee! faw! foh! fum! I shall have the blood of an Englishman! I shall have some!' And the woman said, 'Pshaw! It's only a crow flying over the house, with a dead English bone in his mouth.' Then the little boy he stole all the giant's money, and runned off; but he ringed the bells on the bed-quilt, and the old giant went after him; and the little boy got down, and took his hatchet and cut down the bean, and the old giant fell down and broke his neck. Good enough for him, was n't it? What do you suppose the woman said then?"

"I'm sure I can't tell," said Aunt Gitty. "That is a good story. Now, Ida, you tell one."

Then Ida, who liked to make up her stories as



she went along, began: "Once there was a little girl who was very naughty. She went out in the road, and fell down, and got her apron and

### PLATE III

ANNE SILVERNAIL, 'THE LITTLE STORY-TELLERS,'

Riverside Magazine, JANUARY 1869



knowledge of the nation's past and on a close observation of contemporary life. But he was no parochial patriot. His writing is permeated by a sense of continuity, by an awareness of both the phantom of the past and the shadow of tomorrow in the present. Civilizations, nations, and men are what they are because of what has gone before; they will be what they are to be because of what is happening now. Since the child is father of the man, his education cannot begin too early. However, the possibility of his being successfully educated, Scudder realized, was complicated by a new development in literature — books written especially for children. The parent faced with the vast variety of publishers' wares, especially at Christmas time, was confused rather than helped by the claims of rival houses. 'To reduce this confusion, Scudder instituted a department in the *Riverside Magazine* the purpose of which was to survey the contemporary offerings of 'Books for Young People' — a classification he believed to be unfortunate because all literature belongs to the child and books prepared expressly for him are not necessarily the best. Because the date of publication is of minor importance to a child, Scudder did not intend to concern himself exclusively with books of the day. He intended to 'single out those writings which are worth giving to a child, and for an acquaintance with which he will always hold us in grateful remembrance.'<sup>49</sup>

If the child is nurtured on 'thin and watery literature,' when he is grown, reading that which is 'rich and fruitful' becomes a task rather than a pleasure. Abridgments and meager outlines are always a compromise. The parent must explain the original book to the child, must wake his imagination. In his editorial department called variously 'The Window Seat,' 'Patchwork,' and 'The Settle,' Scudder chatted with his young readers much as he expected parents to do. The poet Blake, for example, he presented to the child not solely as the writer of innocent songs, but also as a visionary whose eye of faith revealed to him 'beautiful or terrible spirits.' He printed a group of Blake poems and told his readers of the pictures he had brought home from England in 1865, of how much they meant to him. He tried to make the children understand the beauty and majesty of Blake's art, of the idea behind the representation. 'When he [Blake] drew a face, he was thinking of what the man had suffered and enjoyed, and how much he

<sup>49</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, I (1867), 45.

had thought of those things which would last forever, and how little of what was soon to pass away.'<sup>60</sup>

Certain books must be read first when one is a child. To deny boys and girls an early knowledge of these tales is a breach of trust. 'In the "Arabian Nights," a portion of the human race, which seems never to have attained a logical manhood, has told the best stories ever written, and there is no audience so fit as the children of western nations; listening to the stories they hold a little more to an old home; mingling their own natures with the broad nature of the world's perpetual childhood.'<sup>61</sup> This continuity and interrelation of the childhood of the individual and of the race he saw too in the Greek legends, some of which Scudder retold himself for his young readers.

The nature of a classic is to be inexhaustible. It must be read and reread countless times. Therefore a childhood knowledge of Shakespeare is a 'priceless legacy.' The interest of the individual in Shakespeare develops and changes as he matures. The simple outlines of the story are his first interest; then the romance appeals to him; then the subtleties of language; finally, in his maturity, when he has become reflective, the 'interior movements of character' absorb him. As a child reads Shakespeare, his power to imagine grows, his interest in history deepens, for what he sees is not an arrangement of facts but a spectacle of men. Since children take all literature as their province, the wise parent should do much reading aloud. 'The stories, fresh from the lips of a mother,' give 'a charm to Shakespeare which one might covet who had missed such an introduction.' Furthermore, the mother in reading can skip passages or words that are 'unbecoming.' However, a parent need not be seriously worried by vulgarities. They will be unintelligible to the child and he will naturally skip them.<sup>62</sup> Although Scudder believed abridgments always to be a compromise, he thought that a simple telling of the stories of the classics might lead the child by easy stages to a reading of the works themselves. Consequently, the *Riverside Magazine* contained a series of narratives taken not only from Shakespeare but also from Chaucer and Froissart.

Scudder advised the parents that although Scott in no sense ranks with the classics, he nevertheless is of absorbing interest to the young

<sup>60</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, I (1867), 91-93. See also I, 287, for a printing of a Blake poem.

<sup>61</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, III (1869), 237.

<sup>62</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, I (1867), 89-91.

because of his 'boyish spirits,' his 'heartly . . . outdoor bound,' his 'rackety enthusiasm.' Were it not for children, Scott would have 'a decent death in solemn libraries.' They will save the best of him. 'The years go by fast, and soon they will get to the point where Scott stops. He cannot go beyond that with them, but if they have held by him thus far, he will put them in charge of better men than himself, and so speed them on their way.'<sup>53</sup>

Scudder encouraged parents to allow their children to roam freely in the wide, unfenced fields of all literature; they should not make little paddocks planted with poorly nurtured grass. But he did recognize that stories were being written with the boy or girl as the sole intended audience. For 'one of the magnates of the literary world' to get down on all fours and allow 'himself to be driven round the room by the petty tyrants of the nursery and school-room' savors of condescension.<sup>54</sup> However, for the young, ambitious American writer there could be no better preparation for 'bolder flights thereafter.'<sup>55</sup> A youthful audience is demanding; it forces the writer 'to make his narrative move rapidly and clearly.' He must be straightforward and simple. No matter what the subject — stories of imagination, biography, history, or science — the author must understand his material thoroughly. This effort to understand, to go back to the very beginning, benefits the writer, acting 'upon the mind with a very clarifying power.'<sup>56</sup>

Juvenile literature should give pleasure but it should also be a source

<sup>53</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, II (1868), 477-478.

<sup>54</sup> *The Literary Life and its Circumstance*, p. 28 (B). This is a work compiled by Scudder from his essays in *Every Saturday* and the *Riverside Bulletin*; it consists of printed excerpts mounted on loose sheets, with manuscript linkages and revisions. A preliminary note by Scudder says that the firm planned publication as a book, but withdrew from the project after preparing a sample page (preserved with the compilation). Scudder adds that he 'used portions of the book afterward in other ways.'

The *Riverside Bulletin* was a house organ for Hurd and Houghton, published more or less regularly from 16 January 1871 to 15 December 1873. Written and edited by Scudder, it contained, in addition to notices of the firm's new books, sprightly comment on the literary scene and serious editorials on such diverse subjects as the publishing house as a 'Minor University' — perhaps one of the earliest suggestions for a university press — 'Good Taste in Binding,' 'Books in Paper,' and 'Advertising as a Fine Art.' A complete set of the *Bulletin*, bound in black leather, is contained in B.

<sup>55</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, I (1867), 432.

<sup>56</sup> *The Literary Life*, p. 29 (B).

of instruction — especially moral and spiritual instruction. He wished the *Riverside Magazine* to have about it 'a fragrance of true religion.' Yet he felt that the typical religious literature of the day for children was 'very repulsive.' 'I should like to teach children,' he wrote, 'but as a genial friend, not as a pedagogue.'<sup>57</sup> He pointed out that there is a 'difference between being moral and making morals.'<sup>58</sup> Teaching not by precept but by example should be the writer's aim: his example will not be effective if his characters are presented as 'audacious little divines,' who are 'fond of proposing new readings in theology.'<sup>59</sup> 'Gentle lessons of forbearance, charity, and unselfishness' should be 'impressed rather by the story than by any direct teaching of the writer.'<sup>60</sup>

Scudder was appalled by the poor quality of the writing in the mass of contributions he received. In a letter to Norton he wondered whether this was because he was concerned primarily with stories for children, or whether possibly the editor of the *North American Review* had a similar reaction to the majority of articles submitted for that periodical. In another letter to the editor of that august review, he declared the cover to be the best part of the *Riverside* even though '1867 looks as if it were out sliding.' The reading matter he declared to be commonplace. He ridiculed the attempts of writers to invent 'animals with human nature by putting a coat and hat on them. It seems to me that if a man is a man only as he wears a hat or smokes a pipe, then a dog would better remain as he is and leave the hat and pipe to his superior.' In conclusion, he announced desperately, 'I am going to one of the islands of the South Seas next week. They eat all the children up there. I am going to edit a Juvenile Magazine for the parents.'<sup>61</sup> However, instead of going to the South Seas, he attempted to educate his contributors. In requesting a series of essays from the Honorable George Perkins Marsh, he emphasized that the interests of children and their parents are similar. Then he continued, 'History and biography afford a very wide field and even politics may be admitted for I should like to open the way for making our boys good

<sup>57</sup> *Literary Journal*, 6 July 1866 (HCL).

<sup>58</sup> *Literary Journal*, 5 January 1867 (HCL).

<sup>59</sup> Unsigned review of *Little Pitchers* by Sophie May (Boston, 1879), in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XLIII (1879), 124.

<sup>60</sup> Unsigned review of *Six Little Rebels* by Mrs Kate Tannatt Woods (Boston, 1879), in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XLV (1880), 128-129.

<sup>61</sup> Scudder to Norton, 5 February 1867 and 21 December 1866 (HCL).

citizens as well as good men and if I could give them an idea of what a town meeting means and show how it differs from an Athenian Agora I think they would read it.' <sup>62</sup> He wanted tales of true adventure, not fabricated ones. 'Good, strong stuff in forcible Saxon English is what we want for boys: such writing in fact as their fathers want if they have not lost their freshness of life.' <sup>63</sup> Heroes and heroines will convince only if they are true to life. The most difficult figure to portray is he who stands on the threshold of maturity. The characters of Björnson's *Arne*, he wrote,

image, with rare subtlety and grace, the countenance of maid and youth as it changes with the changing time. . . . There are many who make for us breathing men and women; some who can show us childhood so perfectly, we are almost pained by the fact that the creations are not capable of being spoken to; but here is one who shows us children at their sports, and lets us see them grow into youth, and stand finally at the threshold of man and womanhood, all the while preserving for us the features that are the same while they change. Björnson has given us the lyric of youth. <sup>64</sup>

Although 'the hope of excellent things in American literature lies largely in what is doing for children,' the writer should not feel himself bound by his continental limits. The true poet cannot be confined by national boundaries; he is uncageable and belongs to the world. <sup>65</sup> However, begin writing by observing what is around you. Forget about plot. Write sketches of what is near at hand. If this is done, the result will be both American and universal. <sup>66</sup> Such was the method of Hawthorne, the genius of American letters as well as the conscience of the nation — a tortured conscience because of the blight of slavery. <sup>67</sup> But now, in 1866, the divisive effect of sectionalism must be submerged in the new nationalism.

<sup>62</sup> *Literary Journal*, 23 August 1866 (HCL). Marsh at this time was serving as the first United States minister to Italy. On 8 January 1867, Scudder wrote Marsh that although the announced rates for contributions to the *Riverside Magazine* were \$5 a page, the firm would pay him \$25 a piece for articles of 2,500 to 3,000 words.

<sup>63</sup> *Literary Journal*, 22 August 1866. This is an excerpt of a letter to Isaac Israel Hayes, the Arctic explorer, requesting contributions. Scudder concluded the letter, 'Mr. Houghton is heartily engaged in the matter! So is Mr. Hurd. There is capital enough to give us cheerful boldness and now all that I want is a spirited corps of contributors.'

<sup>64</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, IV (1870), 89.

<sup>65</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, I (1867), 431-432.

<sup>66</sup> *The Literary Life*, pp. 16-22 (B).

<sup>67</sup> *American Literature*, 1876, II, 61-70 (B). This is a series of lectures, an ex-

I am unwilling [he wrote John Esten Cooke of Virginia] to introduce in the education of the coming generation any element which will serve to keep alive sectional hostility. In the recent war I was as hearty and uncompromising an adherent to the Union as I know you have been to the cause of Southern Independence. The old questions then fought over on the field will doubtless in one form or another be fought over again in words before we shall regard them as historical and beyond the pale of practical concern, but I do not think it necessary to make them play a part in our magazine. American ideas I shall hope to inculcate with a view to making good citizens of our children, but these I conceive to be equally applicable in all parts of our country.<sup>68</sup>

Accordingly, 'Frank Gordon,' a serial about the life of some children in Georgia, appeared in the first volume; a sequence on 'The Young Virginians' followed in the second. Anticipating the work of Joel Chandler Harris by a few years, the *Riverside Magazine* presented some stories in negro dialect about Br. Rabbit and Br. Fox. In his chats with the children in his editorial pages, Scudder drew particular attention to these tales, saying that they were familiar to Southerners, but that as far as he knew, they had never been printed before.

Other sections of the country were also represented in the magazine. Characteristic stories of the West Scudder thought sensational, vulgar, and full of slang, seeming to be 'a succession of shouts,'<sup>69</sup> but Martha M. Thomas and Helen Campbell Weeks satisfied his requirement of decorous realism with true accounts of life among the Indians and other tales of the frontier. Rebecca Harding Davis told the children about life in Pennsylvania 'A Hundred Years Ago,' and New England, of course, was more than adequately represented by a variety of contributions that included Scudder's own Bodley series,<sup>70</sup> Jacob Abbott's

panoramic survey of a group that Scudder gave in 1875, in which he surveys the course of our national literature from the days of Bradford and Winthrop to the Centennial. He concludes with a prognosis of the course of development for the rest of the century.

<sup>68</sup> *Literary Journal*, 16 June 1866 (HCL).

<sup>69</sup> Unsigned review of *Nelly's Silver Mine* by H. H. (Boston, 1878), in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XLII (1878), 779-780. Scudder approved of Helen Hunt's narrative because she had avoided the faults characteristic of most stories of the West.

<sup>70</sup> The Bodley family made its first public appearance in the April 1867 issue (I, 145-149). After the *Riverside Magazine* ceased publication, Mr and Mrs Bodley and their two children lived out their healthy, wholesome, hearty lives in the following series of books: *Doings of the Bodley Family in Town and Country*, 1875, *The Bodleys Telling Stories*, 1877, *The Bodleys on Wheels*, 1878, *The Bodleys Afoot*, 1879, *Mr. Bodley Abroad*, 1880, *The Bodley Grandchildren and Their Journey in Holland*, 1882, *The English Bodley Family*, 1883, *The Viking Bodleys*, 1884

instructive stories, and Sarah Orne Jewett's 'The Shipwrecked Buttons,' 'In a Hurry' (a poem), and 'The Girl with the Cannon Dresses.'<sup>71</sup>

Of all the types of literature written specifically for the young, that which drew Scudder's keenest analysis was the fairy or wonder tale. Hans Christian Andersen he regarded as the greatest of contemporary practitioners of the form because he 'depends for his material upon what he has actually seen and heard, and for his inspiration upon the power to penetrate the heart of things; so that the old fairy tale finds its successor in this new realistic wonder-story, just as the old romance gives place to the new novel. In both . . . is found a deeper sense of life and a finer perception of the intrinsic value of common forms.'<sup>72</sup> This secret of penetrating the heart of things gives Andersen's stories an appeal that transcends difference in age. Andersen speaks to the reader on a variety of levels. The young will read him for the charm of the external story, for his provocative, imaginative detail. The adult will find in the tale something that escapes the limits of the page, a hint of the inexpressible. Andersen believes in his creations; he does not talk down to the children; he does not stand outside the frame of his narrative and laugh at his own inventiveness. Writers attempting the wonder tale should study Andersen. On receipt of Frank Stockton's first manuscript for the *Riverside Magazine* in 1867, Scudder wrote to him (see Plate IV):

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— all published by Hurd and Houghton and their successors. In 1887, Houghton, Mifflin published a four-volume edition of the series, two titles to a volume in the order given above. Scudder wrote in his diary for 19 August 1882 (B): 'There should have been a blast of trumpets at twelve o'clock when I laid the pen aside after finishing that wearisome book *The Bodley Grandchildren and their Journey in Holland*. I am in no jubilant mood, however, except from having completed it, for I must think it the most lifeless book I have written.'

<sup>71</sup>'The Shipwrecked Buttons,' IV (1870), 30-35, and 'In a Hurry,' IV (1870), 251, appeared under the pseudonym 'Alice Eliot.' However, Scudder advised his new contributor against anonymity (Sarah Orne Jewett, *Letters*, ed. Richard Cary, Waterville, Me., 1956, p. 21, note). 'The Girl with the Cannon Dresses,' IV (1870), 354-360, was consequently published under Miss Jewett's name; she omitted the middle name or initial, however. All three pieces are entered in the index to Vol. IV as by 'Sarah O. Jewett.' The copy of Vol. IV in the Harvard College Library is of particular interest because the red, blue, and buff covers of the magazine have been included for the twelve issues. Five of these—July, September, October, November, and December—carry a small yellow printed slip with the misspelled mailing label 'Alice Elliott'; the cover for July is shown in Plate I. In addition, the signature 'Sarah O. Jewett' appears on the cover of the January issue.

<sup>72</sup>'Andersen's Short Stories,' *Atlantic Monthly*, XXXVI (1875), 598-602.

I am struck with the fertility of your invention and with the quick turns and sudden surprises which you present and I wish you would try all this on some story which is entirely human. I am aware that you have an advantage in dealing with creatures that allow such fanciful contrivances as fairies and giants, but I think you take unfair advantage. These people belong to children and are the small remnant of what is left to them in a purely imaginative field. It is really too bad to make fun of them and turn them into burlesque. . . . A small child who pretends to himself that he believes in the pretty superstition of fairy-life is to be pitied when the domain is rudely invaded and his creatures dragged out to be made fun of. Fairies are something more than diminutive men and women, giants something more than exaggerated mortals and to make a puppet show of them for a mimic stage of humor . . . is robbing children of a certain fine imaginative possession that we ought to respect. The same argument applies though with less force to kings, queens, princes and princesses, for children are by nature not republicans but royalists and take most kindly to those naive representations of royalty which Hans Andersen for one produces with so much quiet fun.<sup>73</sup>

In spite of the exceptional quality of the magazine, it was not a financial success. In October 1867 the *American Literary Gazette* had noted, "THE RIVERSIDE MAGAZINE," with its beautiful cover, its charming illustrations, and its capital prose and verse, is one of the most attractive magazines which we have. It is edited with good taste, and published with a liberal, enterprising determination to excel."<sup>74</sup> But the partners of Hurd and Houghton had further noted that the magazine, even though its editor had secured gratuitous puffs in the *Post*, the *Transcript*, and other papers, was not paying its way. It looked as though the periodical would die after one abortive year. Scudder, however, was by no means ready to give up. He studied those costs of the magazine over which he had control: payments to authors, designers, engravers, and his own salary. He then wrote to Hurd outlining his plan for cutting operating expenses. The cost of engraving and designing he could reduce to \$400. Payments to authors must remain high, but he could lessen the monthly outlay by writing about ten pages himself without charge. The cost of contributions would thus come to \$200 a month rather than \$260. As a final item in

<sup>73</sup> *Literary Journal*, 23 May 1867 (HCL). The reproduction in Plate IV shows the rough shorthand employed by Scudder in the *Literary Journal* (cf. note 30, above).

<sup>74</sup> *American Literary Gazette*, IX, 297.

his economy measures, he offered to trim his own salary by fifty per cent.

By these means I think I can bring all the outlay in my department into the sum of \$700.00 a month. I do not see, from my scrutiny, that any less sum would suffice to keep the magazine up to the mark; and I am not willing to be a party to the deterioration of the magazine. I cannot expect that we can make it improve very noticeably; I shall try to be content with the same excellence that it has had. Now it is for you & Mr. Houghton to say whether it can be well manufactured: — if we scrimp the magazine in number of illustrations, it is very important that the mechanical excellence should make people overlook this: and whether it can be sold so that there is any chance of making it pay expenses.

I am too much interested in the magazine & have too much pride to let it stop, without using every effort in my power to carry it through. I would gladly sacrifice more: I would relinquish my entire salary if I could: but it is my only resource and it would be impossible for me to give all my time or even half my time for nothing.

But if our united efforts are not sufficient to keep the magazine out of debt, then let us stop at once and inform the world and Mr. Warren with as good grace as possible that we cannot do what we ought to do.<sup>76</sup>

The firm accepted the first part of his offer — that he should write about ten pages of the magazine a month for no remuneration other than his editor's salary, which was maintained at \$150 a month. However, his operating budget was reduced to \$600 and his duties for the firm were increased.<sup>76</sup> These duties included reading and reporting on manuscripts, editing, writing advertisements and letters, and planning catalogues.

Scudder's reaction to these straitened circumstances was characteristically cheerful. He wrote in his journal for 27 September 1868:

To-day, repeatedly, there has come up a suggestion of what I may do with the magazine. By the arrangement recently made that I should supply ten pages each month for nothing, I find already that I have laid my hand upon an unexpected source of gain. These pages, since I am to receive nothing for them, I shall always feel bound to write. Hence the spur to literary labor will be constantly though gently used. Again, as I must distribute these pages into several contributions I shall be forced to study

<sup>76</sup>Literary Journal, 22 January 1868 (HCL). S. D. Warren, referred to in the last paragraph, was head of Grant, Warren & Co., paper manufacturers. His firm supplied calendered paper for *Webster's Dictionary*, which the Riverside Press had been manufacturing since 1864. Other entries in Scudder's diaries indicate that Warren had more than a casual interest in the *Riverside Magazine*.

<sup>77</sup>Literary Journal, 27 August 1868 (HCL).

variety of subjects. These will be determined partially by the exigencies of the magazine, and in this way I shall constantly be led to investigate matters which otherwise I should leave on one side. And then it is so much more in my power now to *wield* the magazine. If I am to determine its character, both by editing and by the large element of my own contributions, let me make its character positively good.<sup>77</sup>

Even with his increased responsibilities, Scudder managed to maintain a consistent excellence in the magazine. In June 1869, the *American Literary Gazette* commented that the *Riverside's* standard was so high that it refused to compete with anyone but itself.<sup>78</sup>

Despite its standards and Scudder's efforts at economy the magazine continued to lose money. There are a number of explanations. For one thing, Scudder, rather than maintaining his rates at the announced \$5-\$6, frequently increased the scale for a particular author. Hans Christian Andersen, George Perkins Marsh, and Rebecca Harding Davis all received well over \$7 a page.<sup>79</sup> To other writers he guaranteed an increase in rates once the magazine had proved itself. As far as they could see the magazine was prospering; they complained that rival periodicals were more generous. Helen Weeks wrote angrily, "Three years ago you told me *Riverside* designed to give seven dollars a page when safely established, and more if possible. The establishment is a fixed fact, but where is the money?"<sup>80</sup> The establishment was not as fixed as Mrs Weeks supposed.

When he did try to economize on authors' rates, he met with rebuff, as the following diary entries referring to Phoebe Cary show. He wrote

When you sent G. G. [Griselda Goose] last spring I engaged to pay \$75. for it, the price that you named. Since then — when I had had but short experience — I have been made aware of the great expense attending the publication of the magazine, & I am exceedingly desirous of easing the load which the publishers have to carry, as much as possible. Will you think it ungenerous in me to ask you to name a lower sum now? I enclose an order for \$50: at the same time I wish to say unmistakably & emphatically that I will at once send on an additional order for 25. if you so say.

<sup>77</sup> Note-Book I (B). In addition to his pocket diaries, in which he made daily, routine records, Scudder kept two notebooks marked, 'Private,' in which he made longer, more reflective entries. These two notebooks run concurrently with the daily diaries until 1891, when Scudder adopted a larger format, which could include both longer and shorter entries.

<sup>78</sup> *American Literary Gazette*, XIII (1869), 54-55.

<sup>79</sup> *Literary Journal*, 3 January 1867 (HCL).

<sup>80</sup> Helen Campbell Weeks to Scudder, 28 December 1869 (HCL).

This is my proposition. The publishers know nothing of it & have not asked me to do anything of the sort. I am only assuming that my contributors feel that kind of an interest in the magazine which would lead them to make such a sacrifice if it were reasonable.<sup>81</sup>

He soon found that Phoebe Cary had no interest in his problems whatsoever. A week later he recorded, 'Sent Phoebe Cary a jocular letter and twenty-five dollars additional.'<sup>82</sup>

Another explanation for the failure of the *Riverside Magazine* lies in the attitude of the publishers. The firm of Hurd and Houghton had never given its editor undivided support. Houghton, with his eye on his keenest competitor, Ticknor and Fields, whose list and most important periodicals he was eventually to secure, had in 1867 entered into an arrangement with the English publishers of *London Society*, James Hogg and Sons, for the American edition of that magazine. This venture having failed,<sup>83</sup> Hurd and Houghton next agreed to act as publisher for Edward Everett Hale's *Old and New*, the purpose of the magazine being to combine the virtues of *Blackwood's* and the *Atlantic*.<sup>84</sup> Obviously, Houghton had not unreservedly committed himself to juvenile literature, a commitment that was essential if rivals in this keenly competitive field were to be met and surpassed.

The decade of the 1860's is notable for its multiplication of magazines for the young; the decade of the 1870's, for their demise. At least six were started in 1867 — the year of the *Riverside Magazine's* inception. Of fourteen that originated during the 60's, three ceased publication in 1870, eight in the following years of that decade. More than this, the most formidable of the established juvenile journals, the *Youth's Companion*, with a circulation of 50,000, took on new life in 1867 — and consequently new subscribers — under the vigorous

<sup>81</sup> *Literary Journal*, 21 January 1868 (HCL).

<sup>82</sup> *Literary Journal*, 27 January 1868 (HCL).

<sup>83</sup> An unidentified newspaper clipping among the Houghton papers in the possession of Mrs Dole (cf. note 37, above) sheds light on this failure: 'Ticknor & Fields are stealing the march on their rivals, Hurd & Houghton, by publishing in their *Every Saturday* all the choicer and more popular articles of the *London Society* before the American Edition of the latter is brought out by H. & H. *Every Saturday* for the current week has, for instance, three articles from *London Society* for February, which Hurd & Houghton have not yet issued. A rather rough joke, but still a fair one among enemies, we suppose.'

<sup>84</sup> Hurd and Houghton published *Old and New* from January to June 1870; the editor, Edward Everett Hale, then transferred his business to Roberts Brothers.

direction of its editor Daniel Sharp Ford.<sup>85</sup> *Our Young Folks*, which was to sell out to *St. Nicholas* in 1873, also claimed 50,000 subscribers but admitted that the cost of producing the magazine exceeded per subscriber that of the *Atlantic*.<sup>86</sup> The *Riverside Magazine* with its bright cover of heavy stock, its superior paper, its large format and numerous illustrations, its generous rates for authors and artists, and a yearly subscription price of \$2.50, could not pay for itself and maintain the standard that its self-sacrificing editor had established. Hurd and Houghton decided to sell the *Riverside's* subscription list to the new *Scribner's Monthly*, and in December 1870 Scudder bade a gentle farewell to his young readers, saying that the years he had devoted to the preparation and editing of the periodical would be among his happy recollections.<sup>87</sup> At the same time the editor of the new Scribner publication, Josiah Gilbert Holland, welcomed the 'thousands' of readers of the 'charming RIVERSIDE.'<sup>88</sup> Of the editor of the *Riverside Magazine for Young People*, Holland wrote, 'Mr. Scudder has few equals and no superior in originating and selecting literary material.'

In addition to pleasant recollections, Scudder took with him into the further service of Hurd and Houghton a devoted interest in the development of a number of new American writers, and an enthusiasm for the periodical as a mode of discovering new talent. He had learned that writers of literature for children must have an exact understanding of their material, that their style must be simple, direct, and forceful. He was also sensitively aware of the power of the word to evoke, to convey to the apprehension if not to the comprehension a meaning that escapes from the prison of the page. These were critical standards that would guide him as he came to focus his attention increasingly on the course of American letters. Houghton undoubtedly perceived in a man so equipped one who could make a valuable publishing asset of any list of American authors the house might acquire.

To evaluate the effect of a critic, especially when the bulk of his work has been anonymous, is impossible. However, the behavior of

<sup>85</sup> Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), II, 266-268, and III, 174-176.

<sup>86</sup> 'We have given authors and artists the highest prices to work, not for us, but for you, that you might have only the best; and the magazines which the grown-up people read have not been prepared for them at a cost nearly so great in proportion as this little monthly of yours'—editorial in *Our Young Folks*, III (1867), 765.

<sup>87</sup> *Riverside Magazine*, IV (1870), 575.

<sup>88</sup> *Scribner's Monthly*, I (1870-71) 212.

the child in the republic of letters continues to validate much that Scudder stood for. The young, as well as scholars, persist in preserving the classic authors from oblivion; on the other hand, his foreboding that a juvenile literature that attributed to the child a 'spurious individuality' would increasingly debase fiction for the young has been realized in the contemporary comic strip. Some of the consequences of his association with the *Riverside Magazine* are clear. His interest in new American writers, an interest born of the responsibilities and trials of editing, led to his decision to specialize in his country's literature.<sup>89</sup> As a result of this decision, Howells requested him to write a series of articles on current American literature for the *Atlantic*.<sup>90</sup> This same specialization encouraged him in 1875 to appeal for the introduction of courses in American literature in the colleges<sup>91</sup> — an appeal that clearly had no immediate effect. At Harvard, for example, it was not until 1898 that American literature was given full academic recognition.<sup>92</sup> However, Scudder would be gratified by the content of many college curricula today. His belief that boys and girls should read entire works rather than fragments of great authors led Houghton, Mifflin in 1882 to establish its Educational Department and inaugurate under Scudder's direction the *Riverside Literature Series*.

Scudder's interest in the child, in education, in American literature were of obvious value to the firm to which he devoted half his lifetime. He himself humbly hoped his ideas would carry far beyond the walls of a particular publishing house.<sup>93</sup> He wished to speak through the pages he edited to the children, to the young men and women, of his period. Long after the days of the *Riverside Magazine for Young People*, he wrote: 'The greatness of a country is in the greatness of its

<sup>89</sup> Note-book I, 23 January 1875 (B). Scudder chose American literature as a subject of study because it was one 'comparatively untouched by critical writers.'

<sup>90</sup> Diary, 9 September 1880 (B).

<sup>91</sup> See copy of letter, 15 July 1875, that Scudder sent to Wellesley, Boston University, Smith College, Exeter, Bradford Academy, and Robinson Female Seminary (Record of Letters, 1875-1889, included at end of volume containing Texas Journal — B).

<sup>92</sup> Under Barrett Wendell; see *Dictionary of American Biography*. As a subject worthy of graduate study, American literature gained tardy recognition indeed. Between 1876 and 1926 only three Harvard Ph.D. theses were concerned with the literary history of the United States (*The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot 1869-1929*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison, Cambridge, 1930, p. 101).

<sup>93</sup> Note-book II, 3 January 1886.

ideas, and the youth of a country, shut out from participation in the visions of its poets and seers, will harden into an age skeptical if there be such things as visions.' <sup>94</sup> He knew that the spiritual forces of the nation were to be found in the common schools, that 'the hope, the forecast, the precipitation of ideals in the whole people, is looked for in the form which popular education takes. The stock-market is not more delicate a register of the financial pulse than is the common school of the national conscience. Consider along what lines educational thought is running, and we shall discern on what great circles the nation is sailing.' <sup>95</sup> The *Riverside Magazine* was one of Scudder's first efforts to set the compass. <sup>96</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> 'The Educational Law of Reading and Writing,' *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXIII (1894), 257.

<sup>95</sup> 'Literature in the Public Schools,' *Atlantic Monthly*, LXII (1888), 223.

<sup>96</sup> I would like to express my appreciation for the close attention given to the manuscript of this article by both Mr G. W. Cottrell, Jr, the Editor of the HARVARD LIBRARY BULLETIN, and the Assistant Editor, Mrs Grace Jager.

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