"This Cultivated Mind"

Reading and Identity in a Nineteenth-Century Reader

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This essay approaches the challenge of recovering specific historic reading experiences through the analysis of the papers and books left by Mary Ann Wodrow Archbald. She was born in Glasgow in 1762, lived on the island of Little Cumbrae off the western coast of Scotland through her youth and the early years of her marriage, emigrated to New York State with her husband and four children in 1807, and died in Auriesville, New York, in 1841. Throughout her life, she was an avid reader and a prolific diarist and correspondent: her personal papers and books were preserved by several generations of her descendants, then donated to Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts, nearly thirty years ago.

Archbald's journals (eight volumes) cover 1785–1806 and 1839–1840; her letterbooks (two volumes), containing edited transcripts of letters to her correspondents, concern the years 1784–1825; while her commonplace books (two volumes), containing manuscript extracts from printed books and periodicals, date from 1821 to 1827 and 1831 to about 1834.[1] Her extensive personal library is represented by 105 surviving volumes: her signature appears in seventy-eight of these volumes, and fifty-seven contain extensive lists of page references and marginal markings.[2]

These papers and books are a remarkable body of material documenting the life of an otherwise obscure individual, even though events of typical historical interest are "rarely and briefly recorded."[3] These materials are, however, replete with references to Archbald's lifelong engagement with books. Her journals and letters constitute a rich informative record of Archbald's interaction with the written

word, making them an extraordinarily valuable resource for exploring the role that reading played in the life of an individual reader, long ago.

> I ought to set bounds to my desires about books—how soon may I leave them & alas! those who come after me may set but little value upon them.
>
> *Mary Ann Wodrow Archbald, 1795*[4]

Archbald's reading experiences go beyond books: they extend to her struggles to establish private and social identities through her use of her reading. The mechanical activity of decoding marks made on leaves of paper is not a simple procedure—it is an act that implicates the individual reader in a complex web of intellectual, technical, economic, practical, and social relationships. At the same time, reading is an act that is embedded within and carries with it deeply personal causes and effects. Through the medium of Archbald's written words, we witness a vital engagement between books and a reader. Archbald's engaged experience with printed texts need not be viewed simply as the exceptional whimsies of a woman in love with "the intellectual life," for her records of her active life of the mind contain evidence that enables us to understand readers as cultural agents.

"Readers as cultural *agents*" must be the operative phrase here, for readers have all too often been construed as the relatively passive consumers of cultural material produced by others, at the same time that reading has not been adequately theorized as an activity conditioned by history. My work with Archbald's reading, as well as Barbara Sicherman's examination of the varied uses of reading as pursued by the women of the Hamilton family of late-Victorian Indiana and by the youthful M. Carey Thomas in Baltimore during the Gilded Age, and Janice Radway's seminal work on a community of romance readers in the late-twentieth-century Midwest, and indeed every essay in this collection, demonstrate that, as a mode of cultural engagement, reading is as diverse as the circumstances under which individuals read.[5] We must, therefore, strive toward a full understanding of reading as "a complex system of cultural and social practices and a source of personal meaning" conditioned by the race, class, gender, regional, and national circumstances of individual readers and shaped by the political, economic, educational, social, and bibliographic features of particular times and places.[6]

Ultimately, we must attempt to weave these complexities into an explanatory pattern that accommodates both theoretical generalizations and historical detail. However, this work must begin—and it has only just

begun—by understanding, in as much detail as possible, what the act of reading meant to persons living in the past. This central question for the history of the book (which depends upon the retrieval of historic reading experiences) presents considerable difficulty. As Cathy N. Davidson has noted, we seldom have more than "chance observations and marginal comments in the works themselves" regarding the ways in which historic readers "evaluated and understood particular books."[7] And, for that matter, Simon Eliot has suggested that "any reading documented in an historically recoverable way, is, almost by definition, an exceptional recording of an uncharacteristic event by an untypical person."[8] However, despite the challenges involved, locating and interpreting specific, historically recoverable reading experiences are tasks essential to adequate explication of the history of the book.

Archbald's records of her intellectual life, though unusual in their scope, reflect a common impulse: readers engage cultural productions, becoming creators even as they act as consumers. Through Archbald's dynamic use of printed texts, she participated in the creation of culture, generating meaning for herself and others. Thus, Mary Ann Wodrow Archbald's records of her "desires about books" deserve an important place in the emerging, complex, and richly detailed field known as the history of the book.

The primary emphasis of this essay is the ways in which Archbald used her reading to develop a sense of identity: I will show that, following her immigration to the United States in 1807, Archbald used fiction by Scottish authors published in the United States to maintain a sense of her distinct Scottish identity and her resistance to "Americanization," just as she used other texts to maintain a sense of her identity as a woman. The story of Mary Ann Wodrow Archbald's reading is, therefore, the story of the interaction of lived experience and the printed word, the story of how she transformed the black-and-white page into a vital part of her daily life.

Archbald's lifetime, spanning nearly eighty years, coincided with the industrial revolution in book production. Books and periodicals were widely and readily available to her, and she read as extensively as her circumstances permitted, yet intensive reading, particularly of the Bible and devotional works, was an essential part of her intellectual repertoire. The evidence contained in Archbald's journals and letterbooks demonstrates that the circumstances of her reading included both oral public reading and silent private reading; both the rapid consumption of large quantities of texts and the slow, repeated, concentrated reading and rereading of others. Broadly speaking, she was an intensive reader of poetry and devotional works, and an extensive reader of prose fiction. Yet while these general categories may be helpful as a means of orientation, a close examination of the particulars

of her reading shows that her mode of reading varied with the relative availability of books and magazines and the changing circumstances of her life. Above all else, though, Archibald's mode of reading varied with the ways she could *use* her reading.

Archbald was intimately acquainted with the literary works that formed the eighteenth-century canon of English literature, and she freely alludes to Shakespeare, Jonson, Milton, Addison and Steele, Dryden, Pope, Johnson, and others in journal entries and letters. She was so familiar with these writers' works that she could and would quote favorite passages from memory. Archbald expressed herself in a manner that was deeply indebted to her reading: her expressions of desire and aspiration, grief and loss, and descriptions of her responses to music, art, and nature, as well as her recitals of quotidian events, were shaped by deep familiarity with modes of literary expression.

The tone and character of Archbald's personal records are deeply indebted to other people's words, yet she was not simply a mimic. She used her reading and her knowledge of literary style and substance in specific, personal ways. At a basic level, she used her reading to improve her ability to express herself in writing, through the use of quotation, allusion, and stylistic devices; at a higher level, she read, and used that reading in practical, emotional, and social ways to understand her place within a larger order of meaning.

Archbald came from a family of religious professionals (she was the great-granddaughter, granddaughter, daughter, and niece of university-educated ministers of the Church of Scotland) and a significant proportion of her references to reading in the letterbooks and journals prior to 1807 document her devotional reading.[9] During their residence on the island of Little Cumbrae, Archbald and her family spent many Sundays at church. However, on those occasions when fog, storms, or inadequate transportation prevented their attendance at formal services, Archbald, her mother, husband, children, and other members of the household celebrated homebound Sabbaths by reading and reflecting upon a variety of devotional texts: the Bible, biblical expositions, sermons, sacred histories, inspirational and meditative poetry, and other works of appropriately sober and pious character. Archbald's records indicate that she read these texts intensively; that is, she paid concentrated and careful attention to a limited number of titles that she reread time and time again, often reading these texts aloud and listening to others do the same. Through the intensive reading of devotional texts, the isolated family used their shared reading to reinforce their faith in the religion they shared and collectively demonstrated their membership in a larger community of believers.

The Bible, the book of books for Protestant readers, provides the clearest demonstration of Archbald's intensive reading. Her journals and

letterbooks contain more than 150 references to specific biblical verses and several dozen general references to the Bible.[10] Mere numbers do not, however, convey the full depth of her relationship with this book, for her reading of the Bible emerged from a pattern of remembrance, a habit of memory and reflection, closely similar to traditional, reverential models for the reading of sacred texts.[11] Her references to individual verses are not merely citations of particular arrangements of words but are richly allusive *aides de memoire* for relationships among words, ideas, and actions that had their foundation and found their constant support in the sacred book.

Archbald's participation in her faith community's understanding of the meaning of this particular text and the larger texts of which it is part may be identified through her repeated mention of Matthew Henry's *Exposition of the Old and New Testaments* (1708–1710, also known as *Commentary on the Whole Bible*), an enduring classic of Presbyterian biblical analysis. Henry, an English dissenting minister, applied biblical texts to practical circumstances that his readers might face to heighten the impact of his analysis and encourage close attention to the text as a guide for daily piety.[12] Weaving biblical texts into the structure of his analysis and exhortation, Henry's own words and biblical verses are inextricably linked yet distinguishable; so, too, did Archbald infuse her own words with deeper, wider associations by integrating other texts into her own.

Archbald's responses to Philip Henry, Matthew Henry, and Psalm 119 is the most intricate—but certainly not the only—instance of significant, functional relationships between text and practice, word and deed. Matthew Henry wrote a biography of his father, Philip Henry (1631–1696), who was a dissenting minister removed from his pulpit in 1662 by the Act of Uniformity.[13] On Sunday, 21 October 1787, Archbald read a passage from this biography: "Sabath 21—reading the life of Mr Phillip Henry[.] [T]his p[r]ecept among many excellent ones engaged my attention 'Once pressing the study of the scriptures he advised to take a verse of Psalm 119 every morning to Meditat upon & so go over the Psalm twice in the year, & that (said he) will bring you to be in love with all the rest of the Scripture; & he often said All grace grows as love to the word of God grows[.]' There was something so home to my heart in these words that I emediatly resolved to follow the rule prescribed by them" (J-III, 11, 21 Oct. 1787). The following Sunday, 28 October 1787, Archbald wrote that her day's reading had included Henry's expositions of the third chapter of Proverbs and Psalm 119; weeks later, on Sunday, 2 March 1788, she noted that she had listened to her mother read several chapters from Henry's *Exposition* and "[w]rote a short ref[l]ection on the 1 & 2 verses of the 119 Psalm" (J-III, 91, 2 Mar. 1788).

Archbald's reading of Psalm 119, Henry's *Exposition*, and *The Life of Philip Henry* reinforced one another. Her understanding of the meaning of each was embedded in the relationships among the three, and she read (or heard) each of them in light of the others. Archbald read of Philip Henry's suggestion to meditate upon Psalm 119 in the biography written by Matthew Henry, which encouraged her to perform continual, prayerful rereading of that psalm; her careful reading of Matthew Henry's commentary upon the same psalm helped complete an interpretive circle of texts. At the same time, Archbald's reading of these texts led her to exercise her own secular and public skills as a writer, even as she devoutly meditated in private upon the spiritual meaning of the words she read.

Other indications of intensive reading include quotation from memory and extended summaries of the content or plot of texts. For instance, Archbald made seventy-one references to reading or recollecting the works of the poet and theologian, Edward Young (1683–1765), author of *The Complaint; or, Night Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality* (1742–1745) and *A Poem on the Last Day* (1713), and the poet James Thomson (1700–1748), author of *The Seasons* (1726–1730), between 1787 and 1825. In Young's case, she also copied lengthy passages from his poetry and sermons into her journal.

Other authors to whom Archbald paid devoted attention included Laurence Sterne, Robert Burns, Isaac Watts, Oliver Goldsmith, and William Wordsworth, and she enjoyed the novels and poems of these authors alone and in company. The rewards they offered her were not solely personal, since she regarded knowledge of these texts as important "cultural capital," necessary to anyone who hoped to have a respected place in the society within which she moved. After her marriage in 1789 to James Archbald, a farmer's son who rented Little Cumbrae's pastures for sheep to graze, she was deeply gratified when he decided to read Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) and Thomson's *The Seasons*, since this demonstrated his desire to improve himself.[14] "Jas has begun to read the Vicar of Weakfield & is much enterested in it[.] [S]uch kind of reading will I think be an advantage to him" (J-IV, [153–54], 1 Dec. 1789).

At the same time that Archbald was devoting concentrated and sustained attention to a limited number of books that were of great and continuing significance to her, she also took full advantage of relatively easy access to the productions of the Scottish and English press. Many of the texts she encountered did not require or merit the focused and devoted attention that Archbald lavished upon the Bible, Henry's *Exposition*, *The Seasons*, and *Night Thoughts*. She consumed these texts quickly and in large numbers. "[S]till very windy & dark yet I felt comfortable with a good fire & a table full of Books beside me" (J-II, 90, 10 Dec. 1786). Evidence of Archbald's extensive reading includes references to books that are named just once or twice. These references (to fiction, nonfiction, and poetry) include brief summaries (if any) of content or plot, little analysis

of character or plot, and no quotation. She read these volumes quickly (usually over a few days) and did not reread them. For example, upon her arrival at her uncle's house in Edinburgh for a visit in 1787, she found that "they had been reading the Recess—my Aunt told me the story of it[.] [N]elly read part of the last Volum at night & I finised it ~~nixt day~~ on Monday" (*The Recess; or, A Tale of Other Times* [1783] by Sophia Lee, J-III, 26, 24 Nov. 1787). The following year, while on another visit to Edinburgh, she reported that the company read "a long lesson of geography," and a treatise "about the influence of the sun & moon upon the *tides*" (J-III, *infra* [179–84], 4–16 Aug. 1788). These individual examples are by no means exceptional, and while they show Archbald in company, listening as one person read aloud to an assembled group, there are also abundant entries indicating that she gulped books down as a solitary reader: "[A]t spare hours I hurried over a Novel of charlot smiths—the Banished Man—a little tedious & circomstantial[.]"[15]

Nonetheless, even when reading quickly, Archbald exercised critical judgment about her reading, comparing one title with another, and freely dispensing praise and blame. Some of her comments were based upon the quality of the writing: she thought that *The Fair Syrian* by Robert Bage (1787) was "a very well wrote thing" (J-III, [131], 25 May 1788). She judged other books by comparison, finding Richard Pearsall's *Contemplations* to be "very good but rather too evident an imitation of Hervy[.]"[16] Above all else, she used the power of a text to engage her attention and emotions as the most significant gauge of a text's value: her remarks upon *The Recess* exemplify her reaction to a rewarding reading experience: "[T]he Sentiments are good—the language strong & florid but the most dreadfull misfortuns succeed each other so quickly that the mind is left in a kind of mute astonishment & almost forgets to feel[.] [S]ome rays of hope now & then guild the gloom but only to make its horrors more dreadfull" (J-III, 26, 26 Nov. 1787).

Archbald was in her forty-sixth year when the Archbald family immigrated to the United States in 1807 and her reading habits, extensive and intensive, were well established. Nevertheless, changes in her reading practices emerged after the family's arrival in upstate New York.[17] Many of these changes are attributable to differences in material circumstances and to changes in the relative abundance of books and periodicals. However, the most significant changes are linked to changes in the uses she made of her reading.

Books were less readily available to Archbald in rural New York than they had been in Scotland, but she continued to read fiction and poetry as much as possible. She does, however, appear to have treated the volumes she read after 1807 differently than she had the volumes read prior to that

date. Since the documentary record changes its character after Archbald's move to the United States—she stops keeping a journal—the evidence is not precisely similar. However, it is clear that many items, novels in particular, received treatment in her later life that in earlier years had been bestowed only upon the "serious" works that were read intensively. Two of Archbald's commonplace books (dating from 1821 to 1827 and 1831 to about 1834), the survivors of a series of (at least) nine, contain extensive transcriptions from printed books and magazines. These volumes are themselves evidence of changes in Archbald's access to, and ownership of, books. That is, comparison of the information we have about Archbald's library and the contents of the commonplace books indicates that she copied extracts into her commonplace books from books and periodicals that she did not own. She was in the habit of marking important passages in the books she did own to facilitate rereading and reflection at leisure.[18] She could not treat borrowed books in the same manner: even if it had been appropriate to write in books she did not own, the reason for the markings would be lost, since borrowed books have to be returned to their owners and cannot be reread at will. As her letterbooks and the last volume of her journal (1839–1840) indicate that Archbald relied heavily upon borrowed books for her American reading, it is clear that she modified, had to modify, her habit of rereading important books, since borrowed books—even books that merited serious, careful reading—had to be consumed quickly. For books she did not own, transcriptions replaced marginal notations and page references, and commonplace books supplemented printed books as a site of repetitive, intensive reading.[19]

The fiction, poetry, criticism, and history drawn from novels and magazines that Archibald captured within the pages of these books represent a substantial investment of time and energy. Her time-intensive relationship with these secular texts indicate a deep desire to retain knowledge of them, and this occurred even as comments about her reading shifted some of their emphasis from the enduring moral and ethical value of a story—its direct and useful application to life—to its entertainment value. In 1813, she wrote that "my time is very much taken up thro the weak & most gladly would I steal away now & then from the dull realities of life & wander with Miss Porter amidst the pleasing regions of fiction[.]"[20]

The site of much of Archbald's extensive reading shifted, as well, from books to periodicals. Prior to Archbald's marriage to James Archbald in 1789, she made only occasional references to magazines and other periodicals; the majority of these remarks record accidental encounters with magazines during visits to friends and relatives. It is not until after her marriage that she became more than a casual reader of periodicals, magazines and newspapers. She became a devoted reader of *The Cabinet of Genius* (1787–1790), a monthly periodical that published illustrated poetry and

looked forward to the arrival of *The Edinburgh Magazine,* a monthly journal of criticism, commentary, and fiction, which began publication in 1785.[21] After her children began reading, she also sought out stories that would interest them and found at least one in *The Edinburgh Magazine*: "Jas brought the Febry Magn which gave great Joy[.] [T]he Story of little Jem, or Lazy Laurance was finised & an excellent one it is & had a good effect on Jamie" (J-VI, [173], 9 Mar. 1797).

In the United States, Archbald became a large-scale consumer of periodicals. She borrowed magazines, including *The North American Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, and *The American Monthly Magazine,* from neighbors and friends, usually in bound volumes.[22] She also subscribed to magazines, and eagerly anticipated their arrival: *Godey's Lady's Book* was a favorite. "Wedensday 20th— —received the 3 first numbers of the Lady's Book[.] [G]reat joy for I had given it up for lost[.] [H]ave already read the Janry No. with much satisfaction[.] [N]ot a bad, & hardly a midling article in it—" (J-VIII, 6, 20 Mar. 1839).

When Archbald stopped keeping a journal in 1806 (which she resumed in 1839, several months before her death), the weekly record of her Sabbath reading also ceased, as did her comments about the books she read during the rest of the week. We can, however, locate more public expressions of her thoughts about reading that are part of her extended remarks on the plots, characters, and qualities of novels and poems contained in her letterbooks. Throughout her life she used reading as a source for metaphorical and analogical illustrations for her thoughts about life, nature, and her place in the universe; during her years in America, reading also served as an important focus for her thoughts about politics, society, and family.

Sir Walter Scott was the great favorite of Archbald's mature years, and his novels inspired her to record her thoughts on the place literature ought to have in daily life. In a letter to a nephew, she wrote:

> I agree with you in liking Miss Vernon (in Rob Roy)[.] [H]er character is finely kept up & drawn to show that we are all the children of circomstances. I mean that our characters are in a great measure formed by our situation & the exertions we are obliged to make— . . . Miss Vernon's character is well drawn but you can see in a moment that it is not skeetched by a female hand[.] [I]t wants those fine discriminating touches which a female mind only can conceive. The late Miss Hamilton, Miss Edgeworth, Miss Porter &c could have painted a character with equal abilities & strength of mind without giving us an idea of any thing masculine. M Vernons fortitude in enduring hardship & privations I admire & have not the least objection to greek & latin, but I dislike the hunting & some other masculine treats. You will meet with grand & natural female characters in "Patronage" & when you come to think of a Partner for life, pray look for a friend—a rational & affectionate companion a "helpmate["] as the scripture has it—& suffer not your fancy to be allured by this graceful timidity[.][23]

Several important aspects of Archbald's critical posture toward fiction appear in this analysis. First, she appreciated imaginative literature most fully when it most accurately reflected recognizable "truths" of life and provided representative models of appropriate action and sentiment. However, an individual author's success in portraying this truth seems to have been less dependent upon the objective or transcendent nature of truth than upon the personal knowledge, circumstances, and abilities of the individual writer. Thus Scott, though a talented and forceful prose stylist capable of vivid characterizations, fell short in his attempts to portray Miss Vernon because he failed to create a fully truthful character. He failed not through lack of talent but through lack of knowledge and experience: he could not know women's character intimately enough to portray them as truthfully as they ought to be portrayed.[24]

Archbald was, in many important ways, a deeply conventional woman, particularly in her views concerning personal conduct, religion, and politics. Nevertheless she admired, and was strongly influenced by, the writings of Mary Wollstonecraft, a woman whom Archbald's contemporaries associated with sexual indiscretion, atheism, and Jacobinism. Archbald retained her admiration for Wollstonecraft's independent judgment and insight into human society from her first reading of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) until the end of her life. In so doing, she demonstrated both critical independence and the power of Wollstonecraft's influence upon her for, as Harriet Blodgett has noted, "in the years after [Wollstonecraft's death], repudiating her became a public way of declaring the writer's respectability."[25] Despite the unconventionalities, even the immoralities, of Wollstonecraft's personal life, Archbald's regard for her work remained constant: in letters and journal entries she shows her belief that Wollstonecraft's judgment was accurate; her insights, valuable; her critique, unflinching; and her intention to represent compelling and accurate pictures of life, unswerving.

Archbald first mentioned Wollstonecraft in a journal entry in 1794, when she noted that she had read *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* and promptly made a transcript of selected passages.[26] She subsequently sought out other works by Wollstonecraft, reading *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787), *Original Stories from Real Life* (1788), *Mary: A Fiction* (1788), and *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark* (1796), as well as short stories in periodicals, and William Godwin's *Memoirs of the Author of a Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1798).[27] Wollstonecraft's impact upon Archbald derived, in part, from the affection and deep respect she felt for Wollstonecraft's intellectual

and personal qualities and her admiration for the abilities of a writer who gave her deeply memorable reading experiences. It also derived from Archbald's appreciation of the quality of Wollstonecraft's powerful critique of the prevailing conventions governing women's education and social position. We may, therefore, characterize Archbald's responses to these works in two general ways: the responses that emerged from her personal regard for Mary Wollstonecraft and from her regard for Wollstonecraft's cultural analyses.

A vivid sense of the personal regard that Archbald felt for Wollstonecraft emerges from her remarks on the collected edition issued posthumously in 1798. Archbald's reactions to the texts contained in this six-volume set mingled pity and sorrow for the unfortunate events of Wollstonecraft's life with evident affection: "[M]y Mother has read Mrs Godwins letters from Norway which I liked much—also her wrongs of Weomen which harrow up the soul—we end this year with some of her letters melancholy ones endeed—I dreamed of her all night" (J-VII, [41], 31 Dec. 1798). Archbald's dreams were colored by her reaction to the portrait that was published with the collected works: she found in it "just the face that I could have imagined," a face in which were mingled sensibility and sense.[28] The portrait offered visual confirmation of the quality of the character of the author and thereby confirmed the validity of her sense of personal connection to Wollstonecraft that she had derived from reading the text.[29]

All this being said, Archbald's sense of connection to Wollstonecraft did not lead to uncritical acceptance. Finding religious solace in the reformed faith of her fathers, not in the intellectualized deism of Wollstonecraft's circle of liberal reformers, Archibald ordinarily limited her Sabbath reading to devotional, religious texts. However, on one Sunday in 1799, she "could not resist finising the life of Mrs Godwin—what a striking interesting character is hers yet still is there not a want—something in her life & Death that conveys a forcible moral to the heart—with all her talents & acute sensibility her religion seems to be of too abstracted a nature to affoard a refuge in the hour of destress or a support to her tortured mind when it most needed support[.] Mr Godwin says that 'her religion was not calculated to be the torment of a sick bed[.]' [A]las! was it then calculated to be the comfort & solace of one—" (J-VII, [41–42], 6 Jan. 1799).

Archbald's affection for Wollstonecraft was mingled with admiration for her literary skill—her ability to "harrow up the soul," as well as to write "a pretty book . . . on Education"—and the quality of her critical insights about education and women's place in society (J-VI, 108, 17 Sept. 1795). Wollstonecraft believed, and Archbald agreed, that individual human characters take shape from the conditions under which they are formed. While there may be biological imperatives embedded in our bodily structures that determine important—and, in some instances, unchangeable—aspects of our lives, socialization makes us human and,

more to the point, makes us particular kinds of human beings. In a letter to a cousin about the efforts of her eldest son to learn Latin, Archbald shared some general opinions upon children's education: "Honest Mr Robinson in his Village sermons says that where we plant a turnip we cannot expect to pull a cucumber (or some such expression) but I think a child is more like a tree or herb planted to our hand . . . [O]ur characters are surely not indeliably formed as those of plants but depend partly on the ideas we imbibe" (L-I, [284–85], [3?] Apr. 1803).

In Wollstonecraft's analysis, the possession of reason and capability for virtue and knowledge explains why human beings occupy a position of "pre-eminence over the brute creation." Nevertheless, she saw that "deeply rooted prejudices" and "various adventitious circumstances" had allowed "spurious qualities [to] have assumed the name of virtues."[30] Hereditary honors, the unequal distribution of wealth, the elevation of fashion over virtue and power over reason, all contributed to a situation in which "[t]he civilization of the bulk of the people of Europe is very partial; nay, it may be made a question, whether they have acquired any virtues in exchange for innocence, equivalent to the misery produced by the vices that have been plastered over unsightly ignorance" (92). Human beings were, however, fully educated in tyranny, either its exercise or its unquestioning acceptance. The inevitable results were the oppression and misery of the many, the luxurious self-indulgence of the few, and the moral corruption of all. Wollstonecraft believed that neither political reform nor revolution could ultimately result in the single most necessary reform: changes in education, in the day-to-day practices that form human character, were required to allow the exercise of genuine reason in social relations to take its rightful priority over "sensual ignorance" (99).

While mankind in general was educated for tyranny, Wollstonecraft saw that women in particular were educated for dependence: her overriding complaint against women's education in the eighteenth century, particularly the theories popularized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, was that female members of the human race were trained just to be women. In an 1820 letter to her nephew, Craig Wodrow, Archbald echoed Wollstonecraft's condemnation of Rousseau's influence: "[A]n arduous & important Part on the theatre of life is appointed to women & their Creator has undoubtedly qualified them for that Part, but their education in general is greatly against them & tends more to nourish the selfish passions than to inspire magnimity[.] Rossaue has by his writings done great mischief in this respect. [T]hese writings have tended to inspire & propogate a false & depraved tast with regard to the character & destination of women raising them very little above the station assigned them by the followers of Mahomet" (L-II, [218], 4 Mar. [1820]).

Wollstonecraft argued that education was socially constructed to keep women in a state of ignorance and subservience, with the result that women became nothing more than "gentle, domestic brutes" (101) unable to function as reasoning human beings, subject to their own whims and the caprices of their husbands, incapable of fulfilling their maternal duty to rear children to be virtuous citizens. The insult added to this injury was that men, who constructed and profited from the circumstances that turned women into brutes, then blamed women for their societally imposed deficiencies: "Men complain, and with reason, of the follies and caprices of our sex, when they do not keenly satirise our head-strong passions and grovelling vices. Behold, I should answer, the natural effect of ignorance!" (100).

Wollstonecraft's proposed solution to this dismal state of affairs was the fundamental reform of female education. Further, she argued that women should be considered citizens, with an important stake in public and political life and had hailed the French Revolution as a great advance in human history. Archbald acknowledged that the democratic mania, which colored her early sympathies and later dissatisfaction with American society, had infected even "my poor Mary Woo[ll]stoncraft," yet the very phrasing of her admission, expressed in tones of pity rather than anger, reveals her continuing affection and admiration (L-II, 12 [252], Jan. 1822). Wollstonecraft escaped more stringent censure because of Archbald's admiration for her critique of the condition of women. Over the years, Archibald reiterated three interlocking ideas which explain her interest in Wollstonecraft: she distinguished between circumstances faced by women and those faced by men; she identified women as members of a separate community of interest; and she yearned for improvements in women's condition in society through education, though she was eventually gravely disappointed in this hope.

First and foremost, Archbald identified differences that begin in childhood between the circumstances that men and women face, drawing on Wollstonecraft's analyses in *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* and *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Archbald took for granted the radical differences between the social circumstances of each sex that grew out of the conditions of society—the source of trials, hardships, temptations, and vice—and the manner and content of each individual's education—"the ideas we imbibe[.]" Yet she also believed that there was a moral equivalence to the ethical and social difficulties that individuals had to face. "Mrs Woolstoncraft thinks that girles claim more tenderness than Boys from their being more helpless & more oppressed[.] Girles have endeed generaly more hardships & triels awaiting them but there are worse things in the world than triels & hardships[.] Boys alas! have greater temptations to struggle with & are more exposed to the influence of vice—so the ballance is thus pretty equal in my mind between the two" (L-II, [285–86], [3?] Apr. 1803). While Archbald had some reservations about Wollstonecraft's analysis of the implications of the different problems faced by girls and boys, she accepted Wollstonecraft's insight that the failure of women to be full human beings was imposed rather than natural. In 1813, in a letter to a friend, Archbald's rhetoric rivals Wollstonecraft at her most scathing: "[W]e have hardly time even to think & yet you haughty lord[s] of creation will look doun upon us with soveraign contemp & talk of our *natural* inferiority of intellect[.] [N]o, no, if you must regale yourselves with the sound of the word inferiority call it artificial not natural for like the poor negroes we do not get a chance[.]"[31]

In the 1820 letter to her nephew discussed earlier, Archibald developed this concept at greater length. She urged the young man to beware of the timidity and frailty of conventional, fashionably educated young women and indicted the system that made women less than their husbands needed, and less than they deserved to be. These were Wollstonecraft's themes of thirty years previously. "[W]e are all the children of circumstances," Archibald wrote. "I mean that our characters are in a great measure formed by our situation & the exertions we are obliged to make—I never was a great admirer of that weakness & timidity thought by many to be so graceful in our sex[.] [F]ortitude is a grand & necessary virtue to woman as well as man[.] I never was much delighted with the thousand fine similies comparing us to the woodbine, the vine, &c &c twining its tendrils round & deriving support from the stately oak . . . These overgrown children are well enough to pass away a vacant hour with, but ill fited to sooth care & sorrow & assist you in the rough path of life" (L-II, [217–18], 4 Mar. [1820]). Archbald felt that her own marriage was a genuine partnership, and she hoped that her nephew and her children would have the chance to enjoy the same blessing.

Within a few years of the Archbald family's arrival in New York, however, this hope seemed doomed. John Ruthven, a cousin of Archbald's who lived in New York City, invited Margaret Archbald, then aged twelve, to make an extended visit. With deep regret, Archbald rejected his offer, even though she recognized Ruthven's generosity and opportunities that her daughter would have to forego. The most compelling reason for her refusal was not the financial hardship that the visit might incur upon the hosts, but "[W]ere I asured that Margt was destined to a single life I would think it my duty to have her taught some employment by which she could support herself & if possible to give her an highly cultivated & independant mind[.] [B]ut were she to marry in this part of the country she would find this cultivated mind with the feelings & ideas it naturaly inspires to be rather a misfortune—a Dutchman wants not a sensible & enlightened

Friend & companion for life to sooth his cares & smooth the road to heaven—he wants only a woman to scrub & cook for him—no matter tho' she know not a from b— — in short were M. to spend her life here u[n]less she were to live alone the less education the better—you gloom & shake your head—I cant help it" (L-I, [332], Apr. 1809). Well she might have gloomed and shaken her own head. Mary Ann and James Archbald had made great sacrifices to come to the United States, and did so to provide a better future for their children. Archbald's belief that Margaret would and could not find a friend and companion in any husband she might find in the rural areas of New York represents a deeply felt tragedy. She had learned through her reading and her own happy marriage that men and women could hope for more than relationships based upon fashionable excess, sexual desire, or economic need, yet her hopes for her daughter seemed doomed to failure, not from any "natural" deficiency of her own or of Margaret's, but through the deficiencies of the society—American and masculine—into which she had brought her family.

Archbald's life coincided with the rise of a Scottish national literature written in English that found its inspiration in the particularities of the Scottish land, history, and dialect. Nonetheless, Archbald never mentioned the nationality of any of the authors she read while she was living in Scotland, with the single exception of Robert Burns (1759–1796), a native of Ayrshire, the same district in which the Archbalds lived. He appears in Archbald's pre-1807 records as a "favorite son" from her home county, rather than as the Scottish national bard that he eventually became for most of the English-speaking world.

While she lived in the United States, Archibald read and enjoyed the works of Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper, the leading American authors of the first half of the nineteenth century, explicitly identifying them as *American* writers.[32] Irving's success, artistic and financial, earned Archibald's nearly unqualified admiration, and she noted with pleasure that his parents were said to have been born in Scotland (L-II, [240], Apr. 1821).

However, the preponderance of Archbald's references to the reading she performed while living in the United States was to books written by Scottish authors, whom she specifically identified as Scottish, including John Galt, Robert Burns, John Gibson Lockhart, John Wilson, James Hogg, and Sir Walter Scott. (Of them, only Burns and Scott had published a significant body of work before the Archbalds' emigration to the United States). She marked the nationality of those authors who helped her mark her own identity for, in striking contrast to her youthful silence on the subject of her own national identity, Archbald clearly and explicitly defined herself as a Scotswoman in her maturity. She used Scottish literature to help maintain a self-image predicated upon a sense of a distinctive cultural heritage and her social difference from America. Further, she deliberately used Scottish literature to encourage young people of her acquaintance to resist "Americanization."

The troubles that led Mary Ann and James Archbald to emigrate to the United States in 1807—legal and financial problems, irresponsible landlords, and growing fears for the economic and moral welfare of their children—led Archbald to pin her own hopes, and her hopes for her children, upon opportunities in North America. Close relatives had prospered in the English colonies and in the new United States, and she had read books which conveyed the impression that democracy in America had resulted in an increase in civic, political, and private virtue. Unfortunately, the reality of life in the early American republic could not live up to its press: "[D]emocratic principles were very prevel[ent] in Britain during the first years of the French revolution—nothing I think is a better cure for such democracy then few years residence in the United States[.] [M]any of the Radicals came here of late years, & as far as I can learn they are not only silent but ashamed of their former Principles" (L-II, [252], Jan. 1822). As Archibald viewed the national situation, democracy in America had simply allowed the common man to rise to political power; without the restraint of reason and virtue promoted through proper training for civic responsibilities, greed and self-interest had triumphed over even the best of intentions.

Archbald described her disappointment in American society and identified one of its chief sources in a letter that she wrote to De Witt Clinton, governor of New York, in 1822. "I arrived in this country late in life not with any prejudice against it, but on the contrary with exagerated notions of its superiority in every respect—these notions I imbibed from writers who like Gilbert Imley aim more to please their readers than to represent things as they really are—their representations made a deep impression on my mind which was naturally of a sanguin & romantic cast (owning perhaps to early seclusion) . . . it is unpolite to say so but it is nevertheless true (what you sir have perhaps anticipated) that we felt disapointed in the country, or rather in the people" (L-II, [261], 24 June 1822). Specifically, Archbald found Americans to be suffering from "the American desease I mean the universal scramble for wealth" (L- II, [80], [1815]). "The circomstances of Mr A purchasing a small farm of 120 acres & paying the money down for it—impressed them with the idea that he was rich & made them lay every scheme to partake of the supposed wealth . . . [H]e contracted a general disgust for the characters of those around him & has ever since been but too apt to unite in his mind the idea of an American with averice & meanness" (L-II, [221–22], 24 June 1822). Private greed and sharp practices extended their influence to

American politics and led, ultimately and inevitably, to corruption, even as Yankees deluded themselves that they possessed the finest form of government available. "[T]he People have got it into their heads that they are in possession of perfect liberty that all the laws & taxes are of their own making[.] [S]everal round here have had their last cow sold to pay the tax, while their representatives are carousing & living like princes at Albany for 4 months in the year" (L-II, [219–20], 28 Apr. 1820). Adding injury to insult, Yankees consistently demonstrated a "pernicious partiality & injustice to foreigners" (L-II, [247–48], [1821]).

Soon after their arrival in the United States in 1807, James and Mary Ann Archbald realized that they had not left their old home for a new, but that they had left their true home for exile, a conviction that remained with them to the end of their lives. The emergence of Archbald's Scottish chauvinism, which found a primary outlet in her patronage of Scottish literature, directly corresponded to her deep disappointment in American society, manners, and politics. "[A]midst all my cares & regretes about my native country still I could endulge in the fond dream of its being superior to every country upon earth, & when I meet here with instances of averice & chicanry I say or think with James 'it is just like the Yankies. [H]ow different the people at home[.]' I did not think these same people at home perfect whilst I was amongst them—but absence was like death[.] [T]heir faults were buried or softened, & their good qualities only remembered" (L-II, 24 [264], Aug. 1822).

Archbald dealt with her sense of disappointment and displacement in a number of practical ways: she wrote out the melodies and words of Scottish tunes for herself and friends; she loved to hear her sons and daughters recite Scotch poems and sing Scotch songs; and she deliberately emphasized the distinctive intonations of her lowland Scots accent. But above all, she read books by Scottish authors: she read these books nostalgically and critically and used this reading to keep the country and circumstances of her youth and early womanhood clear in her imagination and memory. "[A]n old Scotch gentleman in Johnstown sent me an Edin[bu]r[gh] Almaneck for 1821—never was there such a prize—I read over lists of names till my eyes were fairly dim & the places too—there was magic in the very sound of them—20 or 16 years ago I would as soon have thought of turning over the leaves of a dictionary" (L-II, [253], 13 Jan. 1822).

Inevitably, Archibald turned to the novels of Sir Walter Scott. Scott's books have delighted millions of readers of all nationalities through their stirring sentiments, exciting plots, and finely drawn settings. But Archbald found them to be far more than just exciting and interesting stories. "We passed a few days very pleasantly in reading the last of Walter Scotts new works—The Pirate—I like it full as well as any of them[.] [T]he rough & wild scenes are in unison with early associations & thus peculiarly suited to my tast—" (L-II, [254], 13 Jan. 1822).

Archbald's extensive references to two volumes will amply demonstrate the particulars of her attachment to Scottish books. John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854), novelist, critic, contributor to *The Edinburgh Review* and editor of *The Quarterly Review*, published *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk* in 1819, which Archbald read in 1821. This epistolary novel portrays Scottish customs, manners, society, and politics in an affectionate yet satiric light through the eyes of a young man from the country gone to see the sights. "I am glad you have seen 'Peters letters[.'] [I]t is really a grand thing & written in a masterly manner tho' I agree with you in thinking some parts exceptio[n]able yet his pictures of Scotland & scottish manners are in general vivid & just . . . [B]ut this fascinating subject makes me forget my self—it is to me, 'the memory of joys that are past, pleasant & mournful'" (L- II, [239], Apr. 1821). Archibald's enjoyment of Lockhart's descriptions of the Scottish countryside and the customs of the populace was tempered by criticism of portions of the novel that struck her as "exceptionable," that is, inaccurate or harsh. For example, in one section of *Peter's Letters*, Lockhart depicted a "Monday dinner" that followed the celebration of a "country Sacrament" in which he portrayed the women attending the dinner as preoccupied with fashion and food. Archbald, taking issue with this scene, tried to correct any false impression it might have given her nephew by insisting on the accuracy of her own memories of similar dinners during which the women "took part in the conversation like rational & intelligent beings" (L-II, [239], Apr. 1821). She offered this different perspective to her nephew for the sake of her deep interest in representative truth in literature, her deep and abiding pride in her own background, and her desire for the young man to feel a strong and imaginative connection to his Scottish heritage.

Lockhart was also Sir Walter Scott's son-in-law and published a seven-volume biography in 1837–38, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* Lockhart's exhaustive treatment of Scott's life, which Archbald read shortly before her death, more than thirty years after her arrival in America, allowed to recollect her own past in great and evocative detail. "When I was able to read & Louisa to listen—went on to finis [']Lockharts life of Sir W Scott[.']" It is for the most part very interesting, supplied my waking dreams & formed the stuff of my sleeping ones—during most of the night I was in Scotland" (J-VIII, 5–6, 5–15 Mar. 1839).

Both *Peter's Letters to His Kinsfolk* and *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, were published in the United States by American publishers, as were all the other novels, poems, essays, short stories, and biographies by Scottish authors that Archbald read while living in the United States. These books, including Jane Porter's *The Scottish Chiefs* (1819), James

Hogg's *The Brownie of Bodsbeck, and Other Tales* (1818), and Scott's *Waverley* novels, gave her a way to maintain her own memories and a connection to her past and a way to share them. Archibald actively encouraged others, young people in particular, to take pride in their ancestry and the achievements of Scottish novelists, poets, theologians, and historians by reading the works of great Scots. She fostered this pride, and encouraged this reading, specifically for their power to enable resistance to the grasping, corrupt, and rambunctious Yankee culture that surrounded her. "[W]e had a pleasant visit 2 weeks ago from six young Scotch people 3 ladies & 3 Gentln[.] [F]our of them were born in this contry but not a bit the less national for that . . . [T]hey seemed to regard me with such reverence—watching for every word I was going to utter as if it had been an oracle—I absolutely looked or at least felt very foolish & I am sure you would have laughed heartily, but I tried to speak as broad & as sensibly as I could—" (L-II, [211], 1 Jan.–Feb. 1820).

Archbald used her Scottish reading actively and intensively, and although she was reading these novels, poems, and biographies for secular entertainment rather than religious purposes, this reading nevertheless served what may best be described as a devotional purpose. Her repeated epistolary discussions, recollection of these books even in sleep, and the time and effort she devoted to the transcription of extensive passages into commonplace books demonstrate the emotional power that these books held for her, and that she drew from them. Her reading kept the bright home of her past clear in her memory and in her heart, in her waking hours and in her dreams.

After nearly twenty years' residence in the United States, Archbald told her cousin that America would never be her home: "[B]ut when you speak of it to me you must never again say *Your* country[.] [T]his grates horridly on my feelings, expecially from you—The people here often ask me how is such a thing done or conducted in your country[.] [T]his I like, & the reverse sounds most unpleasant" (L-II, [255], 13 Jan. 1822). As we consider Archbald's use of Scottish books in conjunction with her descriptions of the "Scotophilic" young people of her acquaintance and her efforts to inculcate knowledge of Scottish literature in her nephew, we gain additional insight into the urgency with which the Young America movement of the 1830s and 1840s urged the development of an American national literature. The stridency of Young America's denunciations of the reliance of American publishers on imported European books becomes more than the professional concerns of would-be authors whose livelihoods were threatened by imported fiction or controversies arising from "mere" national chauvinism. It becomes a question of the national culture struggling to emerge from colonialism. The Young Americans hoped for careers in literature but also saw that a national literature could serve to create a nation, or, at the very least, a national attitude through the creation of fiction and poetry. Archbald, her sons and daughters, her nephew, and her young acquaintances, were the "invisible immigrants," to use Charlotte Erickson's term, who ought to have been readily incorporated into American culture, yet adamantly refused the opportunity.

Reading gave Archbald more than a way to pass time, educate her children, or reinforce a sense of personal identity and religious conviction: it gave her the tools she used in a struggle for minds and hearts, in a contest for allegiance to culture and heritage. And here we find the best justification for careful attention to what Archbald had to say about her reading, for she shows us the printed word at work in a mind and in a heart, in the world and in history.

Notes

1. These manuscripts are housed in the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Library, Northampton, Mass.; they are also available in microform facsimile as part of *History of Women: A Comprehensive Collection on Microfilm* (New Haven, Conn.: Research Publications, 1975–). The microfilm has some drawbacks: Archbald's handwriting is quite small and difficult to read, even in the original; the ink, originally black, has faded to rusty brown and offers comparatively little contrast to the cream-colored paper; the photographer inadvertently omitted several pages during filming; and the indexing provided by the publisher is hardly adequate. A transcript of the journals and letterbooks is available at the Sophia Smith Collection, but since it was made for genealogical purposes, it omits many passages not considered relevant to family history. Quotations from the Archbald Papers used in this essay are taken from my own transcription from the originals; emendations (punctuation and capitalization) are inserted within square brackets.

2. These 105 volumes represent eighty-nine different texts, and are housed in the Mortimer Rare Book Room of the Smith College Library, Northampton, Mass. The original donation contained 119 titles; thirty of these were not added to the library's collections and have since disappeared. The titles of fifteen other volumes from Archbald's library are known through the records of a great-great-granddaughter; forty-nine other titles are listed in an inventory prepared by a grandson, "Catalogue of Books from Grandmother's Library," which is contained in the Archbald Collection Files in the Sophia Smith Collection.

3. Collection File, Mary Ann Wodrow Archbald Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College Library, Northampton, Mass. The full-scope note regarding the Archbald journals is as follows: "In this collection are 8 bound Journals, with frequent entries giving a rather bright picture of the life of a carefree and somewhat 'literary' young lady of means on the island of Little Cumbray off the coast of

Ayrshire, Scotland in the last decades of the 18th century. Then her marriage to James Archbald III and emigration to the Mohawk Valley in 1807 after which she records the hard but happy life of a wife and mother in a farming community in Western New York during the 1st half of the 19th century. Events rarely and briefly recorded."

4. Archbald Journal VI, 131, 13 Feb. 1795. Subsequent references to the journals will be made parenthetically.

5. Barbara Sicherman, "Sense and Sensibility: A Case Study of Women's Reading in Late-Victorian America," in *Reading in America: Literature and Social History*, ed. Cathy N. Davidson, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1989), 201–25; Barbara Sicherman, "Reading and Ambition: M. Carey Thomas and Female Heroism," *American Quarterly* 45, no. 1 (Mar. 1993): 73–103; Janice Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1984).

6. Sicherman, "Reading and Ambition," 74.

7. Cathy N. Davidson, "Toward a History of Books and Readers," in *Reading in America: Literature and Social History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1989), 19.

8. Simon Eliot, "The Reading Experience Database; or, What Are We to Do about the History of Reading?" distributed on sharp-l@iubvm.ucs.indiana.edu (electronic discussion group sponsored by the Society for the History of Authorship, Reading, and Publishing), 21 July 1994; archive available at listserv@iubvm.ucs.indiana.edu.

9. For details of the education and careers of the men of the Wodrow family, see Hew Scott, *Fasti EcclesiÆ ScoticanÆ: The Succession of Ministers in the Parish Churches of Scotland from the Reformation, A.D. 1560, to the Present Time*, vol. 2, pt. 1, *Synod of Glasgow and Ayr* (Edinburgh: William Paterson; London: John Russell Smith, 1868).

10. Nonspecific references are most frequently associated with Archbald's acquisition, or her desire to possess, particular editions of the Bible or prints of biblical scenes. For examples, see J-VII, 99 [95], 9 Sept. 1800; J-VII, [104], 18 Jan. 1801; J-VII, 51 [117], 30 June 1801.

11. See Michael Clancy, "Looking Back from the Invention of Printing," in *Literacy in Historical Perspective*, ed. Daniel P. Resnick (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1983), 7–22.

12. Matthew Henry, *Commentary on the Whole Bible, wherein Each Chapter Is Summed Up in Its Contents: The Sacred Text Inserted at Large in Distinct Paragraphs; Each Paragraph Reduced to Its Proper Heads: The Sense Given, and Largely Illustrated with Practical Remarks and Observations*, vol. 5, *Matthew to John* (1708–10; new, modern ed., Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991). See also Donald K. McKim, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press; Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1992), see entry "Henry, Matthew (1662–1714)."

13. *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry, Minister of the Gospel at Broad-Oak, Near Whitchurch, in Shropshire, Who Dyed June 24, 1696, in the Sixty-fifth Year of His Age* was first published in 1698.

14. Although James Archbald's economic position was not inconsiderable, he was poorly educated and was by no means his wife's social equal.

15. J-III, [143], 16 May 1796. The reference is to *The Banished Man* by Charlotte Smith (1794). Other volumes that received the brief mentions that indicate quick reading (and can make identification difficult) include *Letters Written by a Peruvian Princess* by Mme. de Grafigny (first English trans., 1787); *Caroline of Litchfield* by Isabelle de Montolieu (first English trans., 1786); *The Sentimental Sailor; or, St. Preux to Eloisa: An Elegy in Two Parts* by Thomas Mercer (1772); *Evelina* (1778), and *Camilla* (1796) by Fanny Burney; *Adelaide and Theodore; or, Letters on Education: Containing All the Principles Relative to Three Different Plans of Education; to That of Princes and Those of Young Persons of Both Sexes* by Mme. de Genlis (first English trans., 1783); *Julia de Roubigné* by Henry Mackenzie (1777); *Interesting Memoirs* by Susanna Harvey (1785) or by Ann Sheldon (1787); *The Search After Happiness* by Hannah More (1773); *The Fortunate Foundlings: Being the Genuine History of Colonel M—rs and His Sister, Madam de P—y, the Issue of the Hon. Ch—es M—rs, Son of the late Duke of R—l—d . . .* by Eliza Fowler Haywood (1744); *Anna or, Memoirs of a Welch Heiress; Interspersed with Anecdotes of a Nabob* by Agnes Maria Bennett (1782) or *Anna: A Sentimental Novel, in a Series of Letters* (1782); *The French Convert: A True Relation of a Happy Conversion of a Noble French Lady from the Errors and Superstitions of Popery, to the Reformed Religion, by Means of a Protestant Gardener, Her Servant* (20th Glasgow ed., 1777); and *Rasselas* by Samuel Johnson (1759). Archbald almost invariably referred to novels only by their titles, seldom mentioning the name of the author—Laurence Sterne, Samuel Johnson, and Charlotte Smith are among the rare exceptions—while she almost always referred to poets by name, seldom mentioning the titles of their works—*Night Thoughts*, *The Seasons*, and "Now We Are Seven" by William Wordsworth (from *Lyrical Ballads*, 1800) are among the notable exceptions.

16. J-II, [153], 22 Apr. 1787. The reference is to *Contemplations on the Ocean, Harvest, Sickness, and the Last Judgment* (1755) or to *Contemplations of Butterflies, on the Full Moon, and in a Walk through a Wood* (1758). The Rev. James Hervey is best known for *Meditations among the Tombs, in a Letter to a Lady* (1746).

17. The character of the written record changes as well. She continued her practice of transcribing extracts from her letters until 1825, but between 1806 and 1839 made no journal entries. Her two surviving commonplace books, containing manuscript extracts from books and periodicals dating from 1821 to 1827 and 1831 to about 1834, have no correlative from Archbald's time in Scotland.

18. Archbald made marginal notations in ink and recorded the pertinent page numbers on blank fly-leaves. She invariably listed page numbers in tightly spaced columns in *seriatim* order.

19. I have found only three instances of extensive transcription from printed texts prior to the Archbalds' immigration to the United States. These are, first, her transcriptions from *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* by Mary Wollstonecraft; second, a series of maxims from an unidentified source that she made while on a visit to Edinburgh (L-II, [1–3] and [5–17]); and third, her comment that her son, Jamie, had transcribed the text of Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* from a volume that the Archbalds had borrowed from the lending library sponsored by the booksellers, Brash and Reid (J-VII, [209], 3 Dec. 1805). I have found no evidence, beyond quotations for evocative, allusive, or expository purposes within letters or diary entries, of transcriptions from books that she owned.

20. L-II, [122], [1813]. "Miss Porter" is most likely Jane Porter (1776–1850), author of *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (1803) and *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810), but could also be her sister, Ann Maria Porter (1780–1832), author of *The Hungarian Brothers* (1807) and *The Recluse of Norway* (1814). Archbald eventually read all four of these novels.

21. Between 1788 and 1801, Archbald made nine references to *The Cabinet of Genius*; between 1791 and 1801 she made eighteen references to *The Edinburgh Magazine*.

22. For references to bound volumes of *The Edinburgh Review*, see L-II, [147], 8 Jan. 1817 and L-II, [275], Mar. 1823; for reference to bound volumes of *The Family Magazine, Blackwood's Magazine, The American Monthly Magazine,* and *The North American Review*, see J-VIII, 9, 27 Apr. 1839.

23. L-II, [217–18], 4 Mar. [1820]. *Rob Roy* was first published in 1818. Elizabeth Hamilton (1758–1816) was the author of *Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* (1796), *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* (1800), *Letters on Education* (1801), *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina, Wife of Germanicus* (1804), and *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808); Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849) was author of *The Parent's Assistant; or, Stories for Children* (1795), *Castle Rackrent* (1800), *Cottage Dialogues among the Irish Peasantry* (1811), and *Patronage* (1814), among others.

24. Archbald never mentioned the challenges that women writers might encounter when they attempted to portray male characters.

25. Harriet Blodgett, *Centuries of Female Days: Englishwomen's Private Diaries* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1988), 128.

26. J-VI, 27, 12 Mar. 1794 and J-VI, 29, 19 Mar. 1794. Two pages of this transcription may be found in what are now the first two pages of the second volume of her letterbooks; an unknown number of pages are missing (L-II, [1–2], 19 Mar. 1794). The most extensive surviving extract concerns the character of the ideal household: see Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. Miriam Brody, (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 254–55 and 268. Archbald purchased her own copy of *A Vindication* in 1800.

27. See J-VI, 27, 12 Mar. 1794; J-VI, 29, 19 Mar. 1794; J-VI, 108, 17 Sept. 1795; J-VI, [119], 24 Nov. 1795; J-VII, [23], 30 June 1798; J-VII, [25], 27 July 1798; J-VI, [26], 28 July 1798; J-VII, [37], 7 Dec. 1798; J-VII, [41–42], 31 Dec. 1798–1 Jan. 1799; J-VII, [88], 6 June 1800; J-VII, [103], 10 Jan. 1801; L-I, [285–86], [3?] Apr., 1803; Letterbook II, 1–4; L-II, 12 [252], Jan. 1822.

28. Three years later, she remained pleased enough with the portrait to give "a little culour to the interesting face of Mary Woolstonecraft" (J-VII, [103], 10 Jan. 1801).

29. J-VII, [37], 7 Dec. 1798. Archbald was also pleased that the price of these books was "more moderat than I could have expected."

30. Wollstonecraft, *Vindication*, 91.

31. L-II, [120], [1813]. Archbald used variants of the phrase "you haughty lords of creation" four times in her letterbooks: see also L-I, [33], 25 May 1785; L-I, [304], [Jan.? 1805]; and L-I, [331], Apr. 1809.

32. She severely criticized Cooper's 1823 novel, *The Spy*, for what she felt was the absence of appropriate motivation for the selfless acts of patriotic heroism performed by the novel's main character, Harvey Birch; see L-II, [272], Mar. 1823. In her commonplace books, she transcribed extracts from *The Spy, The Pioneers, Precaution, The Prairie,* and *The Pilot.*