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Grace Greenwood
(Sara Jane Clarke Lippincott)

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For Mary Rome

for fostering prodigal daughters
"Nothing educates like travel."
Grace Greenwood, New York Times, 13 January 1873

"Besides, women among themselves begin by laughing."
Luce Irigaray, This Sex Which Is Not One

"I know it is a good book, for I wrote it myself."
Grace Greenwood, New York Times, 22 March 1873
Acknowledgments

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There surely is a great truth involved in this question of "Woman's Rights," and agitated as it may be, with wisdom and mildness, or with rashness and the bold, high spirit which shocks and startles at the first, good will come out of it eventually--great good--and the women of the next age will be the stronger and the freer, aye, and the happier, for the few brave spirits who now stand up fearlessly for unpopular truth against the world. (Grace Greenwood, Leaves 300)
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Abstract

Recovering a forgotten woman writer from the nineteenth century, Prodigal Daughters and Pilgrims in Petticoats: Grace Greenwood and the Tradition of American Women's Travel Writing focuses on the public letters of Grace Greenwood (Sara Jane Clarke Lippincott). In the 1870s, Greenwood successfully communicated feminist ideas as the first woman employed by the New York Times and one of the first women to enter Congressional press galleries. In her letters, often on the front-page of the paper, Greenwood addresses the major woman's rights issues of the time: equal pay, coverture laws, male violence, gender restrictions, educational opportunities, and woman's suffrage. This unique political column from a non-voter also directly addresses other topics from Congressional debate such as western expansion, Reconstruction, and party politics.

As a travel correspondent in the American West and Europe, Greenwood calls for a reform of the Republic with the objectivity her traveling allows. As an observer of the political process in Washington, Greenwood highlights the irony of a democratic system with a wholly undemocratic treatment of women. This analysis of her humorous social commentary in the context of American women's travel writing reclaims Greenwood's contributions to nineteenth century women's reform efforts.

Chapter One surveys various travel theories and suggests a metaphor for understanding American women's
travel writing within this larger context. Using a revision of scripture that Greenwood also employed, I propose a narrative of a prodigal daughter as a framework in which to read American women's travel writing. Chapter Two provides a brief biographical sketch of Greenwood and an overview of her considerable literary accomplishments. Greenwood's fashioning of a frontier feminotopia is the subject of Chapter Three; I assess Greenwood's attention to the American West and her resulting politics of place. In Chapter Four, I review Greenwood's Washington correspondence, recognizing the clever wit with which Greenwood rails against the politics of both church and state. Highlighting Greenwood's celebration of sisterhood as a universal support for women, Chapter five analyzes Greenwood's politics of gender in her European escapades. This dissertation establishes Grace Greenwood as a nineteenth-century writer worthy of further inquiry.
Chapter 1

Introduction

"Take me home, prodigal daughter as I am; give me a small piece of the fillet of veal roasted for my more prodigal and deserving brothers. . . ."1

Grace Greenwood, writing as a correspondent for the New York Times from 1871-79, filled her columns with humorous anecdotes and vivid illustrations from various travels in her own country and abroad. Her career as an early woman journalist enabled her to travel extensively. Seldom for more than a few months at a time, and usually even then only because of inclement weather or ill health, does Greenwood stay situated in one location; Greenwood's letters to the New York Times are written from the West, where she imagines greater freedom for women in a frontier feminotopia, from Washington, where she uses the language of the church to address the state's limitations on women, and from Europe, where she flaunts her freedom as an "unprotected" woman escaping the objectification of male attention. These travel letters and their political commentary represent the climax of her writing lifetime.

Amid the many publications for which this forgotten nineteenth-century writer should be remembered, Greenwood's frequently front-page social commentary deserves scholarly attention. These letters are valuable not only for their literary merit, but also for their feminist insights. Contributing to feminist revisions of history, politics, religion, and sociology, Greenwood's newspaper columns

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provide a glimpse at an alternative avenue to political participation by an unfranchised woman. Greenwood's fame as a public figure, her participation on the woman's rights lecture circuit, and her achievements in literary society had gained a loyal audience. Her imaginative, humorous, even brazen public letters give insight into a unique way feminism in the nineteenth-century was communicated.

Even in feminist efforts to rediscover an American literary tradition with women, Greenwood has, for the most part, been ignored. Without an understanding of Greenwood's constant, comic view, critics have dismissed her as a convert to the "Cult of Domesticity." In truth, Greenwood does celebrate many of the attributes often demeaned as "femininity" and presumed to be conservative. But Greenwood's femininity is more complex than this view will allow. In fact, her femininity seems highly subversive. Greenwood values the "feminine" because she values females. Softness, kindness, gentleness, any of the traditional attributes of femininity are not signs of weakness unless they are played out against their opposites in the hierarchical structure; Greenwood seldom plays along in the hierarchy.

When she does, however, no feminine mystique stifles her strength. Greenwood is as ready and willing to fight for woman's rights as the next woman. But she also values a realm for women where she does not always have to fight. In fact, from her radical notion of a supportive sisterhood,
she seems to garner strength with which to continue calling for changes in culture at large. Clearly, Greenwood's feminine feminism empowers her.

This does not seem incongruent to me; in fact, it seems liberating. Binaries are, after all, born of the need to define positions of strength and weakness. Seldom do oppositions adequately address real situations. Greenwood's resolve not to "throw the baby out with the bath water" seems practical to me. While women in the nineteenth century understood that there was much in their lives that they wanted to change, they also realized that there was much that they wanted to hold onto; they believed they knew a better way to live. To dismiss this by labeling it "femininity" is to miss its point.

An equally troublesome binary arises in labeling much of women's writing in the nineteenth century as "domestic." Nina Baym has noted that one reason women's works have been omitted from the nineteenth-century American literary canon is that their writings often do not employ the motif of the lone traveler overtaking, often taming, the wilderness of the American frontier ("Melodramas" 123-39). Baym further notes that the American story, particularly in the nineteenth century, has had to be the story of the lone, male protagonist who is critical of consensus, in addition to being compelled to conquer the wilderness and flee from society; Baym recognizes that works by women writers do not
often fit this same pattern, a pattern privileged as the American experience in literature.

While American women writers do not employ this motif of the male traveler in a female land, they do employ a travel motif. Perhaps in wanting to legitimize the domestic settings of much nineteenth-century American woman's fiction, however, we have overlooked the women's travel experiences that Annette Kolodny recounts in nonfiction when they do appear in American women's fiction. Looking at domestic and travel narratives as opposites, with women more likely to write domestic narratives and men more likely to write travel narratives, we may have overlooked the evidence of travel narratives within seemingly domestic texts.

I can remember identifying with the disappointment, even the grief, that Jo March felt when she learned that her sister Amy would accompany Aunt March to Europe in Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*. Likewise, I can remember feeling the promise of adventure with Jo as she packed her bags and prepared to go to a job of her own in the city. And Alcott seemingly comments on the conventions of women's traveling "unprotected" in the nineteenth century. The propriety of the March's neighbor, Mr. Lawrence, motivates him to offer Mr. Brooks as an escort for the free-thinking Marmie who must travel to Washington where her husband has been injured in the war; nevertheless, when I have recalled Alcott's work, the domestic scenes somehow come more readily to mind.
E.D.E.N. Southworth's heroine, Capitola, in *The Hidden Hand*, travels as an infant away from her home in Virginia to New York City and then, when she is older, travels back to Virginia. Although Southworth identifies Old Hurricane's journey to New York as "The Quest" with her chapter title, the novel includes, and in fact, details many of Capitola's excursions as well. Capitola's adventures take her, usually on horseback, often alone, and, when necessary, cross-dressed, through the countryside surrounding Hurricane Hall. Yet I have likewise been more attentive to this novel's domestic scenes than to its travels. And Ellen Montgomery in Susan Warner's *The Wide, Wide World* watches her mother leave on her own travels, a trip to sea as a medical cure, and Ellen then makes a trip herself to the country home of her aunt. Ellen is eventually adopted by the Humphreys, and, although several scenes recall this possible travel motif, especially the scene in which Ellen's Uncle Lindsay takes her copy of *Pilgrim's Progress*, I have previously read this novel as a domestic narrative, consequently ignoring any details of a travel motif.

Eliminating such absolute visions of women's writing that would see these works as either domestic or travel narratives might reveal further examples of women's travel writing even within texts previously seen as domestic works. Nineteenth-century American women writers, of various genres, provide examples of women on the road, of women...
traveling, whether from house to house and neighbor to neighbor or from city to city and country to country. Indeed, travel was important to many American women writers of the nineteenth century. Greenwood's pattern of leaving home only to return with a clearer sense of what ought to be reformed at home is a pattern apparent in the lives and letters of many nineteenth-century American women writers. It was, in fact, at the World Anti-Slavery Conference in London in 1840, that Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who were both refused positions as voting delegates because of their gender, agreed to return home and begin plans for a national woman's rights convention. And many women traveled from their homes to Seneca Falls, New York, in July 1848, for that first convention. There they shared their ideas and returned home with new visions for improving both their lives and the lives of other women. Travel seems to have provided at least the occasion, and possibly the impetus, for women in nineteenth-century America to gain clearer visions of the reforms necessary to improve their lives.

Certainly, Greenwood was not alone in benefiting from her travels, and she was not alone in documenting her travels either. Women traveled more frequently than we might imagine, and they wrote about it in fiction and in letters. Mary Suzanne Schriber, in her collection Telling Travels: Selected Writing by Nineteenth-Century American Women Abroad, provides statistics on women's traveling in
the nineteenth century, and she includes excerpts from the travel writings of sixteen women. Many of these are by women whose writing and reputations we have already recalled into the American literary canon. Margaret Fuller's *At Home and Abroad* and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands* provide examples of travel writing by women whose other works we already know. But Schriber also includes travel writing by lesser known women whose works have not yet been fully recovered. Taken altogether, Schriber's collection makes a strong case for recognizing and reconsidering the tradition of American women's travel writing, and her work provides a context in which Grace Greenwood's letters can be read.

Reading Greenwood in this larger tradition of American women travelers provides an excellent example of the blending of genres, an overlapping of travel and domestic writing. Her travel letters certainly focus on many of the details of transportation and lodging, but then Greenwood certainly makes herself at "home" on her journeys. In her letters from home, Washington, she appears to be on the go as much if not more so than when she is away, and she draws elaborate attention to her daily journey down New Jersey Avenue from her home to the Capitol. Greenwood's letters, like the writing of many women in the nineteenth century, defy easy categorization. But reading them in the tradition of women's travel writing, and making a place for their
attention to the domestic within this tradition, seems most appropriate.

Not unlike the works of other women travelers, Greenwood's letters do require this gender specific tradition. Schriber, in the introduction to her collection, says that women's travel discourses are also discourses on gender. She explains that even as women who traveled challenged the conventions concerning where they could go physically, they challenged the conventions of where they could go intellectually as well: "They issued themselves passports to freedoms that threatened to change the borders of the mind even as those thrown up around the body were breached" (xvi). Because gender was constantly being debated and defined in the nineteenth century, Schriber notes, women who traveled related everything to the fact that they were women traveling: "Women's accounts of travel show that all issues were women's issues" (xxviii). Women traveling and writing about their travels created worlds that Schriber calls "feminocentric" (xxix). In doing so, these women rewrote what it meant to be women, defining themselves in culture against the stereotypical definitions to which the dominant culture, male culture, would assign them.

Schriber's assessment that women writing about themselves as travelers were inevitably writing about themselves as women calls for further exploration, then, into what women were saying about themselves as travelers,
specifically women travelers. She raises questions about how women saw themselves, even defined themselves, as women on their travels. Other theories on travel and travel writing intersect with Schriber's.

Within the larger context of European Imperialist writings, Mary Louise Pratt situates travel writings by women. She describes the gender differences in these travel writings:

They [texts by women] are emplotted in a centripetal fashion around places of residence from which a protagonist sallies forth and to which she returns. . . . For them identity in the contact zone resides in their sense of personal independence, property, and social authority, rather than in scientific erudition, survival, or adventurism" (158-59).5

Like Schriber's suggestion that American women's travel writing is feminocentric, Pratt finds a pattern in European women's travel writing of focusing directly on women's experiences and even creating "feminotopias," "idealized worlds of female autonomy, empowerment, and pleasure" (167).

Pratt's theories about European women's travel writing provide interesting perspectives from which to consider American women's travel writing as well. Certainly her suggestion that even within a travel narrative women writers valued the domestic seems universal. And, the distinction that women's texts have social purposes, blending political and personal, while men's texts have economic and esthetic focuses, seems relevant to the American tradition of travel writing as well. Further, as Schriber indicates, American women, like their European sisters, read culture consciously.
from women's perspectives. And we need only think of Charlotte Perkins Gilman's feminist utopian novel, *Herland*, to acknowledge that American women likewise imagined worlds where women were finally and fully emancipated. Are there, then, no geographic distinctions in women's travel writings? Certainly the experience of being and defining a woman makes similarities in women's travel writings more obvious than their differences.

Focusing on British women travelers and revising classical mythology to allow for a female quest, Karen R. Lawrence, in *Penelope Voyages: Women and Travel in the British Literary Tradition*, asks what happens when Penelope voyages:

> What discourse, what figures, what maps do we use? Can Penelope, the weaver and teller of the story of male absence, trace her own itinerary instead? Furthermore, how is femininity constructed when its relation to the domestic is radically altered? (x)

Lawrence, reading fictional travel narratives, notes the necessity of rewriting the myth to make the female character active. That is, Penelope can no longer wait for Odysseus to return to her. She must find an adventure of her own and tell her own story. Lawrence suggests the ways in which British women writers of fiction have rewritten the myth to allow for an active woman traveler.

This myth that Lawrence employs, from *The Odyssey*, highlights the absence of active, traveling women in mythologies. Packing Penelope's bags and sending her on her own voyage, Lawrence is creating a new mythology, and at the
same time she is dispelling an old myth of womanhood that would keep women telling stories of men's adventures rather than living to tell about their own adventures. Since Lawrence's ideas specifically address British women's writing, though her new mythology has broader implications, Lawrence's theory invites further exploration of the mythologies that insufficiently represent women's experience.

To read American women's travel writing, then, perhaps another mythology ought to be reconsidered. As early Americans settled their "Promised Land," they frequently fashioned themselves as the children of Israel, claiming status as their God's chosen ones justified their actions in colonizing land and people with missionary zeal. Jay Fliegelman, writing about the American eighteenth century in *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution Against Patriarchal Authority, 1750-1800*, has assessed the American revolution as a revolt against the patriarchy, England. But by the nineteenth century, American women writers had started their own revolution against patriarchal authority. Women writers even described their reform efforts as a "bloodless revolution," using words as weapons to war against the injustices they witnessed. Many women writers did so, though, using biblical allusions to give credence to their ideas. In the context of America's Christian self-consciousness, even self-righteousness, it seems fitting then to rewrite a mythology that can encompass this self-
consciousness. Especially in the nineteenth-century, Christian metaphors were used frequently to explain experiences that were somehow uniquely American. Nineteenth-century American women writers consistently recalled women of the Bible to justify their own actions. Deborah, the Old Testament judge, Esther, the Old Testament queen, Lydia, the New Testament business woman, Phebe and Priscilla, New Testament Church leaders are alluded to in the works of many nineteenth-century women writers, particularly to justify their arguments for wider acceptance of women in public roles. Angelina Grimke's 1836 letter, "Appeal to the Christian Women of the South," for example, uses the models of biblical women to motivate her audience to social action in the cause of abolition. And Lucretia Mott's 1849 sermon, "Discourse on Woman" recalls a biblical heritage for women, particularly women in the church. But none of these biblical allusions adequately addresses the experience of American women travel writers. Perhaps no metaphor can. But Grace Greenwood rewrites a parable in calling herself a "Prodigal Daughter," and this description seems to resonate with the experiences of Greenwood and others like her who left home. What happens, then, when the prodigal daughter leaves home?

In the biblical narrative, the prodigal son, of course, spends his inheritance and then recognizes that he was better off in his father's home. He consequently returns to his father's house where he asks to be allowed to
work as a servant. Instead, his father welcomes him back with open arms, a family celebration follows, and the son promptly regains his esteemed position in his father's house.

But, what if the prodigal is a daughter instead? She might leave home, eager to see the world just as her brother would be. But she would certainly leave home without her share of an inheritance. Even without the privilege of sharing in her father's wealth, she might still leave home. The world she would encounter would, no doubt, respond differently to her than it would to her brother. Where her brother's profligate ways might be read as natural, if still sinful, she would not be expected to have such sinful, if natural, ways. Nevertheless, should she survive, even in desperate circumstances, away from her father's home, she might not decide to return. Once the prodigal daughter gets away from her father's home, she might choose never to return. She has no esteemed position encouraging her to return. At home or away, she is a woman. But away from home she gains some measure of independence that she must forfeit at home. At the very least, then, the prodigal daughter might decide that she will not return home without some plan for improving that home, her father's home.

This revision of a Christian mythology accounts for the penchant for social reform evident in the travel writings of nineteenth-century American women. Leaving home allows them, it seems, to see home for what it is—a place in need
of reform. And the feeling of independence, no matter how brief, invites them to work for greater independence for themselves and for other women as well. Grace Greenwood, the self-proclaimed prodigal daughter, has employed this metaphor to describe her own leaving and returning again to Washington, and this metaphor may be a way to explore women's experiences of traveling and returning home again in the American nineteenth century.

But the metaphor seems to work beyond the confines of that century. In the earlier stages of the research for this project, as I traveled 180 miles to a library to do research, I listened to two songs by contemporary American women folk singers who employ this same metaphor. Michelle Shocked's song "Prodigal Daughter" asks what happens "when a girl comes home with the oats he's sown." She considers the disparity of social justice in the double standard judging of sexual behavior. Iris Dement's song "Infamous Angel" recounts the experiences of a girl who leaves but, at long last, returns home. Introducing this song in concert, Dement explains that she wrote the song because she needed the female counterpart to the parable of the prodigal son. Having just heard these two songs as I was in my car traveling, I then happened upon Greenwood's self-assessment in one of my earliest explorations of her letters in the New York Times. The experiences of these three women—one nineteenth-century letter writer and two twentieth century song writers—resonate with my own experiences. I have
heard many women, including myself, call themselves prodigal daughters for breaking with convention, even in the seemingly simple ways. In discovering these two folk singers I have enjoyed singing along as they revised this biblical narrative. To find then that a woman in the nineteenth century not only called herself prodigal, but did so joyously, at once reveling in her prodigality, daring to return home, and ironically noting that her "more prodigal and deserving brothers" still receive the larger serving of, in this case, veal, as opposed to the biblical fatted calf, gave me a metaphor for understanding women's experiences in our society.

To try now to make sense of Greenwood's journey, I read her letters through the metaphor she employs; I read Greenwood as a traveler leaving home and writing about her travels, then returning home again and writing about this home with new visions of reforms that could improve the lives of the daughters—prodigal or not—who live there. The progression of ideas in Greenwood's letters to the New York Times seems guided by her increasing capacity to read "home," in this case the seat of American politics, Washington, in contrast to the other locations she visits. But for Greenwood, reading this home means reading women into it. And as she becomes increasingly aware that this home is not necessarily a good or even a safe place for women, she becomes increasingly willing to speak to this truth in an effort to improve the conditions of home for
women. Thus, the further away from home she gets, that is, the more she travels, the clearer her social vision for women becomes.

Throughout her career as a correspondent for the *New York Times*, Greenwood leaves home repeatedly, but consistently returns home, if only long enough to reread her home in light of the new perspectives she gains on her travels. I read her letters in geographical sections, organizing my analysis according to the locations from which she writes. In Chapter Two, I give a brief biographical introduction of Greenwood, focusing on the details of her life that are most clearly related to her travels. In Chapter Three, I analyze the letters written on her extended western travels, the letters later published in *New Life in New Lands*. Focusing then on her return home, in Chapter Four I read her "Washington Notes." Greenwood leaves Washington again, this time for European travels, and I consider the letters she wrote "over the sea" in Chapter Five.

Notes

1Grace Greenwood, "Washington Notes," *New York Times*, 21 June 1873. All further Greenwood quotations from the *New York Times* will be referenced by title or headline and date only.


3Although Schriber's is a most recent collection of women's travel writing and her introduction begins to theorize about American women's travel experiences, several other texts further indicate not only the existence but also the popularity of women's travel writings. Allison

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4Eric Leed reads male travel writings as discourses on maleness and notes that when men write about travel they specifically write about what it means to be men traveling. He reads the archetypal patterns of the heroes, knights, and pilgrims as the patterns men develop in their travel writing.

5For further consideration of gender difference in travel writings, see Sara Mills.

6For further examples of the ways women employed biblical language in their reform efforts, see Carol Mattingly's exploration of women's rhetoric in the Women's Christian Temperance Union.
Chapter 2

Her Own Heroine; Or, A Woman of the Times: The Life and Work of Grace Greenwood (Sara Jane Clarke Lippincott, 1823-1904)¹

"I am resolved to be worthy of myself."²

One of the first women to gain access into the congressional press galleries, Grace Greenwood, a well-known and much-respected woman journalist in the nineteenth century, made her opinions about the political life of the country known with candid, even caustic critique.³ In her newspaper columns she opposes capital punishment, responds to speeches by congressional leaders, and praises, and occasionally criticizes, other artists, writers, and thinkers. Greenwood skillfully reviews events of her day from a woman's perspective, and she consistently calls for greater roles for women. Supporting women workers in their efforts to gain equal pay for equal work, favoring women jurists in order to gain stricter sentencing of men convicted of crimes against women, and defending women reformers against attacks by male columnists, Greenwood consistently argues for reform of women's roles and rights through her long-running column for the New York Times.⁴

Greenwood skillfully uses humor in her role as a cultural critic to invite her readers to reconsider and, she hopes, revise their views on contemporary subjects, particularly as these issues relate to women. Everywhere finding an opportunity, and even inventing opportunities if need be, Greenwood employs her quick wit and creative vision

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in her column to contribute to the ongoing reform efforts of women in the nineteenth century. Traveling West, she imagines an oversized pumpkin as a platform for a woman's rights convention, advertising the potential for equality that the West seemed to offer women; in Washington, she proposes monuments to women and their achievements, complaining that her own tax dollars are spent to erect "monstrous shafts," such as the Washington monument, as icons of male power; in Europe, she preaches that women should fill leadership roles in the church, arguing that the church fathers profit from the "bones of women" by limiting women to the equally unfulfilling roles of virgin and martyr.

Like Sara Willis Parton's Fanny Fern letters, Greenwood's letters are filled with humorous advice for women, navigating the double standards and illogical limitations placed on women. Greenwood, however, further explores possibilities for change; she consistently shapes her narratives of contemporary events to espouse a perspective sympathetic to women's reform efforts.\(^5\) Positing female agency into mythological, sociological, historical, even biblical narratives, Greenwood draws analogies to her own time to revise stale, stereotypical definitions of womanhood. Rewriting myths to empower goddesses instead of gods, recasting social mores to appropriate strength as a feminine rather than masculine attribute, reshaping history to highlight heroines rather
than heroes, and recreating biblical narratives to celebrate female rather than male sinners as well as saints, Greenwood, not only in her newspaper column, but also in her earlier writing of poetry and fiction, persuasively calls for a broader vision of womanhood.

Many events in Greenwood's life led her to see the need for this broader vision. Grace Greenwood was born Sara Jane Clarke on September 23, 1823, in Pompey, New York. She was the youngest daughter of the eleven children of Deborah Baker and Thaddeus Clarke. Greenwood's physician father, the grandson of the New England preacher, Jonathan Edwards, participated in political causes; in her childhood home, Greenwood first made the acquaintance of many leaders of the time, including abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass, whose popular orations rallied abolitionist and woman's rights crowds. Greenwood often noted the irony of her puritan ancestry, calling herself a "small splinter" off the "sound old theological block" (Times, 21 September 1874: 5). Playing against her puritan, patriarchal lineage, Greenwood revels in calling herself a prodigal daughter, reshaping the parable for a female protagonist, and preferring the distant connections on her mother's side to Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr, both scoundrels in American history (Times, 11 May 1874: 5). Railing against the patriarchal powers of the day, particularly as upheld by the church, Greenwood distances herself from her own family's participation in the
establishment of American beliefs by claiming an affinity for those who betrayed, rather than upheld, the patriarchal order of American society.

In 1842, her family moved to New Brighton, Pennsylvania. Greenwood had published her work in the Rochester papers while her family lived there briefly, but from her New Brighton home, "White Cottage," she began publishing regularly. In these early writings, Greenwood first assumed a pseudonym. Like many women writers of her day, Greenwood chose an alliterative, playful name, although she explained that Grace was the name her mother had originally intended for her. Sources indicate that she took "Greenwood" from the name of a school in New Brighton which she reportedly attended briefly, but the school was not actually founded until several years after Greenwood had begun using her nom-de-plume. Whereas scholars have often read the use of pseudonyms as women writers' ways of hiding their identities, Greenwood explains otherwise. In response to many requests to make herself known, Greenwood refuses to reveal her given name, insists she is Grace Greenwood, and defends the use of assumed names as a way of having a "name of one's own" (Home Journal, 16 May 1846: 2). Insistent on an individual identity, one attached to neither father nor husband, Greenwood rebuffed patronymic tradition with her eventual almost exclusive use of her assumed name.

Greenwood's earliest published genre was poetry. When in her teens, she published several poems in local papers;
in May 1844, at the age of 21, she published her first poetry for a national audience in The New Mirror. Originally, she published poetry under her birth name, even as she published stories and letters under her pseudonym. In fact, in the February 14, 1846, issue of Home Journal, "The Wife's Appeal," a poem by Miss Sara J. Clarke, is published just above "Tit-for-Tat," a story by Grace Greenwood.

Greenwood's poetry received significant critical attention in her day, although it has been virtually ignored in our own. Anne Lynch, host of one of the foremost literary salons of the nineteenth century and a highly respected poet, wrote an introduction that accompanied a much anticipated engraving of Greenwood in the December 1848 issue of Godey's Lady's Book. Appreciating all of Greenwood's writing, Lynch offers her most fervent praise for "the infallible evidences of genuine inspiration," Greenwood's poetry: "We call these poems Sapphic, and the fragments of Sappho which have come down to us do not surpass them" (Lynch 328, 330).

Greenwood's collection, Poems (1851), includes passionate poetry on a variety of subjects, most notably her "Love-Letter to A Friend" and "An Offering to Anna," which include autobiographical references to Greenwood's intimate friendship with Anna Phillips. The homosensual language of these poems illustrates an acceptance of romantic, same-
sex friendships in the period. In "Love-Letter To A Friend," for example, Greenwood addresses Anna:

In love that would not let me sleep,
I hung above thy tranquil rest,
Whose soft, low breathings scarcely stirred
The snowy folds upon thy breast,
And watched to see thy starry eyes
Beam from their blue-veined lids' eclipse,
And drank thy very breath, and kissed
The night-dew from thy rose-bud lips! (Poems 97)

Greenwood's poetry also reveals broader feminist concerns in mid-nineteenth-century America. In several of her poems, Greenwood contemplates women's roles in marriage, lamenting the freedoms women forfeited under legal, social and religious marital customs. Perhaps most engaging, however, are Greenwood's revisionist efforts in her poetry. Retelling history and reshaping mythology, Greenwood gives voice to women who, in more familiar accounts, are silenced or unsatisfactorily expressive. In "Ariadne," for example, Greenwood rewrites the narrative from Greek mythology to let the heroine speak. In the myth, Ariadne falls in love with Theseus and gives him her own possessions—thread, yarn, jewels—which enable him to escape out of a labyrinth and secure his hero status for slaying the Minotaur. Returning Ariadne's self-sacrifice with self-indulgence, Theseus abandons the woman. Myths give various accounts of Ariadne's demise: she either hangs herself in distress, finds herself alone on an island and eventually marries Dionysus, or dies in childbirth. But Greenwood's poem allows that Theseus's departure should not be cause for
sadness but rather celebration for Ariadne: "'T is thou shouldst triumph; thou art free/ From chains which bound thee for a while" (Poems 9). Greenwood then gives voice to Ariadne, allowing the heroine to reconstruct the myth, to tell her own story. Ariadne concedes that she was initially smitten with Theseus, but now sees him for what he is, "a poor lean beggar in all glorious things" (10). Ariadne will not even bother to hate Theseus and seeks no pity in her newfound state of independence and power:

"If poor and humbled thou believest me,
Mole of a demigod, how blind art thou!
For I am rich in scorn to pour on thee,
And gods shall bend from high Olympus' brow
To gaze in wonder on my lofty pride,
Naxos be hallowed, I be deified!" (11)

Praising Greenwood for her "high-spirited independence," her "generous and far-reaching sympathy," and her "love—bold, free, and fearless--of nature and adventure," Caroline May included "Ariadne," with its "lofty scorn, and stinging satire," in her mid-century anthology, The American Female Poets: with Biographical and Critical Notices (491). Although Greenwood would return to her poetic voice on occasion, writing a poem to Susan B. Anthony on her 70th birthday, for example, in the early 1850s she turned her attention more fully to her prose writing--first her fiction and then her public letters.

Greenwood's fiction likewise focuses on the lives of women, drawing memorable portraits of strong and strong-minded women. In several of her stories, Greenwood
challenges societal strictures for female decorum. In the story originally published as "Tit-for-Tat" in *Home Journal*, February 14, 1846, and retitled "Sophie Norton's Way of Heading a Conspiracy Against Her Peace" in *Greenwood Leaves* (1850), Kate Richmond, a winsome, witty character, makes a bet with her brother and with satiric glee promises that if she loses she will "be a good girl for a whole fortnight" (5). In addition to Kate's badgirl revelry, other elements of the story work to reverse gender stereotypes. The introduction revises a misconception about women:

The sex to which I have the honor of belonging, has, from time immemorial, been accused of being peculiarly subject to that compound of love and hate, of folly and fury—that Lear of passions, the weak mad dupe of his own creations—Jealousy. In the name of the sisterhood, I deny the charge, I fling it back on our accusers; for the lordly sex it is, who yield to the "green-eyed monster" the most loyal and ready obedience. (1)

The story then gives an account of a young man's attempt to make his fiancee, Sophie, jealous. Sophie not only foils his plot but also succeeds in turning the tables. In this story, Greenwood acknowledges an assumption about women in order to refute it; the story ultimately demonstrates the wit and wisdom of both Sophie and Kate, who helps execute the plan. Beneath this simple, humorous plot about gender relationships, Greenwood attempts to dispute unfounded notions about women's possessiveness.

In this same collection, "Society of Four" tells of four girls who join forces and outsmart the dandy son of the school principal. Not knowing that the girls are friends
and never suspecting that they would be well-read enough to recognize his source, the young man cavalierly proposes to three of the four girls, stealing lines from a novel one of the girls recognizes and recites along with him. The charm of this group, even as they expel the young boy from their presence, is captured in their purpose: "We had a constitution which stated that the objects of the society should be 'Fun First; Fun Last; Fun Always.' We bound ourselves to keep nothing in the least degree laughable from one another" (24). The story suggests the strength and security in their happily homosocial environment. Greenwood couches serious cultural commentary amid the fun and frolic of the story, challenging a fundamental misconception about educating women; she even suggests a motive for the perpetuation of such untruth:

"...It is my private opinion, that the system of subduing the wills, and making mental machines of the intellects of faire maydens, in our pattern seminaries is the great, lamentable cause of their being such spiritless, submissive wives, in after years. I am convinced that there is an alarming conspiracy formed by fathers and guardians, to patronize only such institutions of female learning, as are calculated to keep damsels in subordination, in order to prevent them from fulfilling their natural, lofty destiny—from aspiring to equal power and influence in church and state. (23-24)

Greenwood is a character in this story, as she is in many of her stories and sketches. In her first person accounts of her own escapades—romping through the woods, riding across the countryside, wading into the river—Greenwood values active women, and she values herself. In
one autobiographical sketch, "My First Hunting and Fishing," she introduces her male fishing companion but insists that Henry is not the hero of her tale: "I am my own heroine" (Leaves 29). Greenwood refuses the fawning, fainting caricature of femininity in favor of a more active, aggressive picture of a female hero; she revises the portrait of women as damsels in distress, popularized by male writers, with this self-assertive self-portrait.

Greenwood's first prose collection, which she convinced Ticknor and Fields to title Greenwood Leaves (1850), was followed by a second volume of short stories, sketches, and letters, Greenwood Leaves Second Edition (1852). Reviewers praised these early prose writings for their vivid language and clever, concise style. John Greenleaf Whittier reviewed the first series for the National Era and praised Greenwood's works for their evidence of "freedom, freshness, and strong individuality. . ." (13 December 1849: 1). Another reviewer of the collection for the same paper claimed that Greenwood had "taken her place as a decided force in American Literature" (16 December 1850: 1).

Although Greenwood found ready acceptance for her autobiographical fiction, she soon turned to her most successful medium: non-fiction letters in many of the leading newspapers of the day. She continued to publish fiction throughout her lifetime, but these works received less attention from both Greenwood and her audience than her public letters. In her non-fiction, Greenwood employs a
more direct, journalistic style. Still making a spectacle of herself by flaunting her dismissal of traditional female decorum, in her newspaper column Greenwood forthrightly addresses political topics of the day, especially "the woman question," and she aligns herself with many other women reformers.

Greenwood's literary accomplishments had gained her entry into important literary circles; by October of 1849, *Godey's Lady's Book* listed her as an assistant editor; she was also editor of *Godey's Dollar Newspaper* (Finley 61). Many of the periodicals in which she published poetry and prose announced her work well in advance. Greenwood was well-established by then as not only a well-known writer but also as a friend and supporter of other aspiring woman writers. Dedicating her novel *Isa: A Pilgrimage* to Greenwood, Caroline Chesebro thanked Greenwood for "earnest words of welcome from the vineyard in which you were already an acknowledged and triumphant laborer" (3).

Greenwood did not always find such ready acceptance of her public letters. Her staunch abolitionist opinions, published in the *National Era*, created a national uproar. Afraid he would lose his southern audience after Greenwood's anti-slavery letters brought complaints, Godey removed her editorship. He restored Greenwood's name to the next issue, but Greenwood would not stand for this equivocation; she sent a widely published note clarifying, "I have no
connection, either editorially or otherwise, with the 'Lady's Book' (National Era, 7 February 1850: 23).

Ann Douglas (Wood), in her essay, "The 'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," exaggerates Greenwood's connection to Godey's Lady's Book and the presumed conservative, even oppressive espousal of a femininity standard that this magazine is thought to have put forth. Quoting a passage from a letter Greenwood first published in 1846, at the age of twenty-three, Douglas, in her haste to identify converts to the "cult of true womanhood" or the "cult of domesticity," claims that Greenwood "slipped into line behind Mrs. [Sarah Josepha] Hale," then editor at Godey's, in wanting to "have their cake and eat it too: stay 'feminine' and write successful best sellers" (Wood 5-6). While some of Greenwood's early writing may be understood in this framework, her body of work is better read as evidence of Greenwood's coming to consciousness in a period in which "womanhood" and "femininity" were subjected to wavering definitions. That Greenwood values the "feminine" and, by extension, females, should not discredit her feminist perspective. Instead, her agenda to privilege females and value the "feminine," even as she redefines the term, in an era considerably demeaning to women, ought to be acknowledged for its intellectual complexity and its rhetorical acumen.

Greenwood did, however, disassociate with Godey's Lady's Book and accept a position at the National Era, where
one of her duties was checking the copy of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, originally published in this paper (Robertson 43). Greenwood wrote letters and sketches for numerous periodicals during this time, and she soon became a "special" correspondent for the *National Era* and occasionally for the *Saturday Evening Post*.

In 1852, Greenwood arranged financial support for her travels abroad with Charlotte Cushman, a well-known actress, in return for letters to the *National Era*; many other papers reprinted or summarized her travel news, including interviews with Dickens, Browning, and Thacherey. When the *National Era* could not afford the raise she requested to continue her travels, Greenwood found funding from the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Greenwood collected her travel letters to both the *National Era* and *Saturday Evening Post* in *Haps and Mishaps of Travels in Europe* (1854). This collection, Greenwood's best-selling work, remained in print for over forty years. Nathaniel Hawthorne, in a letter to their mutual publisher, William Ticknor, condemned the attention Greenwood drew to herself with this publication, calling her an "ink-stained" woman, but in a later letter claimed that, were he to publish them, his own journals "would compare well enough with Grace's" (Hawthorne, *Letters*, 26-27, 100). Hawthorne's attitude towards women writers, particularly his description of a "d----d mob of scribbling women," has been referenced frequently to establish his distaste for writing.
women. His opinion of Greenwood as "ink-stained," however, insinuates clearer disdain for women. The "stained" epithet echoes biblical language of sin and reveals his attitude that such a public function as writing, apparently suitable for men, was not appropriate behavior for his stereotypical vision of should-be demure, humble, and private women. Greenwood, with her flamboyant style and flourish with fame, no doubt gave Hawthorne particular disease.

Published after Catherine Maria Sedgwick's Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home (1841) and Margaret Fuller's 1847-49 letters to the Tribune, later collected in At Home and Abroad (1856), Greenwood's Haps and Mishaps provides similar contrasts between the new country and the old, although Greenwood is less reverent than Sedgwick in her depictions of tourist attractions and less emphatic than Fuller in her Republican repartee.

Greenwood abbreviated her trip to Europe when Leander K. Lippincott proposed marriage. On October 17, 1853, their wedding made national headlines. The newlywed couple promptly embarked on a joint venture in publishing with their children's magazine Little Pilgrim, which became exceedingly popular; Greenwood's literary friends contributed to it, and Abraham Lincoln reportedly thanked her for it, calling her "Grace Greenwood the patriot" (Thorp 168). Her own contributions to the magazine were
republished in several collections, including *Merrie England* (1855), *Stories and Legends of Travel, for Children* (1857) *Bonnie Scotland* (1861), and *Stories and Sights of France and Italy* (1867).

The couple had one child, Anna Grace, born October 3, 1855. Eventually, rumors of Lippincott's misappropriation of funds from his government job were reported in various newspapers, and he abandoned Greenwood and Anna, escaping prosecution for his offense. Greenwood continued her writing and added lecturing in order to provide for herself and her daughter. She lectured extensively before and during the war, giving particular attention to her continued abolitionist stance and to other social issues, such as prison and asylum reform and to the vigorous maintenance of a unified American republic. More seriously than she treated these issues, however, woman's rights became the focus of her speeches, particularly after the war. Stories and sketches from this period were republished in *Records of Five Years* (1867).

By the 1870s, Greenwood wrote primarily for the *New York Times*. These letters reveal her increasingly progressive voice as she addresses women's issues. Arguing for Fanny Kemble's, Charlotte Cushman's and George Sand's right to wear trousers, for Susan B. Anthony's right to vote, and for all women's right to receive equal pay for equal work, Greenwood boldly argues for social reform. Whether surveying situations at home in Washington or on her
travels West or abroad during her ten-year tenure at the Times, Greenwood's letters return to her familiar call for woman's rights. Exhibiting her agility with rhetorical appeals, Greenwood's letters to the Times employ satire most skillfully to make her revisionist pleas. One series of these letters from her travels West was collected in New Life in New Lands (1873). This collection depicts a more enticing and less rugged western landscape than that of Caroline Kirkland's earlier A New Home--Who'll Follow? (1839), although Greenwood, like Kirkland, praises the West for its possibilities for greater opportunities for women.25

Greenwood's letters to the New York Times reveal her most significant contribution to reform efforts, particularly for woman's rights. Like other women writing for specifically reform papers, such as Amelia Bloomer's earlier Lily (1849-1856), Stanton and Anthony's Revolution (1868-1871), and Lucy Stone's Woman's Journal (1870-1920), Greenwood ought to be remembered for her contributions to the multi-faceted, on-going reform efforts of the nineteenth century. But Greenwood's letters ought also to be recovered for their uniqueness. Although the New York Times had a well-established Republican, reform bias, its primary purpose was to print "all the news that's fit to print." Its general audience was interested in daily news on all subjects, not single-issue news coverage. The official voice of the National Woman Suffrage Association, Anthony

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and Stanton's paper survived only three years. The more tempered voice of the American Woman Suffrage Association, Stone's paper is credited as the most influential of the suffrage papers (Huxman 87). Born out of the conflict between the liberal Stanton and Anthony faction, which demanded constitutional support of reform efforts, and the presumed conservative Stone and Blackwell faction, which emphasized individual women's support of reform efforts, the writing in these two papers show the oppositional perspectives in the ongoing official reform efforts. The two factions began to regroup in 1887, but while they were debating the best way to proceed with reform, other women proceeded with their own efforts at bettering women's lives.

Under less aggressive banners than suffrage, and therefore often more successful in gaining the support of average females, many women contributed to the growing cultural climate of reform. Some women led reform efforts aimed exclusively at gaining women's support; the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, for example, began in 1874, garnering many state organizations for its national organization, and involving hundreds of thousands of women in its efforts to better women's lives (Mattingly 40). Other women, such as Greenwood, found and used still other avenues towards reform, and their works, comparable to but outside of mainstream suffrage organizations, deserve attention. Greenwood's success, then, with her long-running column in the New York Times, provides evidence of another
route to reform: a column in a daily newspaper with a national reputation.

Analyzing the rhetoric of early woman's rights activists, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell suggests that these women were "constrained to be particularly creative because they faced barriers unknown to men. They were a group virtually unique in rhetorical history because a central element in woman's oppression was the denial of her right to speak" (9). Martha Solomon notes, however, that reform newspapers "could offer a counterpoint" to the limitations on women's speech at various reform meetings, allowing women to speak more freely (13). But writing for the more general New York Times insured that Greenwood would walk the same rhetorical tightrope that early women speakers navigated as they addressed politically diverse audiences of both men and women. Even women writers for the New York Tribune, including the earlier Margaret Fuller and Jane Swisshelm, had a more sympathetic audience than Greenwood's because its editor, Horace Greeley, was well-known for his support of radical political views, including universal suffrage.29

But Greenwood skillfully negotiates this tightrope, using her humor as her safety net. She addresses the main topics of women's reform efforts in her column in the New York Times, and she does so with a style so witty as to engage a hesitant, if not skeptical, audience. Clowning for comic relief, she makes a spectacle of herself, a prodigal even, animating her adventures so that readers will follow
along as she journeys through various geographical and political landscapes. Describing a miserable night in the wrong hotel on a lecture tour, for example, Greenwood also celebrates the following evening as she locates the hotel designated for her visit. Inviting her reader to dance along, Greenwood describes the scene:

Imagine, if you can, my joy in being transferred in a comfortable carriage, with my baggage, from those wretched quarters to a thoroughly-appointed and admirably-kept hotel. . . . It was unspeakably jolly. After my friends left, which they did without delay, like the well-bred angels they were, before attending to my toilet in preparation for the excellent dinner that awaited me--before opening box or bag, I took the middle of the sunny room to myself, and indulged in a pas seul the like of which was probably never beheld on any stage. In airy grace it resembled the cachuca, but in joyous abandon it partook of the nature of a devotional dance. It was my way of expressing thanks for a signal mercy. (Times, 21 July 1873)

Traveling throughout the United States, the Western Territories and Europe, and navigating the political terrain in Washington, as well, Greenwood used her column in the New York Times during the 1870s to contribute to the growing awareness of the possibility of and need for reform in women's roles.

In the 1880s, Greenwood returned to Europe for her health and for her daughter's education. She continued her writing, most extensively for the London journal, All The Year Round (Holloway 299-300). In addition, she wrote a biography, Queen Victoria: Her Girlhood and Womanhood (1883), which was commended by the Queen. In 1887, she
returned to the United States, first to New York, where she contributed to Ladies Home Journal, then to Washington, where she continued to publish, primarily sketches reminiscent of earlier times in Washington. In 1900 she moved to New Rochelle, New York, to be with her daughter, and on April 20, 1904, she died in Annie's home. Grace Greenwood is buried in the Civil War section of Grove Cemetery in New Brighton. Her front page New York Times obituary attests to her importance as a literary figure in the nineteenth century, particularly as "the first woman journalist in the Washington field" (21 April 1904).

Notes

1A version of this chapter has been published as "Legacy Profile: Grace Greenwood" in Legacy 14.2 (1997): 58-67. It is reprinted here with permission from the Pennsylvania State University Press.


3For further detail on women's writing about Congress, see Beasley 112-15 and Beasley and Silver.

4Greenwood was the first woman on the newspaper's payroll. See Berger 59.

5Although contemporary critics largely agree on Greenwood's prominence in her own time, the writer remains largely forgotten in our time, perhaps because of misreadings of the satire in her letters. Jane Tompkins, for example, notes that by 1850, Greenwood had become one of the favored writers of the day (227). Other critics have used Greenwood's satiric comments on women to argue that she supports the popular image of "True Womanhood." See Coultrap-McQuin 10 and Ann Douglas 91. Taken out of context of both the specific letters and the larger body of her work, individual lines can be read as unsure, if not equivocating, on appropriate roles for women. But particularly as Greenwood matured and as women's reform
movements gained ground, Greenwood more directly addressed freedom for women and reform efforts.

6At his death in 1879, Greenwood eulogized Garrison, recalling her first meeting of both him and Douglass and her instant affinity for their reform efforts. See her Times letter, 7 July 1879.

7Although distinguished early in the American Revolution for his military expertise, Arnold is, of course, better known for his return to the British camp. As a vice-presidential candidate, Burr tied with Thomas Jefferson for the presidency and forced the House of Representatives to settle the election. Burr was then practically ignored as vice-president under Jefferson. He is better known for killing Alexander Hamilton in a duel and for plotting a conspiracy to establish a new country in the Southwest, of which New Orleans was to be the capital.

8The school, which began taking students in 1852, was apparently quite successful; many well-known nineteenth century women, including Anna Dickinson, attended. See Historical Committee 72-73.

9Douglas ignores this patronymic avoidance by women who insisted on a "name of one's own" and instead sees the entire pattern as passive sentimentality:

Such names, flirting coyly with suggestions of vegetative process, are decorative advertisements of luxury items. Even while they flatter the authors' femininity, they define it as superfluous; they are purely fictional. By such self-baptism, feminine authors become characters in their own sentimental effusions: hothouse products, they are self-announced refugees from history. (Douglas 186)

10N. P. Willis, co-editor at the time, introduced her as yet another blooming American woman poet of seventeen, apparently his favorite age for debutante poets, but not Greenwood's accurate age. See Thorp 146.

11The historical connections of this 1848 introduction of Greenwood in Godey's Lady's Book should not be ignored. Greenwood's debut into the elite circles of literary society occurred the same year as the first woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, the publication of the Communist Manifesto, and the first Paris Commune. Annette Kolodny has noted that, despite such national and international progressive moods, popular writers of this period were still
obsessing about "consequences rather than underlying causes," were not interested in real reform efforts (163). But Kolodny reads the works of many nineteenth century women, and, by extension, reads the women writers themselves as one-dimensional. That the very act of writing for a public audience was a progressive action, rewriting the ideas of woman's sphere should not be forgotten.

12In addition, the earliest issues of Sartain's Union Magazine, then edited by Caroline Kirkland, claimed to publish the best American writers and listed Greenwood among its contributors whose latest works readers would not want to miss.

13Phillips was a longtime friend of Greenwood. Greenwood often summered in the Phillips home in Lynn, Massachusetts, and after Phillips married Greenwood's brother, Rufus Clarke, Greenwood was a frequent visitor in their home, as well.

14Carroll Smith-Rosenberg explores the historical significance of such common "romantic friendships" (53-76). Nina Baym surveys popular fiction by women from 1820-1870 and notes the emotional centrality of women in one another's lives (Woman's Fiction 38-41).

15Naxos is the island on which Theseus supposedly abandoned Ariadne.

16"Strong-minded" seems to have been an epithet leveled at many women in the nineteenth century who dared to speak their minds. Mary Bryan, in "How Should Women Write?" (1860), explained that "those who seek to go beyond the boundary-line are put down with the stigma of 'strong-minded'" (665). Many nineteenth-century women, however, appropriated the label and self-identified as "strong-minded," not unlike the contemporary reclaiming of "bitch" by many women, including Meredith Brooks in her chart-topping single. Greenwood readily did so repeatedly, self-identifying as "strong-minded" in her public letters. In her 1949 work, Margaret Thorp redeems the usage as well, counting Greenwood among the "Six Strong-Minded Women" she deems worthy of remembrance (1, 142-78).

17In a lithograph from the late nineteenth century, Greenwood is pictured as one of the important women in the woman's rights and woman's suffrage efforts. She is pictured along with Anna Dickinson, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Mary A. Livermore, Lydia Maria Child, and
Susan B. Anthony. The original lithograph is in the Granger Collection.

18 Cushman's wearing of breeches on and off the stage made her the subject of much public attention. See Davis 113. Catherine Clinton speculates about the nature of Cushman's relationships with two women, one of whom must be Greenwood, before her more public friendship with sculptor Emma Stebbins (163). Greenwood was rumored to have acted on the English stage while traveling with Cushman, but these rumors are not confirmed by her letters. However, in her anonymous short story, "Zelma's Vow," Greenwood recreates her relationship with her husband, casting Lippincott and herself as competing actors rather than writers (Thorp 157). While acknowledging that there is no textual evidence of Zelma's regrets about her failed marriage, Ann Douglas Wood asserts that Greenwood "clearly feels that her heroine is guilty" (Wood 13). Greenwood's other writings, including personal correspondence, do not reveal a woman regretful of her success as a writer.

19 Although this title was Greenwood's suggestion, she later requested that the work be called Sights and Sightseeing in Europe, but Ticknor and Fields denied her request.

20 Although Hawthorne's letters to Ticknor reveal his judgmental, if not jealous, attitude towards her, Greenwood seems to have gotten along amiably with Sophia and the children. In fact, she dedicated her children's book, Recollections of My Childhood, and Other Stories to Julian and Una Hawthorne and later, when in London, put flowers on Una's premature grave. See her Times letter, 6 October 1878.

21 This often quoted phrase from Hawthorne is from a letter to their mutual publisher, William Ticknor (Hawthorne, Letters, 75). Ann Douglas Wood contextualizes Hawthorne's comment and women writers' response to it, but she suggests that women, particularly Greenwood, felt the same dis-ease with their own success that Hawthorne's comments speak to--a conclusion further study of Greenwood's work will not support. See Wood 5-13.

22 Lippincott had previously left Greenwood for another woman but proposed marriage to Greenwood after the other relationship ended. Lippincott does not figure prominently in Greenwood's writing, likely because rumors of his unfaithfulness to her made news otherwise.
Lydia Sigourney, Mary Mowatt, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and John Greenleaf Whittier were among the many well-known contributors to the Little Pilgrim.

Although their relationship seems to have been estranged early on, Greenwood did occasionally attest to Lippincott's innocence, but eventually she simply ceased to mention him at all. His rumored infidelity to Greenwood likely lent a sympathetic element to Greenwood's persona, enabling her to distance herself from his scandals and, thus, avoid diminishing her popularity. In fact, in later letters she laughingly acknowledges that several other "Mr. Lippincotts" have been mistaken for her husband.

New Life in New Lands contrasts interestingly to Mark Twain's Roughing It (1872), as well. While Greenwood gives an account of her own experiences, as Twain does, Greenwood feminizes the western landscape and often analyzes the landscapes and lifestyles for their female friendliness. She creates a frontier feminotopia in contrast to Twain's masculine mythology of the American West.

The history of these two suffrage organizations and the role of their papers and other women's papers is chronicled in Martha Solomon's collection of essays. Particularly informative are Solomon's own essay and E. Claire Jerry's contribution.

For more information on how women, especially temperance women, motivated numbers of "average women" with their careful attention to "womanly" rhetoric, see Mattingly.

The contributions of the WCTU have largely been ignored. Mattingly's work, however, outlines the significant appeal this organization had and its success at educating and incorporating many women not only in feminist issues in the nineteenth century but also in rhetorical strategies for addressing these issues.

Greeley, in fact, ran for President in 1872 with universal suffrage as his primary platform. However, his earlier, more conservative views on divorce alienated many women readers (Mattingly 42).
Chapter 3

A Prodigal Priestess; Or, A West for Women: Grace Greenwood's Frontier Feminotopia, 1871-72, '73, '74

Beauty is no fragile, rouged, and powdered ball-room belle; but a wild, blooming, vigorous nymph of the mountains; a bounding sparkling Undine amid green dells and sparkling waterfalls. Her eye flashes not back the garish brilliance of the gay saloon, but warm sunshine and clear starlight; and her voice is not tuned to the harp and guitar but sings with the wild-bird and laughs with the rivulet. Hebe herself was no luxurious inhabitant of a marble palace with silken couches and velvet carpets, but reclined beneath the shades and danced amid the dews and morning splendors of the sacred mountain of the gods. The Muses and Graces were all young ladies of rural propensities and most unrefined habits.  

In 1871, Grace Greenwood landed a position at the New York Times, by then a national newspaper with an estimable reputation, and she began writing her often humorous, frequently outrageous, and always outspoken newspaper columns. By the summer of that year, she left her home in the East and headed west to survey for herself what was, by then, the mythologized American frontier and to revamp what she saw for her readers. Traveling through Illinois, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and California, Greenwood sent her travel letters back to her eastern audience, imaging the West as a promising place, particularly for women. In these letters from the West, which Greenwood later collected as New Life in New Lands (1873), and in her subsequent "Colorado Notes" from the summers of 1873 and 1874, Greenwood indeed envisions possibilities for new life. She
recreates a West for her readers that differs significantly from the eastern establishment in which they live.

Greenwood idealizes a West in which women can live free from the restraints of an oppressive patriarchal structure. She markets the possibilities for women to get equal pay for equal work in Illinois; she champions the examples of women's physical strength in Colorado; she wrestles with the debates about polygamy, casting her vote in favor of the political rights of women in Utah; she examines the opportunities for women's education in California. All along the way, Greenwood celebrates all things female and feminine to exaggerate the precedents for all of these women's rights in the West and to support women's claims for these rights across the country. In her travel letters for the New York Times, Greenwood rewrites the mythology of the American West and fashions the frontier into a feminotopia.

Greenwood feminizes the West, imagining a world in which women have greater freedom. Using this western landscape as a foil against which she defines her view of a better world for women, Greenwood outlines the necessities for women to have at least a better existence. Although few imagined such a woman-friendly West, many women writers before Greenwood had written about the American West.

Caroline Kirkland, in A New Home, Who'll Follow (1839), for example, fashioned a West in which women could live just as admirably, if not as comfortably, as they could in the East. And Alice Cary, in Clovernook; Or Recollections of
Our Neighborhood in the West (1852), valorizes rural women in the West who survived the hardships of poverty with integrity that would inspire their eastern sisters. In fact, most of the popular women writers of the nineteenth century wrote of the West; Catherine Maria Sedgwick, E.D.E.N. Southworth, and Maria Susanna Cummins all used the West as a setting for their fiction, and Elizabeth Ellet recalled the women important to its history in her Pioneer Women of the West (1852).

Suggesting that these women were taking their domestic dreams westward with the Homestead Act making land ownership attractive, Annette Kolodny, in The Land Before Her (1984), labels the decade of the 1850s the time for "Repossessing Eden" in woman's fiction and explains that works about the West by women in this period are even more traditionally domestic than those written during the same time but set elsewhere. In fact, she notes a surprising departure from the pattern Nina Baym identifies in woman's "domestic" fiction from 1820-1870. Baym finds one common element of woman's domestic fiction--the supportive homosocial environment, a direct result of the often prematurely dismissed "woman's sphere": "the men in this fiction are less important to the heroine's emotional life than women" (Woman's Fiction 39). But Kolodny argues that women's western writings do not follow this pattern. Instead, they create idealized examples of hearth and home and emphasize the necessity of men in their new, western lives. Kolodny
demonstrates that, "unlike their counterparts set in the East, these westernized domestics paid as much attention to the fathers, brothers, and suitors of their potential Eves as they did to the relationships between women" (The Land Before Her 223).

Playing off R. W. B. Lewis's paradise paradigm in The American Adam (1955), Kolodny explains the significance of men in western works by women: "As though tacitly acknowledging that the domestic Eve could not survive without an Adam properly adapted to home and community, these novels repeatedly depict male characters rehabilitated by frontier hardships. . . ." (The Land Before Her 223). Although Kolodny may underestimate the complexity of these works by not recognizing that women communicated their ideas for reform covertly when necessary, she does observe an unusual attention to men in the works of women writing of the West in the middle of the nineteenth century.

If, however, these would-be Eves emphasize their need for, even dependence on, Adams on the frontier, they at least heap the responsibility for fallenness and the need for rehabilitation onto the male figure, freeing themselves from the traditional understanding that Eve was to blame for the loss of Eden. If women writers highlight the dependence of women on men in their western fiction, perhaps it is because they understood that the West could mean isolation for women; it could mean an end to the comfortable woman's sphere where "women among themselves" found their own voices
and their own agency. Perhaps women's western writings from mid-nineteenth century focus more directly on women's relationships with men precisely because these are the relationships that most clearly need to be reformed, and the West, with its less-rigid gender boundaries, called attention to this.

But these women were also writing before the Civil War and the resulting fourteenth amendment to the United States Constitution which stated that maleness was, for the time being, a requirement for American citizenship. Although women had already begun to question their place in American society, most notably in their initial gathering in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, and in their "Declaration of Sentiments," declaring that "all men and women are created equal," the consciousness of American women was raised more fully after the Civil War. Combining abolition and woman's rights issues, women reformers before the war hoped that their efforts would bring about universal suffrage--the right to vote, regardless of race or gender. In their utopian writings, then, often set in the West, women writing before the Civil War who imagined domestic arrangements, imagined harmonious ones in which men and women shared responsibilities and respected one another. Anglo-American male writers of this time were "taming" the West and suggesting that its original inhabitants needed their "taming" as well, making of the frontier the "meeting point between savagery and civilization." In contrast, Anglo-
American women writers were domesticating the West and suggesting that the territory needed their influence as well, making of the frontier the new meeting point between women and men, on more equal terms and in more intimate quarters than were the custom in the East. If American Eves and American Adams were to find paradise, they were going to have to forge a pattern of peaceful coexistence, and the American West as a setting allowed for this experimentation in the works of women writers.

But the Civil War and resulting legislation made the reality of their struggle for justice more apparent to women. By 1868, with the word "male" a requirement for citizenship in the fourteenth amendment, the alliance between civil rights, at least for African-American men, and woman's rights began to falter. The fourteenth amendment insured due process under American law to all American citizens. The gendered language added to this amendment increased American women's awareness that the laws of their country did not protect them and were, in fact, biased against them. In addition, Native American males were the one group of men excluded from the guarantee to due-process of the fourteenth amendment. Not surprisingly, then, some women traveling in the American West, such as Greenwood, saw parallels between the disinheritance of Native Americans and their own.

But the mistreatment of Native Americans under American law was not the primary thing that drew women's attention to
the West. The Homestead Act of 1862 had already attracted women with the opportunity to own land. Now, parts of the West offered women the opportunity to vote, too. In 1869, the same year that Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton formalized their suffrage efforts by establishing the National Woman's Suffrage Association, Wyoming Territory granted women the right to vote. By 1870, women were also permitted to hold office in this territory, and Utah extended suffrage to women, as well. Although the initiatives would eventually fail, other territories seriously debated proposals to grant women the right to vote during this time and encouraged an optimism about woman's rights in the West (Myres 219+).

This promise of greater freedoms on the frontier paralleled women's energized reform efforts across the country. The 1870s marked an important decade for woman's rights. In numerous organizations, women developed strategies for addressing the ills afforded women in the American patriarchal order. And women strategized in writing as well. Using the West, with its new policy on woman's suffrage, as a setting against which to imagine the possibilities for a reform of the Republic, Grace Greenwood, herself, invoked an idealism like that of her foremothers in the 1850s, with one notable exception. The western Eden that Greenwood envisions is a paradise for American Eves with or without American Adams. Greenwood appropriates the
frontier as a potential place of female agency, and she rewrites the West into a world of and for women.

Intimating this possibility in the works of women writing the West in the 1870s, Kolodny likens this period of women's writing to that of earlier western writing by men:

The domesticating Eve, her calicoes and root cuttings safely tucked away within the wagon, was now asserting the voice of an earlier and almost forgotten Adam. . . .the postbellum Eve of California and Oregon, the Dakotas and the high plains, soon spoke in the voice of both adventurer and domesticator, asserting a garden wholly her own. Indeed, just as Eve had once been edited out of the wilderness paradise, so now Adam would become superfluous to the homestead Eden. (The Land Before Her 240-41)

While Kolodny rightly identifies this return to the valuing of women in western works by women, the equation of these works then with the "voice of an earlier and almost forgotten Adam" does not add up. In western works by male writers, the American Eve has not been edited out of the wilderness paradise. She has been "tamed" along with the land. As Nina Baym demonstrates in "Melodramas of Beset Manhood," many of the best-known works by nineteenth-century American male writers employ the motif of the lone male traveler overtaking, and often taming, the frequently feminine wilderness of the American frontier, and Kolodny's own earlier work, The Lay of the Land, details the feminization of American landscape by male writers.

Historians have also analyzed other images of women in the West, noting the extremes in the most prevalent pictures; images of women in the West have most often been of the
madonna on the prairie, the wife of the pioneer, or the prostitute in her bordello.12

But by the 1870s, at least, women writers, especially Grace Greenwood, revised such phallocentric images of women. Traveling "unprotected," that is, without a male companion, Greenwood revises the images of women dependent on relationships with men for their definition. To place Greenwood back in the paradise paradigm as an American Eve, she is the prelapsarian Eve, wandering in the garden alone. But rewriting even this mythology as well, this Eve is not enamored of the forbidden knowledge offered by the snake; Greenwood is, instead, enamored with her own reflection. In Milton's framing of the Genesis account in Paradise Lost, as influential if not more so than the actual Hebrew account in the contemporary use of this mythology, such pride is evidence of a predilection toward sin. The Miltonic Adam learns that while he was sleeping Eve found, and appreciated, her own reflection. Although Milton's Eve confesses that she preferred her own reflection to Adam, Adam convinces her that she is made to complement him, that she is his other half. Milton implies that Eve's pride foreshadows her eventual demise.13 But Greenwood, shedding the Puritan precedent of self-effacement, revises Milton's judgment. She appreciates the prodigal Eve and idealizes the West for its reflections of both feminine imagery and female agency.
Scholars have noted women's recognition of, and appreciation for, their own reflections in other travel writing as well. Both Mary Susanne Schriber and Mary Louise Pratt have identified this penchant for paying attention to themselves as females and to "foreign places" as female-friendly in the works of women travelers. Schriber describes the gaze of female travelers as "feminocentric," and Pratt explains that women travelers blended personal and political issues to create "feminotopias," "idealized worlds of female autonomy, empowerment, and pleasure" (Schriber xxix, Pratt 167). But neither of these theorists is particularly concerned with women travelers in the American West or with the resulting revision by women of already established mythologies about the lands in which they traveled. An analysis of Grace Greenwood's utopian western travel writings concerns itself with both.

In her treatment of utopian works by women, Lucy Freibert says that there are no American feminist utopias until Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Herland (1915) ("Utopian" 67). In the explicit sense of Freibert's definition, this may be true. Freibert explains the qualifications for such a label: "a truly feminist work espouses social principles and practices that would create a society free of oppression and discrimination based on sex, race, age, class, religion, and sexual orientation, thereby assuring women opportunities for personal autonomy" ("Utopian" 67).14 Although Greenwood's letters do not explicitly address all of these
issues, Greenwood does address other issues, even as she focuses on the possibilities of personal autonomy for women. Carol Farley Kessler has read the works of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, such as The Gates Ajar (1868), Beyond the Gates (1883) and The Gates Between (1887), as earlier examples of American women's utopian writing, but, as Kessler notes, Phelps' utopia is heaven (85). One merely has to die to reach utopia. Greenwood certainly pictures a more lively feminotopia. In fact, because she uses the non-fiction genre of letters and because she uses a real location of the American West, mythologized though it may be, as the setting, her feminotopia reveals a more hopeful perspective on the possibilities of real reform of the Republic than either Phelps' heavenly version or Gilman's imaginary vision convey.

Although Greenwood does attend to other important political issues in her travel letters from the West, issues such as the mistreatment of Native Americans and the destruction of the wilderness, Greenwood's reading of the West is feminocentric. She reads these issues and others only as they provide contributions to or pose limitations for her frontier feminotopia. Other women writers, with whom Greenwood was acquainted, focused more explicitly on other political issues. For example Helen Hunt Jackson's Bits of Travel at Home (1874) envisions the West as a more comfortable place for women, as well, but she focuses more closely on the displacement of Native Americans in the
territories, which she would later discuss in her polemic *A Century of Dishonor* (1881) and her novel *Ramona* (1884). Greenwood was aware of Jackson's work in the West, then usually published under "H.H.," and even contrasted her own vision of the West to that of Jackson. Revering H.H.'s didactic work, Greenwood calls Jackson a prophetess of the West but insists that her own work is that of a "devout priestess," reveling in the western wilderness (21 September 1874). Rather than calling attention to the wrongs of men in the West, Greenwood worships the rights of women instead. In fact, the further west Greenwood travels, the more ideal and idyllic her frontier feminotopia becomes. As she travels westward, this self-professed prodigal gains a greater appreciation for her own prodigality, if prodigal it is to value the feminine and read culture for its relevance to women.

Greenwood retraces the steps of travelers and travel writers before her and follows a few paths of her own on her journey. Explaining the strategy of creating utopias, describing lands "foreign" to readers, Daphne Patai suggests that utopian writing "has an extraordinary capacity for moving the reader to a new awareness" (151). Greenwood consistently defamiliarizes the western mythology as she views the West through her feminocentric lens in order to move her readers to a new awareness of women's issues.

But the locations are not the only familiar elements of Greenwood's western writings. In them, she nods to the
familiar expectation for women to be humble as well, but then deliberately ignores such an expectation with her obvious appreciation of herself and her own forthright opinions. Writing the preface to New Life in New Lands after her return to the East, Greenwood jokingly explains that these letters were written "irregularly and hurriedly, in brief intervals of travel, visiting, lecturing, and sight-seeing" and that:

they go into print the second time with all their old sins on their heads,—the "original sin" of having been a journal of travel over well-traveled paths; "sins of omission" in matter of philosophic thought and valuable statistics; "sins of commission" in the way of puns and slang and "foolish jesting which is not convenient." (New Life in New Lands v)

Reveling in her rebellion, Greenwood further "apologizes" for her letters, explaining, "if from some of the richest poetic treasure-fields of the world I have brought only rock-crystals of fancy and sentiment, I hope they are good articles of their kind, and I do not call them diamonds" (vi). This faux apologetic reveals the tone and style of many of the letters that follow in which she invites her readers to re-vise the West into a frontier feminotopia.16

Historians present various theories about the West's progressiveness towards women, particularly toward woman's suffrage. Although some historians propose that the West simply had a higher ratio of men with convictions that women truly deserved the right to vote, other, more practical theorists suggest that men in the territories either were not afraid of women's voting because the ratio of women to
men was so disproportionate or wanted to advertise the West as a welcoming place for women in order to rectify that ratio (Myres 219). But Greenwood does not concern herself with the reasons why women had greater freedoms in the West; she simply celebrates the West's distinctions from the East and advertises these distinctions as she narrates her travels.

One attraction Greenwood immediately finds worthy of advertising is a growing precedent for equal pay for equal work in the West, enabling women there to live alone or choose marriage for reasons other than economic necessity. This is, in Greenwood's perception, the main tourist attraction in Illinois. In her first letter from there, Greenwood contrasts the West with the East, describing Chicago as "New York with the heart left in" (15 July 1871). And in her second letter from Illinois, Greenwood supports this assessment with her description of a watch factory in Elgin. She first gives a flattering description of the elegant products and machinery at the factory, attending to the evidence of industrialization that her readers would have been interested in. But industrialization is important to Greenwood only for its potential to grant women economic independence.

Satirizing the popular belief about women's ways of thinking, Greenwood explains her own interest in the mechanisms of watches and insists that women could feel at home, even in factories, in the West:
Still, I fancy I could do it, unmechanical and unexact as is the female brain, for never did mortal woman question mortal man for three mortal hours as I questioned the courteous superintendent whose hard lot it was to escort me about on that memorable day. (31 July 1871)

After portraying herself as almost insufferable in her curiosity and forthrightness and, therefore, identifying with any women readers who might doubt their own mechanical nature, Greenwood concludes proudly, "I believe I could put a watch together myself, after a fashion" (31 July 1871). She plays with the stereotype that women talk too much and think too little, only to conclude that she could certainly master these mechanical skills if she wanted to.

But proving that she and, therefore, other women are capable of doing the work in the factory is not Greenwood's primary purpose in this letter. The greater hurdle for women in the work place in the nineteenth century, not unlike today, was not overcoming their own self-imposed limitations, attitudes internalized from cultural degradation of women's capabilities, but negotiating both the demeaning attitudes of men who were most often their employers and the diminishing returns on the investment of their time, since women were seldom paid as much as men for their work. Cultural assumptions about women's capabilities and "appropriate" work for women made finding jobs outside the home difficult for women. Most of the jobs available to women were gender segregated, with "women's work" inevitably perceived to be less valuable. When women did find jobs working alongside men, there were no legal policies to
encourage equal remuneration. Women reformers addressed this issue as one of the major steps toward equality. Speakers at conventions and writers in numerous papers argued for equal pay for women, highlighting women's natural capacity to work and rejecting the presumed inferiority that unequal pay scales suggested. Greenwood highlights the issue, as well, but she idealizes Illinois as a place where there is at least a precedent for equal pay, for valuing women's work.17 Greenwood emphatically states her interest in this question of woman's rights, and she alludes to the power of women's solidarity to make progress towards reform. She first comments that in this factory in the West, with its promise of equality, women are not paid equally:

Having always at heart the woman question, and preaching everywhere the gospel of equal wages for equal labor, I dealt with my friend, the superintendent, on the subject while going the rounds; and finding that the women, though well paid and apparently contented, were not as well paid as the men, I felt, as I always do, like stirring up sedition among my sisters. (31 July 1871)

Greenwood recounts that the superintendent justifies his unequal payment for female employees by claiming that the "girls would get married and quit work, just perhaps as they had become well trained and useful, and so were not as valuable and reliable operatives as men, with whom marriage made no difference, except to fix them more steadily in their places and at their work" (31 July 1871). But Greenwood turns the superintendent's argument against an
equal pay policy into an argument for it. She explains that women need more work opportunities so that marriage would not be their only option:

... if women had more avenues of labor opened to them, and were better paid, they would be less likely to marry, at least in a hurry. There would be an end among the working-women to the marriage of convenience too often a frantic flop "out of the frying-pan into the fire." (31 July 1871)

Greenwood skillfully uses a more conservative argument that marriage should not be entered into lightly, should not be a mere "frantic flop" of convenience, to put forth a more progressive argument that working women should be paid more.

After explaining her reasons for defending such a reform issue, Greenwood finds one example of a factory woman who is paid equal wages because her "delicate graving" rivals that of her male colleagues. In citing this example, Greenwood illustrates not only that women can adapt to the work place but also that the work place can be adapted to woman's rights; she praises the potential for independent living for women afforded in the West if a precedent of equal pay for equal work continues.

The greatest tourist attraction Greenwood finds on the next stop on her itinerary, Colorado, is the evidence of women's physical strength. Traveling through Greeley, Greenwood fantasizes that greater recognition of women might not be far behind in the territory. She imagines living a life important enough to lend its name to a town, emphasizing a physically active life she would enjoy: "Were
I a man, I would rather give my name to a town like this, and teach such a brave colony what I knew of farming, than be President of the United States" (19 August 1871). Even if the political realm were more fully open to women, Greenwood suggests, she would still prefer an active, agrarian life in the West to a life of politics in the East.

In both the East and the West, women in the nineteenth century frequently challenged binding cultural stereotypes that denied women could be naturally athletic and fashioned them into passive spectators instead. At mid-century, Amelia Bloomer, editor of the Lily, rejected the physical limitations of conventional dress and popularized the Bloomer costume for, among other things, its cooperation with physical exercise and movement. Near the end of the century, Frances Willard, longtime leader of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, encouraged women to exercise with the publication of her adventures with Gladys, her bicycle. Other women writers portrayed active women in an effort to encourage women to sample their own strength, and women writers of girls' books captured active girls on a variety of adventures to combat the stereotype that "boys will be boys," but girls should be still and quiet. Greenwood also consistently values active women in her fictional works, and in her travel letters she recreates scenes from Colorado to highlight active women.

Greenwood soon no longer needs to imagine greater physical freedoms for women because she witnesses them
herself. She enjoys a circus and, in her retelling of it, puts woman's rights in the center ring. The most impressive performers, she says, are the women: "By far the most accomplished performers that night were women, in especial two blondes, who did the most daring and astonishing things on the trapeze, and on the tapis, as acrobats, and, 0 heavens, as tumblers" (19 August 1871). Greenwood marvels at the physical freedom these women enjoy, and she aligns their actions with those of women in other fields who likewise defy gendered boundaries.

In acknowledging an immediate, negative response to these women in the circus, Greenwood demonstrates that she can see such "shocking" dismissal of gender boundaries from some of her readers' perspectives:

It was, to me, very dreadful,—a revolting, almost ghastly exhibition of woman's rights. An old-fashioned conservative could not have been more shocked when Elizabeth Blackwell went into medicine, and Antoinette Brown into divinity, than I was at seeing these women, in horrible undress, swinging, and tumbling, and plunging heels over head out of their sphere. (19 August 1871)

Inviting her readers, then, to see this scene from her perspective, Greenwood reconsiders this "ghastly exhibition," and celebrates that "women could be so courageous, so skillful, so strong," that women could build "steadiness of nerve and firmness of muscle" and yet keep "the beauty and grace of their forms and all the fullness and soft curves of youth" (19 August 1871). Commenting on these performers' abilities to master such tasks without losing their physical femininity, Greenwood combats the
common perception that women who tumbled out of their sphere lost their womanliness. She raves, instead, about these women's capacity to blend their beauty and grace, traditional attributes of womanliness which Greenwood appreciates, with their physical expressions of strength.²³

Showing that even women's more traditional roles require great strength, Greenwood further advertises Colorado as a place where women can shoulder such tasks. Making an emotional appeal in her sympathetic portrait of a particularly strong woman whose work apparently provided for her younger brothers and sisters, Greenwood appreciates this older sister's motherly care for her younger siblings: "... having four younger brothers and sisters swarming all over her. She supports, in more ways than one, the whole family" (19 August 1871). Here Greenwood turns from the comic commentary on women tumbling out of their sphere to the serious situation this particular woman rider faces in supporting her entire family, to champion women's strength. Restrictions on "appropriately" gendered behavior often prevented women, even in the most serious circumstances, from using their strengths to protect themselves or their families. Greenwood, well aware of such restrictions on women in the East, surveys this spectacle of woman's physical strength and promotes it as one of Colorado's greatest attractions.²⁴

Greenwood not only celebrates the strength of other women in Colorado, but also finally participates with these
women in the unequivocal breaching of gender boundaries herself when she visits the mining areas. Acknowledging the number of "heroic women" employed as miners, she takes advantage of an opportunity to make a hero of herself and descends into a mine:

It was proposed that I should descend into this mine. . . . So I went farther up the mountain, to a moderately deep and dry mine, which I bravely descended in a bucket, and with my own hand chipped off a bit of silver ore, which I expect my posterity will piously preserve. It is all of that sort of thing they are likely to receive from me. (23 September 1871)

On a return trip to Colorado several summers later, Greenwood revisits the mining villages and imagines descending deeper into this active role than her exploration of a "moderately deep" mine allows: "If I were a miner I should prefer to lodge in my tunnel--I would rather creep into the bosom of mother earth--than hang on to her ragged skirts when the winds were rising and avalanches falling" (20 October 1873). But this first mining expedition, bare-handedly chipping off the silver ore, gives Greenwood sufficient cause to celebrate her strength.

Considering herself part of "the bravest humanity of the age," Greenwood praises the laws in these mining towns, natural laws which encourage women's strength rather than civil laws which discourage them. She sarcastically compares western towns to eastern cities and concludes, "A New England village, resting under the beneficent shadows of the school-house, an Orthodox church, and the county jail could not present a more quiet and decorous aspect" (23
September 1871). Revising the mythology of the wild West that even some women perpetuated, that the West was "no region for tourists and women," Greenwood insists that women in the West thrive in less restricted roles. By intertwining eastern restrictions on women with restrictions on the land itself, Greenwood identifies women quite directly here with the West. Just as the West seems to be thriving without the "beneficent shadows" or more precisely overshadowing, Greenwood sarcastically implies, so women thrive without such shadowing. Greenwood praises the removal of such shadows eclipsing women in the West.

Escaping the shadows of her life in the East for brief excursions back out West where she continues to celebrate her own strength, Greenwood is so enamored with life in Colorado that she returns in the summers of 1873 and 1874 to a cabin she owns in Manitou. Believing, as she labels Colorado in 1872, that there "men and women are today on an absolute equality," Greenwood obviously appreciates the contrast between her homes in the East and West (19 November 1872). On her return visits to Colorado, she maintains her vision of Colorado as part of a female feminotopia, describing it "a land so near heaven, and so far from New York and Washington" (13 October 1873).

On these brief trips back to Colorado, Greenwood continues to recreate the West and women in it. On a camping excursion in 1873, this frontier Eve usurps Adam's privilege by naming each location in the area with names
more feminine; she names each campsite after the article, usually of clothing, lost there, moving from the "Camp of the Lost Glove," to the "Camp of the Lost Washing" (6 and 13 October 1873). And she revises the mythological image of a damsel in distress with her recollection of a buggy-breakdown near the edge of a cliff:

I have to record, with I hope pardonable pride, that when our ambulance broke down in that sudden and appalling manner, although it contained five of that fragile sex who are expected to shriek on all thrilling occasions, from the sight of a mouse to the sinking of a ship, not a scream, not a cry went out on the wild mountain air. (13 October 1873)

Greenwood further appreciates her own proclivity for outdoor living as she describes the camping as "roughing it to my entire satisfaction." Further attesting to her own agility, even while mocking herself, Greenwood describes her own gymnastics as, "leaping from rock to rock like a sizable mountain sheep" (5 November 1873).

Greenwood highlights her return visit to Colorado in the summer of 1874 with an idealized domestic portrait, but her picture is hardly that of a domesticating Eve keeping house for Adam. In Clematis Cabin, Greenwood celebrates her own capacity for "pioneering and pruning" (4 September 1874). Although she reckons with the potential of losing her frontier fantasy when burglars, who Greenwood is certain are immigrants from the East, attempt to rob her, Greenwood secures her feminotopia by delineating the clever methods of self-protection active women can devise. She describes the confrontation between would-be robbers and herself and her
companions: "We had no firearms, but we were not without deadly weapons." She boasts of the women's creativity, preparing to defend themselves with a lamp, dagger, stiletto, and "formidable blue cotton umbrella." To insure her own domestic tranquillity, Greenwood warns "all gentlemen of burglarious proclivities" that she and her companions now possess firearms and "intend to practice diligently ... firing promiscuously from our balconies o' nights" (4 September 1874). Describing the burglary in conventional courting terms, Greenwood makes clear that she is uninterested in uninvited guests, that she and her companions are quite content with themselves: "in short, it is no use for them to call again at Clematis Cottage, and may be slightly dangerous" (4 September 1874).

But in her 1872 travels in Colorado, Greenwood confronts the reality that women have not always enjoyed such physical freedoms and have not always been able to defend themselves. She calls for more honest and consistent recollections of American history when, in Boulder, she listens to the stories of two "Indian fighters" who have been praised for their skill in battle and for killing so many Native Americans in the Sand Creek Massacre. She insists "that there were two sides to that dark and dreadful story" (23 September 1871). Although she loathes the senseless killings, she recalls similar incidents in American history to contextualize this slaughter: "If the slaughter was indiscriminate, still I doubt not they were
actuated by as stern a sense of duty as ever impelled to deeds of vengeance and extermination our pious Puritan sires, whose valiant deeds we glorify every Forefathers' day" (23 September 1871).30

Even in her reconsideration of the brutality in American history, Greenwood finds another chance to champion women's physical strength. Greenwood rewrites history with her own account of the Sand Creek Massacre, and she renders a version of history which sympathizes with the women involved in this massacre: "They [the frontiersmen] fired alike on the squaws, who stood and fought, and the braves, who ran away." She reveres the bravery of women active in battle, and she laments the passive roles to which men have more frequently assigned women in battle. Chastising men for flaunting the "scalps of white women and children" that they reclaimed in war, Greenwood contrasts the active roles she prefers to this passive part women are often cast into in men's affairs:

One soldier confessed that he brought away a delicate pair of shoes, a woman's shoes, which looked, he said, as though they had been filled with blood. Another soldier has ever since preserved as a memento, but has now given to me, a gayly painted shield, which he took from a slain brave, and which should have been tenderly buried with him, for it was doubtless a precious possession to the young man, being tufted with many eagle feathers, and especially decorated with a large scalp of fine, soft, brown hair, evidently that of a young white girl. (23 September 1971)

Much preferring active roles for women, even in battle, and demonstrating the need for women to protect themselves, Greenwood mourns the memory of women killed in battle,
asking her readers to imagine "if those gory shoes belonged to your mother or mine and if that beautiful hair had been torn from the head of your dear daughter or mine." She invites her readers to join her in rejecting this relegation of women to battle spoils, reflecting on the "strange trophy" of war: "Every now and then those soft, girlish locks were blown against my hand, and always the touch sent to my heart a thrill of wondering pity. Poor child! 'Who was her father? Who was her mother?'" (23 September 1871). Juxtaposing the "squaws, who stood and fought" with the "poor child" whose scalp is a battle spoil, Greenwood reminds her readers of the roles women have often been made to fill in history. Insisting that women, literally, will not survive if not permitted to develop physically, Greenwood reclaims the West as a place where women can flourish.

Greenwood finds another opportunity to praise the strong women of the West on a return to Denver. At a Native American fair, with tournaments and races, Greenwood observes a woman who rides bareback and deserves to win the competition. Although the male judges do not prize this woman's riding, Greenwood does:

. . . I should have liked to set those inscrutable judges, and that gay young man, the marshal, each on a bare-backed, high-mettled steed, and I would have compelled them to ride side-wise and encumbered with a long, heavy skirt. After galloping and caracolling about that course for a few times, I would think their respect for such performances would have increased. But perhaps they thought bare-back riding something unfeminine and reformatory, and were of the opinion that the
side-saddle was one of the sacred emblems of a model woman's lop-sided sphere. But, for all that, I hold the lady displayed rare horsewomanship. (17 October 1871)

Making then her praise for this woman into a call for an end to the lop-sided sphere considered appropriate for "model" women, Greenwood rejects the judges' evaluation and makes her own instead.\textsuperscript{31} She commends this free display of woman's strength and employs inclusive language to appropriate horseback-riding as woman's right, calling this woman's skill horsewomanship.

Greenwood's final advertisement of Colorado's friendliness toward strong women is also her most utopian. Describing the beauty and bounty, including the "Brobdingnagian vegetables," Greenwood even sees feminist platforms in vegetation. She especially enjoys the sight of a pumpkin that weighs 130 pounds because it would serve well the cause of woman's rights: "I really reverence that pumpkin, that mountain avalanche of summer sunshine. I would make a pulpit of it, or a platform of a woman's rights convention, or put it to some other sacred and dignified use" (17 October 1871). Connecting woman's physical freedoms with other issues of woman's rights, Greenwood suggests that Colorado naturally provides support to women.\textsuperscript{32}

Greenwood encounters greater difficulty in advertising Utah, with its prevalence of polygamy, but, because it is also a place where women can vote, she nevertheless sees it for its political potentials for women. As Tarla Peterson
has noted in her history of the *Exponent*, a Mormon woman's newspaper, "By 1872, polygamy and woman's suffrage were hopelessly entangled, for congressional antipolygamy bills invariably included a clause removing suffrage from Utah women" (169). Emmeline B. Woodward Wells, editor of the *Exponent* in the 1870s, consistently framed polygamy as a marital arrangement which gave women greater freedom than monogamous arrangements (Peterson 173). Non-Mormon woman's rights activists seldom agreed. As Catherine Clinton has found, "Many women champions of female suffrage argued that Utah's women needed the vote so they could outlaw polygamy" (110). Thus Greenwood, in handling the issues of polygamy and woman's suffrage simultaneously, enters an on-going debate among woman's suffrage advocates.

As a champion of religious liberty, Greenwood will not hastily condemn the Mormon practice. She appreciates the brave history of a leader, Joseph Smith, who had been murdered in the East for unconventional religious beliefs, and of a people and their pilgrimage in 1847 into the West to settle Salt Lake City. In fact, early in her stay in Utah she visits a Mormon tabernacle and sees Brigham Young, whose reputation as a cruel and heartless man she challenges:

> I had heard many descriptions of his personal appearance; but I could not recognize the picture so often and elaborately painted. I did not see a common, gross-looking person, with rude manners, and a sinister, sensual countenance, but a well-dressed, dignified old gentleman. (24 October 1871)
Greenwood recognizes the irony that religious persecution occurs in a land that bravely boasts having been founded on such a lofty principle as religious freedom.

Her criticism of polygamy is not about the blows it strikes against religious orthodoxy but about the blows it strikes to women's independence, which otherwise would be well-established in Utah because of women's political rights there. Greenwood at least listens to the defenses of polygamy: that Mormon men are good to their numerous wives and that carrying out this commandment, to multiply marriages in order to multiply offspring, is as burdensome to men as it is to women. But she challenges this assumption: "you only see the shadow of it in the faces of the women," while the men "look remarkably care-free, and even jolly, under the cross" (30 October 1871).

Having heard the formal arguments in defense of polygamy, Greenwood determines to look into the faces of Mormon women and to listen to their stories to come to her own conclusions about "plural marriages." While she deals with the harsh realities that many of these women face, she also questions the loss of political rights for women in all marriage arrangements. As Peterson has noted, polygamy was one of the issues used to oppose woman's suffrage efforts because the cultural understanding of coverture implied that men with more than one wife in effect had more than one vote (173). Recognizing this, Greenwood identifies with eastern judgment against polygamy but shifts this position to use
these same standards of judgment to analyze women's loss of rights in all marriage arrangements.

Explaining Mormon women's sad demeanors, Greenwood emphasizes the demeaning tradition of women's identities being defined by their husbands: "It were, perhaps, difficult to feel much pride in the sixteenth part of a man, as men go. Even the first wife of a wealthy saint betrays in her husband and household, they say, no exultant joy of possession" (30 October 1871). Rather than the pride a married woman presumably takes in her husband, which is diminished if she shares him with other women, Greenwood finds that perhaps women in polygamous arrangements take pride instead in being able to help other women. Polygamy, she explains, appeals to a woman's "magnanimity toward her sister-woman out in the cold" (30 October 1871). In addition to the female community polygamy provides, Greenwood suggests, too, that unlike their sisters in the East, at least these women in the West know from the first that their husbands have other companions. She demonstrates that marriage outside of Utah is no utopia:

But there is some sorry comfort in the thought that for these poor polygamous wives there is no wearing uncertainty, no feverish anxiety; that they are spared the bitterest pain of jealousy, the vague nightmare torture of suspicion, the grief and horror of the final discovery, the fierce sense of treachery and deception. They know the worst. (30 October 1871)

Greenwood finally takes a stand on polygamy "on the fact of its being 'at variance with the principle of woman's equality with man, and therefore inimical to her
happiness," but she reiterates her optimistic portrait of Utah where, she believes, marriage laws may need to be changed, but at least women, with the vote, have some say in their own arrangements (30 October 1871).

Finally calling for reform of the policies that encourage all women's economic dependence on men, Greenwood satirizes the self-righteous "Christian" position that would legalize one form of adultery but condemn another:

I find it almost impossible to believe that Mormon law-makers may be as conscientious in religionizing polygamy as are our Christian legislators in legalizing prostitution. (4 November 1871)

She defends Utah and its practices against the attacks of people in the East by sarcastically explaining that, naturally, all visitors from the "favored and refined communities in the States, where there is nothing of the sort,—under that name at least" would find it shocking. Challenging the dependence brought about by marriage customs and laws, Greenwood further draws connections between the East and the West. She explains that she cannot see a Mormon home "without shuddering at the thought of the tragedies in women's lives that may be passing under its roof" but adds, with perhaps her harshest sarcasm rejecting the Eastern self-consciously Christian establishment, that "of course one never has such thoughts in passing elegant houses in Eastern cities, where wives are free and happy and husbands are loving and loyal" (4 November 1871). Using polygamy in the West to show the fallacy of happy marital
arrangements in the East, Greenwood defends her frontier vision where at least women are gaining the political rights to extricate themselves from marriage if necessary.

While other woman's rights activists, such as Anna Dickinson, urged Mormon women to "vote themselves free and virtuous," Greenwood sympathizes with these women who will not vote for anti-polygamy laws because they do not want their children to be considered bastards. Instead, she focuses her advice to women in Utah, to all women in fact, to support the erasure of coverture laws which give men control over their wives, even their wives' bodies. She finds that "polygamy does not seem to spare women the cares of maternity" and cites examples of women who have literally dozens of children and of "polygamic twins" born to two wives of one husband at the same time (1 November 1871).

Even having witnessed such disturbing scenes, Greenwood insists that women still have more power in Utah than in the East. She continues to champion women's political privileges there, and she recollects the details of a court proceeding to demonstrate the increasing political rights for women in the West. In the court case, a woman testifies against her polygamist husband, and, based on the woman's testimony, he is convicted. Greenwood notes the irony that here, in the place thought by many to be a horrid place for women because of polygamy, but where women can vote and now, it seems, even testify against their husbands, women are beginning to be seen as separate beings from their husbands.
She celebrates the fact that "the legal, poetic, and time-honored fiction of the 'sacred oneness' of husband and wife has received its first stupefying blow," in Utah (4 November 1871). Greenwood delights in predicting the impending erasure of coverture laws that she believes this case foreshadows. In addition, laws in many places still denied women the right to divorce, even in abuse cases. Greenwood sees this groundbreaking case in Utah as evidence of the potential progress to be made in the West by women's increased political rights.

The husband in this case, Hawkins, is said to have beaten his first wife and humiliated her by bringing in two younger wives without her permission. He apparently abused her—not only her body which bore the physical evidence of his beatings, but also her spirit which bore his manipulating suggestions that his ideas were her religious duty. Regretting that this woman endured such abuse, of both body and spirit, and that her body bore enough evidence to convict the husband, Greenwood nevertheless acknowledges that this woman's case has brought about a radical change in the political process because courts permitted a woman to testify on her own behalf and her word was taken against that of a man. Greenwood rejoices that this woman has won her freedom from her husband and advertises the growing political rights, even in the "quaint capital of Mormondom," of women in the West.
Greenwood obliquely advertises Nevada as home to "the best friends a poor strolling Bohemienne ever had," and writes only one letter from there, retracing her tours of the Sutro Tunnel and Lake Tahoe (30 November 1871, 23 December 1871). Finally making "the last of [her] long pilgrimage from ocean to ocean," Greenwood's dreams of this female frontier are whet by the excellent opportunities for women's education she finds upon her arrival in California (23 December 1871).

Then, as now, education was often seen as the first, most significant step toward woman's independence. Women in the nineteenth century founded educational institutions of their own and fought for women to be admitted into the long-denied halls of higher education in America. Even when women were admitted into "men's colleges," they were often denied equal access to learning materials and, when they did overcome these obstacles and succeed, academically and socially in spite of them, women were often denied full benefit of their own success. Lucy Stone, for example, one of the first women to enter Oberlin College, graduated in 1847 at the top of her class; however, she was made to sit silently in a chair on the auditorium floor while a male student stood to read her valedictory speech from the platform (Bernikow 122). And as late as 1897, when Laura Bateman, a first year female student at the University of South Carolina, was elected president of her class, administrators forced her to resign from this position on
the grounds that her sex was not equal to the task (Rose interview). In order to rectify these inequities in women's education, many woman's rights leaders entered in order to radicalize the "gender-appropriate" profession of teaching, offering access for their female students to the same resources and support networks that their male counterparts would have had. These women in the nineteenth century also railed against the sex-stereotypes attached to teaching, which lowered its pay scale in comparison to other, male-dominated professions requiring equal or less training (Bernikow 146). Greenwood also addressed this issue of women's education, frequently using school settings for her stories and reminding readers of education's liberating potential.

Not surprisingly, then, Greenwood worships in the Mecca of women's creative and intellectual work she sees in California, finding the literary and artistic societies in many cities where female sculptors, writers, and actresses work in supportive communities. She jokes of the "women-invaded universities of Michigan and California" which encourage her to believe that woman's rights will finally be secured (29 February 1872). She is so certain, in fact, of the far reaching effects of woman's education that she sees the potential for its waves to reach far beyond the California coast:

I have a poetic friend in this city who is about to flee to a lonely island in the South Seas to get away from it. I tell him he flees in vain. The Robinson Crusoe of to-day finds on the rocks
of his Juan Fernandez notices of Woman's Rights Conventions. . . . (29 February 1872)

After observing the creativity of other women, Greenwood finds her own creativity sparked when she basks in the company of bright women at the Mills Seminary for Women. Likely alluding to Sir Philip Sidney's utopian writing, *Arcadia*, Greenwood resets his pastoral Renaissance romance in her female frontier, attesting to the rejuvenation she finds at the school: "in its atmosphere, as in a magic bath, I seemed for a time to renew my own youth, and to dwell again in the school-girls' Arcadia" (18 May 1872).

With this baptism into a female fountain of youth, with her creative vision encouraged in the homosocial environment, Greenwood views California's remaining tourist attractions through a more clearly focused feminocentric lens. She and three female friends set out to explore the natural surroundings that Greenwood consistently feminizes. Claiming the sun, the mountains, almost all natural elements as part of a sisterhood, Greenwood explores sacraments of feminine experience in this forest temple. She marvels at the mysterious feeling of having been "dropped into the bosom of Mother Earth" where she finds the "cataract of the Bridal Veil" just across from the "trickling cascade called the Virgin's Tears" (27 July 1872). In another section of the forest, Greenwood questions the honoring of the roles of women without honoring real women themselves. She describes one dead tree, "the Mother of the Forest," that still stands, hollow, and "presents a melancholy, not to say
ghastly appearance, it having been actually flayed alive some years ago" (10 August 1872). When she finds that all other trees in the forest are named for male leaders of both church and government, she complains that "the only woman, beside this unfortunate 'mother,' who has been distinctly honored by having a tree dedicated to her, is Florence Nightingale, whose name naturally associates itself with a grove" (10 August 1872). Greenwood finds the otherwise masculine nomenclature unsuitable for the forest she so fully appreciates as feminine. In an uncharacteristically direct appeal to her readers, in fact, Greenwood reclaims the female forest and shares her feminotopian vision:

". . . come and see what Nature, high-priestess of God, has prepared for them who love her, in the white heights and dark depths of the Sierras, in the profound valley itself, the temple of her ancient worship. . . "(22 July 1872).

In this temple, Greenwood and her traveling companions wear the vestments appropriate for their task; they are fitted with flannel mountain suits for their riding. All the while delighting in their surroundings and in themselves, they ride through forty miles of feminine frontier. Greenwood is particularly proud to have shunned the saddles of conventional female decorum, writing the history of side-saddles into the paradise paradigm and reclaiming woman's riding habits before the fall:

So, with a tear for the modest traditions of our sex, and a shudder at the thought of the figures we should present, we four brave women accepted the situation, and, for the nonce, rode as woman
used to ride in her happy, heroic days, before Satan, for her entanglement and enslavement, invented trained skirts, corsets, and sidesaddles. (22 July 1872)

With a final rejection of the sidesaddle, Greenwood reinstates the authority of natural law, decidedly feminine, in defining appropriate behavior for women: "If Nature intended woman to ride horseback at all, she doubtless intended it should be after this fashion, otherwise we should have been a sort of land variety of the mermaid" (22 July 1872). Here Greenwood positions the male figure of Satan, a newcomer, as far as she is concerned and whose restrictions on women are unnatural, against the female personification of nature, whose creations are more logically based on practical roles for women.

Situating herself back into the prelapsarian role, then, Greenwood reclaims an Eden for herself in which she reveres her own reflection. In the climax of her feminotopian dream, Greenwood freely finds communion with other women in this natural, feminine sanctuary. Almost overcome with the delights of the day, Greenwood recounts the rites of their revelry:

We read, slept, botonized, and shouted poetry in each other's ears. When the rainbows came, we went far up into the very heart of the splendor. We could have jumped through the radiant hoops like circus performers. Of course, we got well soaked with the spray, and had to hang ourselves out on the rocks to dry. (27 July 1872)

In the afterglow of this festival of females, Greenwood accepts her upcoming departure from California: "a woman cannot dwell in sublimities forever" (29 July 1872). In her
sublime portrait of life in the West for Women, Greenwood attempts to permanently revise notions that the West was not friendly to women. She attempts to revise notions about women, as well. She creates a paradise in the West in which women can live free from restraints. She fashions a frontier in which women can have financial, physical, political and educational freedom. This vision is not compatible with much that women encountered in the East or the West in the 1870s. But escaping to the West, Greenwood at least imagines a world in which women can celebrate themselves. Departing from the traditions for women at home, and delighting in this prodigal departure, Grace Greenwood reshapes the mythological American West and reshapes laws and customs for women along with it, to imagine, if optimistically, the potential for an American Eve to find a paradise in which she can move freely about the garden and pause long enough at the river to recognize her own reflection.

Notes

1Grace Greenwood, Greenwood Leaves 363. All citations to Greenwood's letters in the New York Times will be referenced in the text by the date of their publication.

2Greenwood's letters had been published sporadically in the Times prior to 1871, but she became a regular columnist for the paper in this year. Initially, she left her home in Washington for short excursions to Massachusetts, and she wrote "Boston Notes," recapping news of various literary figures, including Hawthorne, Stowe, Longfellow, and Whittier, who frequented the office of her publisher, Ticknor and Fields (See her letter from 10 June 1871, for example). But her travel plans soon expanded and by late
June she left Washington for the West. She drew attention to her impending departure, promising exciting letters from her adventures and bidding her Eastern readers a rather dramatic good-bye:

I am about to leave this city for the far West. I shall see the Tiber no more, for a season, but will try to content myself with the Mississippi. I shall soon look no more on costly piles of granite and marble, but I hope to see the Rocky Mountains. I must turn my eyes sadly away from the dome of the Capitol, but, please God, I shall see the 'dome' of the Yosemite. I go to see thousands of new faces, but they will never crowd out of my heart the familiar, beloved faces I leave behind in dear old Washington. (21 June 1871)

The beginning of Greenwood's formal affiliation with the Times parallels the Times' ascension to a position of great respect in the newspaper industry. Although the Times was popular already, in 1871 it became a leader in the industry. Editor George Jones began to take a strong stand against the Tammany tiger and to reveal the corruption of the Tweed Ring. After many months of taking this stand alone, in July of 1871, at the same time that Greenwood's letters from the West were being published, the truth behind Jones' stance became known, and the Times was praised for the integrity of its investigative journalism. This increased its popularity, and by 1879, the earliest records available, its circulation was 22,000 (Berger 44-53, 569).

The mythology of the American West was already well-established by the 1870s. Frederick Jackson Turner presented his thesis on "Significance of the Frontier in American History," in fact, just a quarter century later in 1893. In it, he recorded the history of the "frontier" and argued that its presence as the "outer edge of the wave" contributed extensively to the development of American identity (Turner 28). For a brief overview of the development of this frontier mythology in texts by male writers, see Simmons. Debates over Turner's frontier hypothesis ensued almost immediately and, to some extent, continue today. Henry Nash Smith, for example, built upon Turner's thesis in his Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (1949). Robert E. Spiller also accepted Turner's thesis and conceptualized his history of American literature within Turner's framework. Spiller's The Cycle of American Literature (1955), in fact, divided American literary history into "the first frontier" and "the second frontier," in which, it is worth recalling, only one woman, Emily Dickinson, merits attention. Contemporary historians, of course, challenge the Anglo-American bias of Turner's
thesis, noting that even the use of "frontier" implies that
the land was undefined and uninhabited until Anglo-Americans
arrived. I have retained the use of the term "frontier,"
acknowledging that Greenwood does accept racial privilege,
even as she attempts to eradicate gender privilege. For an
overview of the challenges to Turner's thesis and a New
Historical re/visioning of American western history, see
contributed their versions of the West as well. In fact,
Catherine Maria Sedgwick's Hope Leslie (1827) has been read
in response to James Fenimore Cooper's romanticization of
the West. See Singley 39-53.

5 See, for example, Sedgwick's Live and Let Live; or
Domestic Service Illustrated (1837), Southworth's India:
The Pearl of Pearl River (1856), and Cummins' Mabel Vaughan
(1857).

6 Kolodny's ideas about domesticity build upon the
notions of Barbara Welter's "The Cult of True Womanhood"
(1966) and Ann Douglas's The Feminization of American
Culture (1977). Kolodny's conclusion, however, implies the
possibility of more subversive intentions by women writers
than the "domesticity" readings would allow. Many later
readers have recognized the complexity of even the most
seemingly traditional works by women writers in the
nineteenth century. Tompkins and Fetterley, for example,
both call for reconsiderations of the cults of domesticity
and true womanhood.

7 Luce Irigaray's notion of "Women Among Themselves,
from This Sex Which is Not One, influences this
reinterpretation of woman's sphere.

8 This is Turner's well-known definition of the frontier
(28).

9 For an analysis of the connections between abolition
and feminist efforts, see Sanchez-Eppler 92-114.

10 In contrast to this alliance between Anglo-American
women and Native-American men, Lora Romero describes the
erasure of Native-Americans in nineteenth-century
literature, particularly by men (115-27).

11 Myres gives an informative history of suffrage
efforts in the West in her chapter, "Suffering for
Suffrage." Of particular interest is her emphasis on the
absence of women in these woman's suffrage efforts in
Wyoming and Utah (213-37).
See especially Peggy Pascoe's humorous assessment of these extreme images of women, rightfully recalling the pervasive image of Kitty from *Gunsmoke* as one type of woman of the West (40-58). See also Myers 1-11 and Meldrum 55-69. In truth, women entrepreneurs did take advantage of the gender ratio in the West, making a lively living in their bordellos. Sisters Ada and Minna Everliegh made millions, opening their first brothel in Omaha and expanding to Chicago (Bernikow 333).

*Paradise Lost*, Book IV.

Freibert's definition of a "truly feminist work" insists that all identity issues must be addressed for a work to qualify. Although all identity concerns share some commonalities, they also exhibit some differences. Seldom can any work address all of them directly and adequately. In addition, theories on women's travel in the nineteenth century clarify that most women who traveled were "feminocentric"—their primary concerns were about gender. Viewing Greenwood's western work as a "feminotopia" highlights her attention to gender, often at the expense of race.

Patai further analyzes the relationship between utopianism and feminism, tracing several patterns in women's utopian writing. She likewise contextualizes utopian writing in the historical context of Shklovsky's and Brecht's theories on art as defamiliarizing the spectator in order to move her toward a new vision of her own surroundings (148-69).

An excellent example of the satiric tone Greenwood uses in offering pseudo-apologies occurs in a letter to the *National Era*, dated January 9, 1850, from her home in New Brighton, Pennsylvania:

*I fully intended doing myself the honor of writing to you from Philadelphia, from whence I have lately returned, but during my brief stay in that city I completely sunk literary into social life. I was too busy to find the quiet needed for any mental effort, and too happy to feel the necessity of writing. I mean that in the society of so many whom I loved, in intercourse with many of the vigorous intellect and large life, I lived out all my poetry and talked out all my thought. Perhaps you will think this a fanciful sort of an apology, but it is no less true.*

For a history of women's work opportunities in the West, see Riley 102-47.
Greenwood elsewhere argues for Colorado's statehood, apparently gambling that Colorado's progressive views on woman's rights will have greater influence on other states than those states' more limiting views will have on it. In fact, Colorado quieted its debates over women's suffrage in favor of pursuing statehood. See Myers 221-25.

Greenwood is also acknowledging some modest professional rivalry with this comment. Horace Greeley, well-known newspaper editor of the *New York Tribune*, a competitor with the *Times*, had given his name to Greeley, Colorado. Greenwood sounds prophetic here, as well, because Greeley ran for president in 1872 but was defeated by Ulysses S. Grant. Greeley is otherwise known for his advice, "go West, young man," which Greenwood would certainly revise as well.

Willard reflects on learning to ride her bicycle in *A Wheel Within a Wheel; Or, How I Learned to Ride a Bicycle* (1895).

Greenwood's children's stories almost always showcase a young female protagonist defying gender stereotypes—shouting her name while riding bareback, ripping her dress while climbing a tree, losing a shoe while racing her brothers.

Greenwood understood that many observers were shocked by contemporary women's disregard of traditional gender roles. In earlier writing, she addressed this immediate reaction and concluded that the eventual good outweighed the initial negative attention:

> There surely is a great truth involved in this question of "Woman's Rights," and agitated as it may be. . . high spirit shocks and startles at the first, good will come out of it eventually--great good--and the women of the next age will be the stronger and the freer, aye, and the happier, for the few brave spirits who now stand up fearlessly for unpopular truth against the world. (*Leaves* 290)

Women who obviously crossed gender boundaries were often called she-men, amazons, and other labels that addressed the fear that unclear gendered behavior would lead to unclear gendered identities. Greenwood was well aware of these fears and, in fact, she mocks them in several letters. She boldly addresses such gender assumptions in one retort:

> . . . I was feeling peculiarly sensitive in regard to my womanly, as well as literary position. . . . I had become impatient and indignant for my sex,
thus lectured to, preached at, and satirized eternally. I had grown weary of hearing woman told that her sole business here, the highest, worthiest aims of her existence were to be loving, lovable, feminine; to win thus a lover and a lord, whom she might glorify abroad, and make comfortable at home. (Leaves 289-90)

See also Chapter 5.

24 Much of women's nineteenth-century writing portrayed the often desperate, though usually futile, efforts of women to escape enforced gender limitations in order to work. Southworth's *Hidden Hand*, for example, details Capitola's cross-dressing in order to survive on the streets and get work as a newsy. Sedgwick's "Fanny McDermott" describes the death of both Fanny and her child when she refuses to transgress gender boundaries in order to support herself and her child.

25 Isabella Bird, a British woman traveling in the Rockies in 1873, labeled the West as such (xiii).

26 Greenwood likely mocks the well-known tradition in Western toponymy such as Lost Angel Pass, Lost River, Lost Mine, and Lost Gulch.

27 Mark Twain's western adventure, *Roughin' It*, recounts his adventures from a decade prior to Greenwood's. The work was published in 1872, and here Greenwood alludes to it.

28 Greenwood's cabin still stands today, although it has been moved to Colorado Springs. See Sherr 61. Greenwood likely appreciated a synonym for clematis: virgin's bower.

29 Including the detail of her own dagger, Greenwood alludes to another adventure in which her dagger was the cause of her arrest in Italy.

30 This comment is particularly personal for Greenwood because she is a direct descendant of one of the best-known "pious Puritan sires," Jonathan Edwards. She critiques her familial association with Edwards on several occasions. See biography chapter.

31 Greenwood frequently comments on this lop-sided sphere to which men would assign women. She balks at the attention to women's sentiments rather than their intellects:

We have had enough of this. Man is not best qualified to mark out woman's life-path. He knows, indeed, what he desires her to be, but he
does not yet understand all that god and nature require of her. Woman should not be made up of love alone; the other attributes of her being should not be dwarfed, that this may have a large, unnatural growth. Hers should be a distinct individuality—an independent existence—or, at least, dependence be mutual. Woman can best judge of woman, of her wants, capacities, aspirations, and powers. . . . She can best teach her to be true to herself—to her high nature, to her brave spirit. . . . (Leaves 289-90)

Greenwood's parting words from Colorado are to one of the two "good women and true" to whom New Life in New Lands is dedicated. She uses conventional language from a wedding ceremony to describe the care she received from Mrs. Mary Byers, a resident of Denver who provided lodging for Greenwood in Colorado: "But well fed, well cared for in sickness and in health, I can only paint the Territory as I see it." Greenwood publicly thanks Byers here. See the dedication of New Life in New Lands iii.

Dickinson was a well-known lecturer on abolition and woman's rights. She was particularly active on the lyceum lecture circuit immediately after the Civil War. Greenwood elsewhere praises Dickinson's achievements, noting that she is a "magnificent mountaineer" who has traveled all of eastern Colorado and "sighs for more peaks to conquer" (20 October 1873).

For an overview of coverture in the nineteenth century, see Mattingly 21-23. Mattingly demonstrates that temperance women in the nineteenth century covertly addressed women's rights to their own bodies with their inclusion of details, similar to those Greenwood includes, of repeated pregnancies in poor homes.
Many times . . . I have been called to account in various quarters for my political utterances, denominated "heresies" and "vagaries." Sometimes I have been strangely misunderstood, but often too well understood for the pleasure of my critics, especially of the reformed Republican school. I have been sharply rebuked by my brothers, as an indiscreet sister—"speaking out in meeting," and revealing the secrets of the vestry, the deacons, the elders, and holy men generally. I have been roughly reminded that I was a woman, and told that I ought to be sternly remanded by public opinion to woman's proper sphere, where the eternal unbaked pudding and the immemorial unattached shirt button await my attention. That same sphere is a good one to fall back upon. I can "rastle" with cooking and sewing as well as any of my gentler sisters, but just at present I confess I prefer serving up a spicy hash of Southern Democratic sentiment to concocting a pudding and pricking with my pen "the bubble reputation" of political charlatans to puncturing innocent muslin with my needle.¹

Having found a temple acceptable to and accepting of women in the West, Grace Greenwood returns to her beat as a Washington correspondent for the New York Times with a keen awareness of the absence of such a woman's temple in the East. While in the West, she had fantasized about woman's growing sphere. Greenwood grew so comfortable in her dream of the West for women, in fact, that at one point she even envisioned herself in the role of Christ, miraculously feeding the multitudes of travelers on Pike's Peak with pancakes she concocted from meager camping supplies:

Your correspondent, sternly putting down her natural bashfulness, came "to the fore," and, she flatters herself, did that good old-fashioned housekeeper, her mother, some credit. . . . Your
correspondent, "wildly clad" in an old army overcoat, in addition to various other wraps, uneasily balancing herself on a boulder, dipping out and turning pancakes. . . . It was strange how soon that meal was over--the multitude fed and satisfied, and the remains cleared away to one corner with the dishes. It was like unto the miraculous feast in the wilderness, inasmuch as the fragments gathered up seemed more than the original supply of pancakes. . . . I solemnly partook of a morsel, washed down by a sacramental sip of wine, and followed by half a dozen canned cherries--voila tout. (5 November 1873)

On her return to Washington, however, Greenwood's fantasy fades behind the reality that women in the East are not permitted full admission into the temple, let alone participation in or leadership of rituals of either church or state. Returning to the society in which she has no inheritance, in which the rights and privileges of citizenship are denied her, this prodigal daughter criticizes her "father's house," the patriarchal political structure, and proposes to reform her home. With her political column in the New York Times in 1873-74 and again in 1877-78, after a European excursion in 1875-76, Greenwood uses her secure position in the Fourth Estate to criticize barriers for women in other public arenas.

Like her midrashic rereading of scripture to write a role for a prodigal daughter, most of Greenwood's Washington correspondence uses the familiar language of her religious tradition to demonstrate the inadequacy of traditions in both church and state for women. For Greenwood, there is no separation; the two are in league to keep women in an ill-conceived role of subordination and
submission. In her letters from Washington, Greenwood
preaches her own gospel of woman's equality, and she
convicts both religious and political institutions of
ignoring this gospel in favor of the time-honored and
scripturally-sanctioned subjection of women.

But Greenwood's sermonizing is far from hellfire and
brimstone. Instead, she frequently exploits scriptural
allusions, narratives that would have been familiar to her
readers, for their ready, comic content. Enjoying the
spectacle of her own ranting, Greenwood often winds her
outrageous harangues to humorous conclusions, punning and
playing with scriptural references, even feminizing holy
writ. She plays the image of a woman well-versed in
scripture and concerned about the virtue of the community,
an acceptable female role, against the image of a woman
dabbling in politics, an unacceptable realm for women; she
is a badgirl with a goodgirl shtick.

This signature humor and irreverent wit won an audience
for Greenwood. By the 1870s, she enjoyed considerable
celebrity in her role as a writer, boasting both a Kentucky
racehorse and a Mississippi steamboat named in her honor.
The entertainment value of Greenwood's writing enabled her
to offer opinions on important political topics, even topics
presumed unfit for a non-voter, an unfranchised citizen, a
woman. She accepts this prophetic role, then, with
reverence toward the task of righting the world for women
and with irreverence toward the institutions so desperately
in need of reform. With clever wit to leaven her reproofs, Greenwood uses creative reinterpretations and applications of scripture to support her calls for a Washington reformation.

Women's use of humor in social commentary, such as these public letters, deserves attention. Women in the nineteenth century, in particular, inhabited a unique position in American society. Like members of other marginalized groups, they could analyze culture from two perspectives—as insiders and as outsiders. Without the vote, the single most obvious right of citizenship, women were not full participants in the political process. And yet, because they were taxed as voting citizens and were expected to uphold laws, in the making of which they had no official part, they could claim an interest in these affairs with some objectivity, arguing their greater clarity in political opinions. This allowed for keen social commentary, often with a sharply sarcastic edge.

In the position they found themselves, as both insiders and outsiders in society, women in the nineteenth century often resorted to their only salvation: laughter. Luce Irigaray identifies this first, natural response of women to a society in which they have no real identity: "Isn't laughter the first form of liberation from secular oppression" (163)? Recent scholarship on the subject of women's use of humor has begun to give much deserved attention to the potentially liberating use of humor toward
feminist ends. In her exploration of women's humor in the contemporary popular medium of music videos, Robin Roberts champions the power of humor to reach even skeptical audiences: "Most important, the use of humor can make a feminist message appealing to a wide audience" (32). Greenwood's use of humor does just that; it prevents her sermon on the gospel of woman's rights from falling on deaf ears.

Analyzing women's use of comedy in the nineteenth century, A. Cheree Carlson applies Kenneth Burke's theory on the uses of the comic frame to move toward social reform. Carlson suggests that women in the nineteenth century were not particularly effective comics because they leaned away from the comic frame toward burlesque, reducing society to the absurd but ultimately calling for little social change: "... the spirit of burlesque showed that the chance to build a comic spirit for the pursuit of broader social change was past" (318-19). But Burke's theories on humor do not speak to the unique rhetorical stance of women humorists; he presupposes a reasonably unified culture, with a single element within that hierarchical structure renegotiating its position through the use of humor. Women in the nineteenth century, unfranchised as they were, were not asking for renegotiation. Never having had a seat at the bargaining table, women were challenging the entire hierarchical arrangement, the closed-door conference room of
the American, supposedly democratic, society. Thus, an analysis of women's humor requires a separate framework.

Both Nancy Walker and Regina Barreca contribute to the development of a specifically female framework in which to understand women's humor. Walker calls attention to one of the ironies evident in American literature: "that women have been officially denied the possession of--hence the practice of--the sense of humor" (A Very Serious Thing 8). Barreca concurs; she suggests that because they do not always laugh at the jokes of men, jokes which frequently belittle them intellectually and sexually, "women have been told they have no sense of humor" (New Perspectives 3). But women are, and have always been, funny. If necessity is the mother of invention, women's place in society is the mother of a rich tradition in women's humor.

Walker, in fact, in both her book-length consideration of Fanny Fern, one of Greenwood's contemporaries, and her larger consideration of nineteenth-century women's use of sentiment in their humor, acknowledges the rich tradition of women humorists. Tabitha Tenney, Frances Whitcher, Fanny Fern, Marietta Holley and others contributed to the nineteenth-century comic spirit of which Greenwood was a welcome and wry participant. In fact, as Lucy Freibert and Barbara White recollect in their brief introduction to women's satire and humor in the period, "the comic element, whether coded or overt, was so pervasive in women's works as to justify Alice Wellington Robbin's comment (Critic, 29..."
March 1884), that contrary to popular opinion, the rarest of things is not a woman with a sense of humor but a woman without one" (Hidden Hands 149). The wealth of nineteenth-century women's humor to which Robbins attests needs to be more fully appreciated in the twentieth.

In their anthology of American women's humor, Walker and Dresner emphasize the domestic tradition of women's humor:

Throughout the nineteenth century, most female humorists took as their subjects the domestic environment that formed a large part of their acquaintance with the world: the home, courtship and marriage, and those community activities assumed to be the special province of women--shopping, volunteer work, church and school groups. (Redressing the Balance xxvi)

Greenwood's humor is not as easily characterized. Certainly Greenwood highlights women's experiences; she jokes about cooking and sewing, as evidenced in the epigraph to this chapter. But she does so, generally, to diminish the division between public, inevitably male, and private, inevitably female, spheres. With her focus on reforming society for women, Greenwood's "domestic environment" is all of culture that is relevant to women; marrying politics and religion as the targets of her satire, Greenwood enlarges her domestic "sphere" to make cultural critique, and in particular political commentary, the "province of women."

While much of women's writing in the nineteenth century has been disparaged because of its domesticity or sentimentality, its popularity has also been used to justify
its erasure from the American literary canon, upholding the elitist notion that nothing popular could be good. Even in recent attempts to rediscover women's literary traditions, some of the most popular writers of the period, including Grace Greenwood, have been neglected. And recent scholarship on the wit of women has focused on women's observably literary humor. Walker and Dresner's anthology reclaiming a tradition of women's humor in America primarily includes samples from women's works published in books, even though Walker acknowledges that the line between literary and popular culture was obscure in the period. Thus, Greenwood's political column in the *New York Times* has been completely ignored. Although she certainly holds her own in the company of other women humorists from the nineteenth century, Greenwood's humorous political commentary in the *New York Times* has been overlooked, perhaps because of her departure from the more obviously literary journals to the pages of a daily newspaper. But her leaving literary journals for a national newspaper furthers her importance because it broadened her audience. Grace Greenwood's political column, "Washington Notes," in the *New York Times* allows a unique glimpse at the humor and wit of a popular culture icon from the nineteenth century.

Greenwood's column in the *New York Times* proffered a political forum few other women found. Greenwood was not, however, the only woman reporter in Washington. In the 1850s, Jane Swisshelm, writing for Horace Greeley's *New York
Tribune, had gained the right to sit in the Congressional press galleries. Sent to Washington as a correspondent, Swisshelm found that the public galleries were not conducive to hearing Congressional debate, so she wrote Millard Fillmore, then Vice President, to request access to the press galleries. Although Fillmore granted Swisshelm's request, an uproar over an accusation she had leveled at Daniel Webster sent Swisshelm back to New York after only one day in the Congressional press galleries (Beasley 112-13).

Other women writers, including Greenwood, Gail Hamilton (Mary Abigail Dodge), Mary Clemmer Ames, and Olivia (Emily Edson Briggs) wrote letters from Washington in the 1850s and 1860s, but none of these influential columnists braved the male-dominated press galleries until the 1870s (Beasley 115). Even then, several of these columnists shied away from such clearly political participation, masking their political comments within more "acceptable topics" for women. Mary Clemmer Ames, for example, wrote her popular "Woman's Letter from Washington" for the Independent in the 1870s and chided women reporters who dared enter the Congressional Press Galleries alongside men (Ames, Independent 24 March 1870).²

While other women journalists may have debated whether women should enter the political arena, in the 1870s Greenwood brazenly entered with her sense of humor intact and with her vision for reform at the ready. On her return
to Washington in 1873, she freely covered political topics, including news from the Congressional press galleries. If other women journalists mask their political commentary in appropriately "feminine" topics, Greenwood wears a comic, self-righteously Christian mask to soften her political commentary; she then uses her column to have as direct an influence on political opinion as is possible.

One of the ways Greenwood secures her comic stance is by making herself into the clown of her commentary; self-deprecation enables Greenwood to at once make a spectacle of herself with the attention she draws, endear herself to her readers by exposing her own imperfection, and name her foibles herself, disempowering critics by stealing their thunder. Ultimately, Greenwood endears herself to her readers with her self-characterizations. Alternately effacing and edifying herself, she becomes a character so engaging that readers want to follow her escapades. And her clowning caricature of herself makes her strong political opinions more palatable.

Greenwood repeatedly draws attention to herself, with humorous self-characterizations which highlight her role as a cultural critic. At times, she paints a garish self-portrait, playing into cultural distrust of women who cross gender boundaries. She projects herself as a witch, watching over the boiling political pots in Washington:

"Unless I make my daily salaam to the spirits... around the two great cauldrons over yonder, I am ill at ease, and
vexed and tormented, and can settle down to nothing" (7 February 1874). She pictures herself with monstrous anatomy with which to do her duty as a reporter: "I seldom, though having all my eyes about me, see anything worth seeing nowadays" (18 May 1878).

Greenwood also calls attention to the accusations leveled at her by critics with mocking self-righteousness, defending her own perspective as the only upright opinion in an upside-down environment:

Friends of the soi disant sort are writing to me of my "eccentric course as a writer for an Administration journal," criticizing my doubting, non-conforming spirit as showing a degree of mental demoralization and bewilderment. They say that with my unreasonable, intermittent radicalism, I am becoming a very uncomfortable person . . . that I seem even to have lost myself. To which I can but reply by referring to Gen. Custer's well-known story of the Indian whom he once found wandering about on the plains in an aimless, bewildered way, but who, when asked if he was lost, replied, "No, Indian not lost--wigwam lost." (7 May 1877)

Borrowing an anecdote from Custer, Greenwood parallels her own displacement in Washington society to that of a Native American on the plains, but she does so with her folksy, humorous style. Defending her perspective, thought by some to be too "radical," Greenwood insists that she has no identity crisis; she knows right where she is. The rest of Washington, particularly the partisan corruption with which post-bellum Washington wreaked, is, she fears, lost.

In contrast to her acknowledgment of criticism against her, she also alludes to the sympathetic readers who support
her to suggest that she is not alone in her opinions: "That I am not universally considered a sort of crazy Cassandra raving in the Times and at the times, I know by the many letters of sympathy of moral aid and comfort I receive from all parts of the North and some parts of the South" (2 June 1877). Greenwood uses a pun, a comic technique of hers which Kate Sanborn applauded in The Wit of Women (1885), to diminish accusations leveled against her by mentioning the fan mail she receives. But in mentioning her fan mail, she slyly explains a possible reason that some people might call her a "crazy Cassandra." Her critics, she implies, live in the South, likely parts of the South that have returned to Ku Klux rule, and are readers whose opinions are of no real worth to her.

A more complex use of self-reflexive humor enables Greenwood to invert her unfranchised position of weakness into a position of strength. Greenwood brags that she is uncorrupted; she argues that it is not politics in general but post-bellum partisanship in particular that is corrupt. Directly addressing Congress, she inverts her position in the press galleries as an unfranchised woman with members' positions on the floor of Congress:

I doubt if you, looking down from the height of the elective franchise... fully recognize the little advantage of my disfranchised position; the absolute political independence and freedom from party prejudices and ties. Many things in politics disturb and vex me, but I have always sweet solace of speaking my mind. I am no partisan... I am under no obligation to put my
trust in party princes—to love or hate according to party policy. (13 February 1873)

Relying on visual imagery for her irony, Greenwood subverts the literal positions of her place in the balcony with Congressmen's place on the floor, just as she subverts the figurative position of her disfranchisement with Congressmen's enfranchisement.

Greenwood emphasizes her unfranchised position as at once a reason for her to ignore political affairs and at the same time a reason for her audience, if offended, to ignore her political opinions:

I may be tinged with old-fashioned radicalism, but I am no partisan. Being an unfranchised and most inconsiderable citizen, I can look on both sides with serene impartiality, and seeing that neither is desirable, utter my judgment—lofty, calm, and irresponsible—"A plague on both your houses." But if I were a man, a brother, and a voter, I would be a partisan and be done with it. (21 April 1877)

Further defining her role as an unfranchised woman writing a political column, Greenwood employs scriptural allusions, a characteristic of her humor that becomes her signature comic trait in her more direct calls for reform as well. She explains her attention to politics: "I feel moved, as a Mother in the Israel of Republicanism, to lay on and spare not" (24 February 1877). Greenwood mockingly alludes to a scriptural warning, "spare the rod, spoil the child," using a stereotype of women in a traditional role to justify her nagging political commentary. More frequently, however, she explores scriptural icons to explain her role
as a political correspondent in less stereotypical terms. Feminizing a scriptural passage about "the chosen one" by figuring herself in this role, Greenwood recasts a narrative from Hebrew scriptures to explain her "dancing attendance on Congress," as David dances before God:7

Again and again I have sworn off from this unsatisfactory and undignified business of dancing attendance on Congress and chronicling its sayings and doings, so often in themselves opposed to my primitive ideas of right and justice, of good morals and good manners; but again and again I backslide, and fall into the old habit from a sort of morbid craving for excitement, for it is no longer a zest. It is marvelous that these political topics and party issues can have such mastery over one who has no personal interest or ambition at stake— an unfranchised spectator, a nobody, a woman! (7 February 1874)

In this passage, Greenwood equates the role of David, the King of Israel, in his "dancing attendance" with that of "an unfranchised spectator, a nobody, a woman." Although she justifies her position in Congress by making it analogous to David's position before God, she also ironically claims a passivity for her part; politics has a "mastery" over her.

Using the words of a prophet, Ezekiel, Greenwood feminizes another Hebrew narrative to make room for a prophetess and calls attention to the wrongdoings of rebellious houses of Congress. She explains the role she will fill, given that other, more official roles in the political process are unavailable to her:

If I were seeking office, I should doubtless declare that I yield to none in respect and admiration for our national representatives as a body; as it is, I admit there are probably those who respect and admire them more--for instance,
the Congressmen themselves—but I will affirm that I mean well and kindly by them, and "whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, (for they are a rebellious House,) yet shall they know that there hath been a prophetess among them."\(^8\) (29 March 1873)

Making herself into a female Ezekiel, Greenwood manages not only to elevate her own role but also to include a characteristic jab at Congressmen, highlighting their inflated egos.

But self-effacement is not the only way that Greenwood uses scriptural references humorously. Greenwood wittily applies scriptural allusions to address society's serious need for reform; by using the language of the church to address the limitations of the state, Greenwood creates a comic effect with these seemingly incongruent subjects. She uses comic displacement. She uses lofty, "sacred" language to address the failures in lowly, "common" life. And, in doing so, she reveals how both church and state are failing to live up to their own standards. Although scriptural language was very common during the nineteenth century, Greenwood exploits its usage by using diverse allusions, references women would have been more likely to recognize, and she juxtaposes the "hallowed" text with "corrupt" society.

Nancy Walker points to this penchant for a dual purpose in the humor of women:

... women's humorous expression is almost never purely comic or absurd. Even when, as is often the case, it points to the myriad absurdities that
women have been forced to endure in this culture, it carries with it not the lighthearted feeling that is the privilege of the powerful, but instead a subtext of anguish and frustration. (A Very Serious Thing xii)

Greenwood's own anguish and frustration at politics in Washington is never far from the surface of her humor. In her political column, she uses scriptural references as comic relief to soften the edge of her anger and as satire to deliver her sharpest criticism of the need for reform.

Greenwood was not alone in her consideration of religion and its relationship to women in the nineteenth century. At one extreme, the two "Great Awakenings" encouraged experiential faith with feeling and at the other extreme Enlightenment philosophy encouraged experimental faith with reason; Americans in the nineteenth century continued to define what, if any, religious character the country would have. The irony of a democracy with a wholly undemocratic treatment of women was well-matched to its predominantly Protestant ethic, the hallmark of which, "the priesthood of every believer," applied to every believer except women.

Women confronted this irony variously, ever attempting to make themselves heard on both political and religious questions. Nina Baym explains that much of "woman's fiction" challenges the growing capitalist values in American society and demonstrates that these values are in direct contrast to the precept of love that their God represents (Woman's Fiction 41-44). Despite their use of
religious principles as the justification for, as well as the source of strength supporting, women characters' departure from a carefully delineated woman's sphere, Baym reads the use of religion in "woman's fiction" as support for the patriarchal religious structures even in attempts to escape patriarchal political structures:

Evidently, the religious women authors were not prepared to class God with the other tyrannical patriarchs in their fiction. They had some hope of changing human order, but where divine order was concerned they considered it best to accede and, if ordered to kiss the rod, then to kiss it. (43)

Ann Douglas has proposed that these and other women writers used their popularity in the literary markets to "feminize" American culture, and this feminization, she argues, had a religious fervor, in keeping with the feminine task of upholding the virtue of the country. In fact, Douglas suggests that "ministers and mothers" worked together to feminize as well as Christianize American culture, insuring a single, didactic call to perpetuate a sentimental, domestic ideology of the American family.10

Even if these women writers did hesitate to detach themselves from the religious environments which ultimately only helped strengthen the rigid confines of woman's sphere, they no doubt did so because religion gave them access to what little power was available to them, and the power they could galvanize from religious or moral positions would not be degraded as "unfeminine." But the marriage of ministers and mothers in the nineteenth century to pull American
society toward a more "moral" center did not last, if, indeed, it ever occurred. By the last third of the century, women were openly criticizing the institutionalized sexism of the church.

As Carol Mattingly reveals in her recovery of the rhetoric of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, many women divorced themselves from the male-centered religious practices of organized religion in America, committing to their own political causes with revivalist fervor and even contemplating a formal departure from their various religious sects in order to establish their own denomination (82); members of the WCTU even built their own "Woman's Temple," aware, as they were, of women's need to have a place to celebrate and work together(68). Mattingly demonstrates that in temperance speeches and fiction, women used religious rhetoric to persuade audiences of the import and urgency of their reform efforts, almost always distinguishing between true spirituality and organized religion. In fact, Anna Howard Shaw, ordained in 1880 as the first woman minister of the Methodist Church, eventually left her congregational ministry to do her own brand of "woman's work." Taking her pulpit skills to other podiums, she filled posts in both the WCTU and the National American Suffrage Association.

Indeed, many women in the nineteenth century opposed limitations placed on women by the church and by the state. And many women criticized the church's role in the
subjugation of women, even using the church's own language in their criticism. At mid-century, Elizabeth Cady Stanton acknowledged that both church and state had been used by men to keep women in submission. One of the grievances she included in the "Declaration of Sentiments" made this connection clear: "He allows her in Church, as well as State, but a subordinate position...." And contemplating her commentary on the one-tenth of scriptures she found remotely relevant to women, published as the Woman's Bible in 1898, Stanton emphasized the use of scripture to limit women: "When those who are opposed to all reforms can find no other argument, their last resort is the Bible. It has been interpreted to favor intemperance, slavery, capital punishment, and the subjection of women" (vi).

Obviously, women in the nineteenth century seriously challenged traditional interpretations of religious teachings, particularly with regard to the Pauline admonition for women to keep silent in churches. In fact, in direct rejection of such an injunction, women freely broke silence to speak on societal ills, particularly as they affected women's lives. In an article for the Revolution highlighting the unhealthy effects of prostitution, Stanton, for example, uses religious conviction to promote her efforts to end it: "In the midst of all these miseries, let us regard ourselves as guilty sinners and not helpless saints. God does not wink, even at the sins of ignorance" (5 February 1868). And Julia Ward

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Howe nearly feminizes scripture in the conclusion of a letter for the inaugural issue of Woman's Journal: "In this contest, the armor of Paul will become us, the shield and breastplate of strong and shining virtue. And with one Scripture precept we will close our salutation. With sisterly zeal and motherly love, 'let brotherly love continue'" (8 January 1870).

But Greenwood's use of scripture is not as devout, even if her calls for reform are. In her role as a cultural critic, Greenwood twists and turns scripture not only to make her point but also to get a laugh. She lambasts civil servants, members of Congress, even the President with her own version of scriptures, often juxtaposing scriptural narratives with contemporary events to demonstrate their equal absurdity. Exploiting the novelty of her political column by a non-voter, Greenwood often draws parallels between the highly respected religious tradition and the supposedly respectable political tradition to demonstrate the need for reform in both cultures. Using the language of one culture, religion, to highlight the failures of the other, politics, Greenwood satirizes both traditions in hopes of reforming the American Republic for women.

In doing so, she blends the two cultures into one target for her satire. Commenting on the ornamentation, including a new painting, in the Capitol, for example, Greenwood demonstrates that this blending has occurred throughout Washington:
I am aware that since this picture has taken sanctuary in the Capitol it will be thought very impertinent in me to comment thus lightly upon it. . . . Capitol worship is part of people's religion, here in Washington. . . . So, being a politic woman, I am very careful what I say about it. . . . (22 January 1873)

Greenwood's use of the phrase "Capitol worship" suggests that people hold the federal government with the same unquestioning reverence they hold their religion.

Insisting that the rest of culture blends religion and politics unconsciously, Greenwood weaves the two together obviously to demonstrate that politics and religion should not be, but often are, inseparable. For example, Greenwood criticizes Congressional misallocation of funds to decorate the Capitol grounds, when, at least from her perspective, the "improvements" improve upon little. She blends narratives from the Genesis creation account and American folklore about George Washington to express her indignation at such misspending:

The director of this particular improvement is the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, who took all our rebellious protest with true Gaelic coolness. Had the original gardener been a Scotchman, he would have cut down the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, apples and all, and when called to an account would frankly have said, "I canna tell a lee, I did it, wi' my wee hatchet." If Eve, the gude wife, had missed and mourned it, he would have said, "Dinna, fash yoursel' about the improvements, Government has ta'en these grounds under its care; Eden sairly needs thinnin' out." (7 July 1873)

Greenwood imagines Washington an Eden taken over by government control. In contrast to her western Eden, which
exists outside official United States government regulation, this eastern Edenic capitol purports to be an improvement, even on the Divine plan. Greenwood rejects this intrusion on Divine Order, suggesting that the "gude wife," Eve, recognizes the need for natural growth. Greenwood's plea for natural growth in Eden, in this case with trees, is reminiscent of her plea for the natural growth of women which she frames in her letters from the West. These light examples demonstrate Greenwood's blending of church and state characteristic of her more serious calls for reform.

Seldom does Greenwood depart from her humorous approach at reform. In fact, only on occasions when she argues for reform on behalf of a group of which she is not a part does she forego her comic pursuit. Defending Frederick Douglass against racist criticism after his first public appearance as Marshall of the District of Columbia, for example, Greenwood does not rely on comedy to get her point across:

I must say that never have I known such injustice, to say the least, toward any public speaker as that manifested in the report which appeared in the Baltimore journals, and set Washington's amour propre on fire, and intensified and concentrated the colorphobia which has been on the increase here for the last two years.... There is no use denying the fact, the question of color comes in here, and color's everything. If the predecessor of Mr. Douglass had delivered that lecture, no excitement would have followed.... (19 May 1877)

Criticizing elements of society by which she feels more personally wronged, however, Greenwood consistently employs satire, most often religious satire, to make her point.
Comically using the language of the church to reform the state, institutions she feels personally affronted by, Greenwood uses a comic stance to put her audience at ease.

The time and place during which Greenwood wrote provided her with much material for comic commentary on the political scene; the post-bellum era in Washington was fraught with controversy. The Democratic Party, strongest in the South, had rebuffed Republican Reconstruction policies. By the mid-1870s, White Supremacist powers began, once again, to gain control of Democratic positions. The Republican party's antebellum reform fervor had begun to fade, even before Ulysses S. Grant left office in 1876. With it faded much optimism on the part of women who had thought the Republican party, after having championed the abolitionist cause, would aid their quest for suffrage. But once Rutherford B. Hayes was elected President, his more lenient policies towards the South, his "home rule" approach, diminished the remnants of a strong Republican base of power. Further, in order to ease the tensions from the sectional rift, Republicans lessened their insistence on strong national policies, acquiescing somewhat on the Democratic states' rights stance.

In addition, both national political parties endured scandals, which promoted an atmosphere of extreme unrest. These scandals gave Greenwood an excuse to air her indignation at the corrupt partisan politics in Washington. Along with the resurgence of White Supremacist power in the
Democratic Party in the South, the Chisholm murder case further marred the party's credibility. John Chisholm, a federal, Republican judge in Mississippi during Reconstruction, was murdered, along with his young daughter and son, by a Ku Klux mob. Democratic officials refused to assist federal investigations into the matter. Closer to the Capitol, the Republican party, espousing an agenda for Civil Service reform, was attempting to eliminate unfair hiring practices for government positions. However, its supposedly neutral approach brought about a policy against nepotism, effectively ending the careers of many women in the Civil Service; in addition, accusations that the policies were inconsistently enforced further sullied the party's reputation. And finally, the Credit Mobilier scandal revealed that a Republican Congressman had personal economic interests in the Union Pacific Railroad and was illegally favoring the company with federal loans and grants. His case, as well as the shady proceedings surrounding Hayes' election, which reportedly amounted to bribery sanctioned by executive and Congressional officials, further discredited the entire American political process. As a political commentator in the 1870s, Greenwood had ample evidence of corruption in and around the Capitol. Public consensus on the damnableness of these issues warranted some of Greenwood's outrage over these and other issues' effects on women. Greenwood is still careful, however, to punctuate
her commentary with wit, using her scriptural shtick, to assuage her criticism.

In response to all of the scandals, Greenwood establishes satiric antagonism toward the Washington political scene in general, employing scriptural allusions to aid her efforts. Members of Congress, whose work she hovers over in the press galleries, provide her easiest targets. Criticizing their rhetorical solemnity, Greenwood complains that Congressional sessions are boring her:

Perhaps I have been particularly unlucky but I have not this session heard a speech in either chamber which has quickened my pulses or strengthened my courage. . . . I hold that the Senate has too far "put away boyish things," that a little more youthful fire, dash and disputatiousness, wit, and satire, would improve that too honorable body. (22 January 1877)

Reversing Paul's admonition in I Corinthians 13:11 to "put away childish things," Greenwood insults Congressional speakers for being too stodgy. In this reversal, she also rejoins scriptural advice, insisting on gender specific language, and she substitutes her own advice for that of scripture. Ironically, she calls the body "too honorable," an accusation she frequently goes to great lengths to disprove.

Further dramatizing her embattlement with Congress, Greenwood directly addresses individual speakers, freely and sarcastically analyzing their style and criticizing their ideas. She frequently discredits the entire group and their
debate process, as well. For example, when members of Congress attack one another, discrediting one another but insisting on their own integrity, she likens their judgmental attacks to the "holy men" in the gospels, famous for their hypocrisy. She recreates the scene in Congress for her readers, explaining that they "canted and descanted after the same old fashion of political phariseeism" (17 February 1877).

And complaining that if it is not Congress, it is the Administration that needs reform, Greenwood likens the executive and legislative branches of government to Jacob and Esau, the twin sons of Isaac in Hebrew scriptures:

I have often noticed that no sort of moral revival or reform is likely to take hold of the two extremes or orders of society simultaneously. . . . That must be what's the matter with Congress, if not the Administration. Jacob and Esau cannot both, and at the same time, receive the blessing. (23 March 1878)

In the Hebrew narrative, Jacob, the younger twin, poses as Esau, the older twin, to receive the blessing of primogeniture. In paralleling the competing Congress and Administration with Jacob and Esau, Greenwood skillfully satirizes the primogeniture precedent in both church and state, the tradition of granting the eldest son the family's full inheritance. The scriptural reference, which would have been familiar to her readers, even reveals a veiled acknowledgment of the need for female agency. In the narrative, much of plot centers on the involvement of Rebekah, the mother, in this plan. Greenwood manages then,
by alluding to this passage, to allude to a strong woman
who, without a birthright of her own, at least succeeds in
gaining one for her favored son. This scriptural allusion
enables Greenwood to belittle both branches of government in
her suggestion that they, like the two brothers, compete for
the "blessing" of political popularity. By juxtaposing the
corrupt behavior of politicians with the presumed pristine
patterns in religious narratives, Greenwood uses an ironic
displacement of religious texts to establish and sustain her
antagonism towards Congress. The antagonistic stance
Greenwood takes towards Congress on various occasions
diminishes the shock of her move from irony to satire in
criticizing Congressional attitudes toward women.

When, for example, the statehood of her beloved
Colorado is being debated in Congress, Greenwood rallies to
Colorado's defense because she is optimistic that Colorado
women will soon gain the right to vote. Members of Congress
deny Colorado's request. Finding this not just a defeat for
her state but also a setback for woman's suffrage, Greenwood
wishes plagues on both houses of Congress:

They have been and gone and done it! They have
slammed the door of the Union in the face of
Colorado by a vote of 117 to 61. There were also
64 dodgers. Well, we must be patient and
cultivate a Christian spirit of generous
forgiveness. I hope all these inhospitable M.C.s
will go out to Colorado next summer for a long
pleasure tour, and may the magnanimous farmers of
the Platte Valley make a feast for them, and kill
the fatted prairie dog . . . may the Georgetown
"adventurers" sell them vast mining claims well
"salted"; may the Blackhawk smelters "heap coals
of fire on their heads" . . . . (1 February 1873)
Greenwood continues to list ten plagues on these politicians, the requisite number of plagues on Egypt in Exodus. Employing several scripture references here, Greenwood uses intratextual irony. In the framing reference, Greenwood usurps God's plaguing power, forecasting doom for Congress. Within this frame, however, several of the plagues involve disparate scriptural references. Appropriately, Greenwood alludes to Solomon's advice to heap coals on the head of enemies. But she subverts the prodigal passage, making the fatted meal, in this case prairie dog rather than calf, punishment rather than reward for returning prodigals. Here Greenwood's satiric use of scriptural references is complex. Her allusions within allusions amplify her disgust with Congress.

But her criticism of the American political process is not limited to official branches of government. Greenwood also satirizes both political parties, challenging the direction in which each is headed. Greenwood's clever criticism of the Democratic party is less potent than her criticism of the Republican party because she does not feel personally thwarted by its policies. Because she has never been affiliated with the party, her criticism of its return to White Supremacist power is pointed, but not personal; that is, until this return costs the life of a young woman.

Greenwood fears the violence that emancipated slaves will encounter with the return of Democratic power in the
South. In one letter, after having imagined the horrors former slaves might face, she lightens her missive with a humorous self-effacement: "I fear I am not one to whom the Master would have said, "O, Woman, great is thy faith."" (7 April 1877) Alluding to the account in the gospel of Matthew in which Jesus commends a woman's faith and heals her daughter, Greenwood identifies with freed slaves; she makes her position to the speaker, "the Master," analogous to that of the slaves' position to a former master. Here Greenwood skillfully uses comic understatement to reveal her fear of violence in the South.

But in response to sensational accounts of the murder of a young white woman, Greenwood's humor is more biting. Using a comic scene to discuss a tragic one, Greenwood's use of the absurd makes the horror of this transgression vivid. Nellie Chisholm, the daughter of the federal judge sent to Mississippi during Reconstruction, is murdered along with her father and brother by a Ku Klux mob. Indignant that the young girl was made to pay for the "sins of her father," Greenwood uses wordplay and parody to express her outrage:

If even a religious discourse was pronounced over the body of that "heroic girl"--which is doubtful--and the average Confederate States clergyman, who always confounds the Lost Cause with the Lord's Cause, and looks for it to rise again, officiated on that occasion, it would hardly be extravagantly and irreverently improbable to imagine him speaking in this wise: "Our young sister, who by mysterious Providence has been removed from this sublunary sphere in the morning of her days has been mercifully saved 'from the evil to come,' for there is to be a great overturning. . . . Her untimely death is an awful,
let us trust it will be an effectual, warning to parents not to imperil their innocent families by unholy political acts and affiliations. So shall this affliction be sanctified. It is an event which has been painful to the more serious-minded of our community, and was, doubtless, grievous to the young person herself. . . . Everything is being overruled for our good. Where we naturally looked for political opponents, we meet allies; where we dreaded masters, we find servants; where we expected a Samuel, we encounter a Saul.

. . . may the aid she gave her misguided father in his high-handed resistance to authority not be imputed to her as sin. Let us sing a hymn!" (26 May 1877)

Greenwood's wordplay on the "lost" and the "Lord's" cause satirizes the way in which many southerners revered their failed efforts in the Civil War. But it is in her parody of a eulogy for Nellie Chisholm that Greenwood delivers her most caustic criticism of southern Democratic politics. Imagining a minister who would dare defend the murder of this young woman, even at her own funeral, Greenwood demonstrates, once again, the union of political and religious powers in the United States. Having the minister justify Chisholm's death because it serves as a "warning," his word for political threat, Greenwood mocks the religious tradition of relying on "providence" as an explanation for human transgressions.

In more severe satire, Greenwood allows the preacher to celebrate the fact that they, the Democrats looking for reconciliation, met a Saul, rather than a Samuel. She uses a Hebrew narrative as a metaphor to explain the misjudgment of the Union in hastily reenfranchising Confederates after the Civil War. In the Hebrew account, Samuel, a judge,
appoints Saul to be the first king of Israel. Saul had
led the Israelites to defeat another tribe, and, in spite of
Samuel's advice, takes a forgiving stance towards the tribe.
Later, just as Samuel had prophesied, the tribe returns to
raid the city of David. With this allusion, Greenwood's
puppet, the minister, celebrates the potential return of the
Southern Democracy, absurdly humorous because the contents
of his eulogy are the exact opposite of what would be
expected at such an occasion. In her most earnest criticism
of Democratic party politics, Greenwood employs an
extravagant parody of both southern politics and southern
religion to make her point.

But Greenwood's criticism of the Republican party is
more caustic because it is more personal. Despite her
disfranchisement, Greenwood had found somewhat of an
ideological home in the Republican Party before the war.
Its strong reform agenda had resonated with Greenwood's own
agenda. But after the War, the Republican party lost its
reputation for being the progressive, "moral" party, the
party for reform. The movement of the Republican Party to a
more moderate, even lukewarm, position disappointed
Greenwood. Greenwood repeatedly calls for the Republican
party to get back on track with its reform agenda. For
Greenwood, the American Republic is still in much need of
reform, particularly with regard to women's roles; the
Republican party, she believes, ought to be about this business.

In addition to her overall scolding of the Republican party, Greenwood challenges what she sees as its selling out. No other issue gives Greenwood the opportunity to better express this dissatisfaction than Republican efforts at Civil Service Reform. During his last years in office, the Republican president, Grant, had begun a policy of Civil Service Reform. Some of his policies included, according to Greenwood, "arbitrary limits to the number of situations . . . which can be filled by women" (25 January 1873). Low quotas for women's employment, supported by Republican politicians, established a precedent for what would be recognized today as sexism in the Civil Service. In addition, during Hayes' presidency, women were turned away from jobs, or even fired from the jobs they had held, by Republican-proposed policies against nepotism.

Greenwood's advice to women in the face of this legislative sexism is overtly sarcastic. Landing a blow to both church and state, supposed "protectors" of women, she warns women in the Civil Service to be prepared to "work out their own salvation with fear and trembling" (19 May 1874). Sarcastically appropriating Paul's words to the church at Phillipi, Greenwood decries the insufficiency of either church or state in the matter of woman's salvation. She mockingly appropriates a term Paul applies to spiritual
security, "salvation," to highlight the importance of women's economic security.

Recognizing the desperate measures to which women go to be reinstated if they are fired from the Civil Service, Greenwood entreats them not to beg. Acknowledging that usually a woman will, "shake the dust of the department off ... her feet," and then return immediately to the same ungrateful employer to look for work, Greenwood encourages women, who, she thinks, are ultimately used by the government, not to grovel. Paraphrasing from Jesus' advice to the disciples, as recorded in the Gospel of Matthew, she appropriates a scriptural mandate for the disciples not to stay where they are not wanted in order to encourage women not to underestimate their value on the employment market or to flood the market so fully that the Civil Service can securely lower the pay scale for women, knowing that there will be enough women willing to take even the lowest paying jobs. This appropriation of scriptural language, in particular, is humorous because of the comic displacement of Jesus's words.

Greenwood's playful appropriations of scripture here, advising women in the work place, provide a stark contrast to her satiric use of scriptural allusion to scold Republicans in Congress for their misguided Civil Service Reform and the resulting penalties to women. When Benjamin Butler, a Republican Congressman, speaks in opposition to an equal pay proposal for women in the Civil Service, Greenwood
directly addresses the fallacy of his argument that women should first have the vote to protect them and their money. Exposing the insulting attempt to disguise unequal pay by calling male employees "clerks" and female employees "copyists," although their work assignments are identical, Greenwood also emphasizes the irony of denying women one right on the grounds that they are also denied another. In her direct response to Butler, Greenwood challenges his warped logic:

Well, Mr. Butler, when these same copyists, to whom you dare not now do justice, attain the franchise, will you pledge yourself to bring in and engineer through a bill granting them back salary for all these years of faithful, underpaid service? . . . Such a measure will be justified, if any retroactive law can be, for woman has been wronged and cheated from the foundation of the government, from the beginning of the world, at least from the time when Adam laid on Eve all the blame of their mutual venture in forbidden fruit, declaring, when the investigation came on, and the question of expulsion came up, that she gave him the stock, and assured him it was "a good thing." (15 March 1873)

With her simple, straightforward quip, Greenwood lightens her concise recapitulation of a creation account in Genesis, including Adam's laying the blame of their fall from grace on Eve's shoulders. Assessing the pattern of wronging and cheating women, from time immemorial, Greenwood criticizes at the irony that women, disempowered by both political and religious precedents, are then held responsible when paradise is lost.

Greenwood employs equally venomous satire at later Civil Service reform. Hayes makes the headlines when he
ignores a woman's contributions to his presidential elections. He denies her a government position on the grounds of the new Civil Service Reform, which supposedly, although inconsistently, diminished the practice of appointing supporters to positions. Greenwood rails against this practice of ignoring women, which, she insists, is a scriptural, as well as historic, precedent:

... I doubt if she gets it. We do not read that Moses ever officially recognized the aid and comfort of Miriam, the Prophetess, or that Deborah, for her predictions and military service, was ever promoted to anything higher than her rude judicial bench under the palm tree of Mount Ephraim, or that that driving woman Jael came to great honor, and we all know what Joan d'Arc got for meddling with politics. (31 March 1877)

In this list of the unappreciated women in religion, Greenwood reclaims strong women from scriptural obscurity. Miriam, for example, the sister of Moses, saved his life by guarding him, but she is seldom recalled for her other role in the narrative of the escape of the children of Israel. Greenwood's ironic reference to Deborah, a prophetess and judge in Israel, and Jael, a woman who "drives" a stake through the head of Sisera, whom she seduces into her tent, recall more lively generations of scriptural foremothers than those against whom women are often measured. Greenwood's humorous reference to Joan of Arc provides a counterpoint to her acknowledgment of Jael. Although Joan of Arc's religious contribution is also a violent contribution, religious tradition has softened her blows in its memory of her martyrdom. Jael's overt
sexuality, however, disables such a glorification of her violence.

In contrast to the lack of appreciation for women in political and religious affairs, the affairs of men, Greenwood foregrounds her own appreciation of women. On her return to the city after a sojourn to Mount Vernon, for example, Greenwood comically juxtaposes women's successful restoration of the home of Martha and George Washington to men's extravagant building of the Washington monument. She praises the Mount Vernon Association for its work in restoring the Washington home to its condition "in the proud old days when Martha reigned over it." Emphasizing Martha over George, she also emphasizes that this is an appropriate monument to the American First Family: "The noble old place is really now a 'pilgrim shrine,' worthy of a 'great and glorious people'--like we are--and is so in large part through the patriotism, energy, and devotion of American women . . . 'God bless us every one.'" Revising Tiny Tim's sentiment from Dickens's A Christmas Carol, Greenwood claims this blessing for women; her "every one" includes only women.

Greenwood sharply contrasts women's efficiency with Congress's wastefulness, an allotted $36,000 to test the ground beneath the troubled construction site of the Washington monument. Describing her approach into the city after her visit to Mount Vernon, Greenwood acknowledges a
far less fitting recognition of the first family in the United States:

As we neared Washington on our return, it was depressing and oppressing to behold our Tower of Babel, that huge, unfinished shaft, a melancholy monument of accomplished and unaccomplished patriotism, of arrested national pride, of enthusiasm at a stand-still, a monstrosity of in statu quosity. I am bold to say I don't want it finished. (11 May 1878).21

In contrasting the restoration works of the Mount Vernon Association with the frustrated efforts of the more "official" commemoration of Washington, Greenwood not only highlights women's efficiency but also rejects this singular recognition of a forefather, George, without any attention to a foremother, Martha. She further emasculates the phallic "shaft" for its aesthetic as well as economic burden.

Greenwood masks her most serious criticism of this monument to male power in humorous scriptural allusion. Calling this memorial the Tower of Babel from the Genesis account22 in which the Hebrew people are punished for self-idolatry, Greenwood further criticizes Congressional spending on such a shrine. In a skillful use of satire, here, she aligns this idolatry of George Washington with a religious precedent, alluding to a phrase from the Book of Common Prayer. In the Anglican service, the preamble to the "Lord's Prayer" is "and now, as our savior Christ has taught us, we are bold to say." This is followed by the chanting of the prayer which begins, "Our Father." As she later
calls George Washington "the Father of his Country." Greenwood skillfully, even playfully, rejects the political as well as religious idolatry of male leaders as she echoes this religious language, "I am bold to say."

Honoring more "woman's work" in Washington, Greenwood celebrates the success of the Ladies' Aid Society, a group working in Washington to help care for poor, homeless, and often abused women. Greenwood was active in this organization, and she often used her column to solicit financial support for its efforts. In praising the work of these women, including herself, who care for other women, Greenwood also chastises the political process for its neglect of women. Women are in need, Greenwood repeatedly asserts, because the political process will not take care of widows and orphans, and, when women can find work, sex discriminatory pay scales make it difficult for them to support themselves. In contrast to her tirades against the political system's ignoring the poor and homeless, Greenwood appropriates a scriptural metaphor for the work that the Ladies' Aid Society is doing. She describes the society ironically as, "a quiet little association of earnest, charitable women, who have done great good in a practical, systematic way, for two or three years now." Her diminutive identification of the group is humorous because it follows her advertisement of the group's gigantic fundraising measures--putting on a "dramatic entertainment," a Sullivan opera and an English farce.
Concluding her championing of this group's philanthropic work, Greenwood recasts a narrative from the Gospel of Mark, in which Jesus initiates Simon and Andrew into his group of disciples with this invitation, "Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men" (Mark 1:17, KJV):

Having to contend with many disadvantages in the way of rival "shows" . . . we were obliged to make pretty direct appeals, by means of circulars, enclosing tickets to public men and wealthy citizens, praying for aid and comfort in our benevolent, philanthropic, humanitarian, Christian, and wholly disinterested effort. Fishers of men, we even dropped our lines into the troubled pool of Congress, and brought to the surface and landed much fish. Occasionally we caught a "sculpin," and sometimes our bait was stolen, but on the whole we had good luck. . . . (18 May 1878)

This extended, satiric use of scriptural allusion enables her at once to elevate the work of women to that of the disciples and characterize Congress as the "troubled pool" into which women dared to cast their lines.

Greenwood further redefines "woman's work," mocking purity standards that narrowly defined "appropriate" work for women. Recounting the corrupt political proceedings in the Supreme Court, Greenwood establishes a pretense of sympathizing with the judges who must associate themselves with such politics. In doing so, she calls attention to assumptions about woman's purity, satirically suggesting that if virgin purity is good for women, it is also good for men:
It is odd to hear very much the same sort of stuff talked about these sacred judicial personages going out of their sphere and being dragged down and draggled up by political responsibilities and associations, as we women have had to hear when we have broken through the close jalousies of domestic life, and gone about freely in God's free sunlight on what we believed to be our Master's business or knew to be our own—and especially when we have presumed to demand as citizens under our country's charter of freedom and equality, certain political rights. But for all the outcry, no woman essentially womanly and sensible has ever been harmed or sullied by enlarging her field of influence and action, and dealing with matters of common interest and importance, however much fools may have blossomed out into more glazing folly and lunatics given a wilder and wider flight to their lunacies. The Quaker kerchief of Lucretia Mott still rests over her motherly breast as snowy pure as the veil of a vestal virgin. Anna Dickinson was as respectable when a live revolution spoke through her glowing lips as now when she declaims for a dead Queen. Julia Ward Howe has not fallen from the seventh heaven of Beacon street society through clubs and conventions, petitioning and preaching. And so I hope that our beloved Supreme Court Judges may be preserved from soil and corruption, in the ermine of their office, in the virgin purity of their honor. (12 February 1877)

Greenwood revises a popular argument against woman's suffrage here, as well. The argument that "true women" found their worth in influencing men, having a virtuous effect on the political process by influencing it without being directly involved in it, was a common argument in trying to pacify women with a passive role in the American political process. But Greenwood rejects it, arguing that women are not harmed by increasing their "field of influence and action."
Giving examples of influential and active women, Greenwood defends many well-known nineteenth-century woman's rights women. She reclaims their virginal status, if only to mock its necessity; by referring specifically to virginity in her discussion on woman's purity, Greenwood aligns the arguments against woman's involvement in the state with the obsession with woman's virginity in the church, in its glorification of the virginal Mary. Finally, in turning this expectation around, and holding the Supreme Court judges to this same standard, Greenwood satirizes the entire expectation. If honor has anything to do with sexual purity, Greenwood asserts, then the double standard, holding women to a higher standard than men, ought to be done away with on both counts.

Several newsworthy events permit Greenwood to more directly discuss woman's rights, specifically woman's suffrage, and as she does her use of satire grows stronger. In 1873, for example, several women, including Susan B. Anthony, attempted to vote, and Greenwood relishes this opportunity to address this critical issue for women. Greenwood's letter in response to this is an example of her strongest satire on the religious and political subjugation of women. She begins her letter in an equivocal stance: "I certainly do not want to get into your political preserves by any quibble or dodge. I want my right there freely granted and guaranteed, and will be politely treated when I come, or I won't stay" (30 June 1873). But Greenwood
quickly turns to a more direct satiric stance, aligning Anthony's political transgression with a religious one.

Mocking the sanctimonious overreactions of many people, Greenwood joins their self-righteous judgment, claiming that Anthony had dared to lay an "unsanctified hand" upon the "ark of the holy political covenant." Further aligning woman's search for a place in the American political process with a scriptural narrative, Greenwood finds that women are still wandering in the wilderness, but that "the promised land of justice and equality is not to be reached by a short cut." She explains that just as the children of Israel were led out of Egypt, so women will be led, although she knows not by whom: "I am pretty sure that our Moses has not appeared. I think he will be a woman." Greenwood punctuates her prophecy with a clever, gender-bending quip.

Employing creative wordplay to assess the bind that women are in, in both church and in state, Greenwood belittles the polar roles to which society assigns women:

"Say what you will, the whole question of woman's status in the State and the Church, in society and in the family, is full of absurd contradictions and monstrous anomalies. We are responsible, yet irresponsible—we are idols, we are idiots—we are everything, we are nothing. We are the caryatids, bearing up the entablature of the temple of liberty we are never allowed to enter. We may plot against a government, and hang for it; but if we help to found and sustain a government by patriotic effort and devotion, by toil and hardship, by courage, loyalty, and faith, by sacrifice of those nearest and dearest to us, and then venture to clutch at the crumbs that fall from the table where our Masters... sit at feast, you arrest us, imprison us, try us, fine..."
us, and then add injury to insult, by calling us old, ugly, and fanatical. (30 June 1873)

Amid her caustic contrasting of the stereotypes of women, they are "responsible" or "irresponsible", "idols" or "idiots," "everything" or "nothing," Greenwood casts another scriptural allusion to defend the rights of women. Greenwood refers to a passage from the Gospel of Matthew, in which a woman defends her repeated attempts to meet with Jesus. When Jesus sends her away with this cryptic response, "it is not meet to take the children's bread, and to cast it to dogs," the woman rejoins Jesus, subverting his metaphor to defend her behavior: "Truth, Lord: yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table" (Matthew 15:26-27, KJV). The familiar account concludes with Jesus's reconsideration and eventual welcoming of the woman. But in Greenwood's political midrash of this text, women are turned away, even from the crumbs of their political "masters," men.

Contrasting the skills of women, who are too often turned away from politics, and especially the podium, to the skills of their supposed superiors, Greenwood, on another occasion, insists that women can be turned away no more. Praising the rhetorical acumen of women suffragists presenting their case to the Senate and House Committees on Privileges and Elections, Greenwood uses an ironic juxtaposition to commend the skills of the women speakers. After having reviewed and often railed against the eulogies
of Congressmen at the death of Oliver Morton, a Republican senator from Indiana, Greenwood introduces the suffragists. She allows that they are not as eloquent as the male speakers in Congress, only to rejoin with elaborate praise of these women's speeches:

"We all knew Mrs. Stanton, of New York, the eloquent, indomitable veteran leader of a cause once thought so desperate; but we did not know Mrs. Lawrence of Massachusetts, a noble, impressive speaker, in whose pleasant demands for enfranchisement logic is never swamped by sentiment; whose practical good sense and fine feminine tact is never obscured by misty detractions or nullified by a passionate sense of injustice, and the stiff current of whose will is never drawn off by side issues. (21 January 1878)"

In her commendation of these women, Greenwood identifies each woman by her home state, mimicking the pattern of identifying Congressmen. After identifying the speakers on woman's suffrage, Greenwood delivers her own speech on the subject. She calls woman's suffrage, "the late but legitimate child of the Declaration of Independence," using sexual innuendo to mock the political process that has long delayed giving birth to woman's rights.

With religious language and religious fervor, Greenwood defends the cause of woman's suffrage. To do so, she acknowledges, in order to defuse, societal fears about women's voting:

"No, I am not very hopeful as to time, but if the Republic sounds, I have no doubt as to the event. All will come round just and fair; wise men and women will accept the inevitable and we shall behold, without horror or special wonder, the husband take his wife on his arm and go to the polls, or the wife take her husband on her arm and..."
go to the polls, just as the case may be. Then you will see that all woman suffragists are not so black as they are painted—that they have no fell designs on the home—are not bent on pulling the house down about your ears or blowing up their own hearthstones, or making bonfires of dressing-gowns, slippers, and cradles. As far as I know it is not in their most secret and sanguinary councils of war to drag your unwilling sisters to the polls, or into positions of political honor and emolument. Your wives will not be driven to Congress like sheep to the shambler, nor your fair daughters offered up like young kids on the altar of the public service. (21 January 1878)

With her pun on the word "kid," to mean both a child and a goat, Greenwood collapses two religious metaphors into one, and in doing so she demonstrates her awareness of societal fears surrounding women’s political involvement. This dual reference, to both the scriptural ritual of sacrificing young goats and also the near sacrifice of a young child, Isaac, by his father, Abraham, enables Greenwood to acknowledge these fears, but, she hopes, also assuage them. In the familiar account of Isaac’s near-death experience, the young child is spared, just as Greenwood suggests women will be, even if they become more involved in political affairs.

Greenwood’s strongest evidence for the need for women’s involvement in politics is the reality of domestic abuse. In fact, her strongest outrage over the sexism in society is in response to violence against women. With poignant appeals, Greenwood satirizes a culture that permits such atrocities against women. For example, responding to news of the murder of a woman by her husband, both of them Anglo-
American, Greenwood contrasts the mild public acceptance of this news to the outrage over the "savage" killing of a Native-American woman: "... the TIMES has come to me, with the story of a wife-murder in the heart of Christian New York, the fiendish barbarity of which would startle an Apache and put to his metal an Ogalaila Sioux" (22 January 1873). Acknowledging the stereotype of Native Americans as extraordinarily violent, Greenwood demonstrates the imprecision of such an impression when, in fact, newspaper accounts detail the greater violence of Anglo-American men in "Christian New York."

She further uses humor to demonstrate the gruesomeness of this violence, satirizing the myth of chivalrous protection for women:

> After all, there is a difference. The white savage did not creep stealthily on his victim, like a treacherous Indian, and dispatch her at once. Your reporter says: "Blood was found in the yard and hallway, showing that the fight between the murdered woman and her husband had continued all over the house until the fatal injuries were inflicted in the bedroom," all of which shows that Schefflin gave his Maria a chance for her life. This is Anglo-Saxon Chivalry. (22 January 1873)

Suggesting the reality of Anglo-American male violence against women behind the myth of Anglo-Saxon chivalry, Greenwood uses this comparison as another opportunity to reveal the unjust treatment of woman under United States laws. Greenwood further examines this case and condemns sexist American regulation and religion, which do not value a woman's life. She situates her condemnation in a comic
frame, sarcastically reinterpreting a scriptural passage to demonstrate religion's saving grace for men:

Again, when the rude red man murders his squaw, for ever so good cause, and the avengers of blood come upon him, he knows that his fate is sure, that they will strike and not spare; but the white savage has still chances for escape—through lawyers, judges, intelligent jurymen, and a merciful Executive. This is what law and civilization do for a man. Again, the heathen of the plains, after a deliberate deed of that sort would have no remorse; torture could not force from his grim lips one word of tender regret. Our George said: "I'm sorry"—and yet, he sorrows not as one without hope, for if worse comes to worse, he has the priest, absolution, and heaven to fall back on. This is what Christianity does for a man. (22 January 1873)

Greenwood contrasts the sure justice of supposedly "savage" Native Americans to the justice system and the religious culture in the United States in which even uxoricide can be justified by appealing to all-male juries or to all-male church authorities. In fact, with her scriptural allusion to the words of Paul in his letter to the people of Thessalonica that they should "sorrow not as one without hope," she intensifies her criticism of European American Christian culture by implying that not only the government, but also its religion, provides an escape from justice for men.30

Describing an equally tragic scene of violence against women, Greenwood relies on humor for comic relief, heightening the intensity of her horror with the juxtaposition of a humorous conclusion. Greenwood reports on the court proceedings from a case involving a father's
abuse of his daughters. After their mother's death, the five girls attend a school out-of-town, but upon their return home the father batters all five of them, eventually singling out one as the recipient of his "special privileges." Greenwood makes clear that this is a case involving incest, although she avoids the details in favor of understatement: "This much I must say, that this brutal beating by which this young girl's tender person, laid bare by that old satyr of a father, was bruised and cut and scarred--was as nothing to the outrage committed against her maidenly modestly--against her womanhood" (27 April 1878).

Greenwood's horror is matched by her outrage that, after all the evidence to convict this man, he is pardoned by a male judge and an all-male jury. This proves for Greenwood, and, she hopes, for her readers, the necessity for woman's involvement in the political process:

I realize now, as I have never realized, the necessity, as an aid to equity, as an end of justice, of the admittance of women to the Bar, of their presence in the jury-box, in cases like this. Could an eloquent, persuasive, motherly woman, like Mary Livermore, with her tender heart, her legal and logical mind, and her clear moral sense, have made the closing speech in this case, not a man would have left that jury-box without tears in his eyes and conviction in his heart. (27 April 1878)

But Greenwood even frames this missive with a comic element. Mocking the sympathy of some people, particularly his lawyers, towards Mechlin, whom they repeatedly call "poor Mechlin," Greenwood uses a folksy anecdote about misguided
prayer to reveal the misguided sympathy towards the child molester:

But the sympathies of some people are, or seem to be, in inverse proportion to the worthiness of the object, reminding one of the pity of the good little boy, who one night added a codicil to his prayer, saying, "And, O Lord, please to bless Satan, because poor fellow, nobody loves him" (27 April 1878).

Greenwood's attention to violence towards women is emblematic of her consistent awareness of the less obvious abuse, of spirit if not of body, American women endure in political and religious society. Constantly defining women as either more or less than human, both institutions, both church and state, deny women's full capacities in favor of illusory images of womanhood. Greenwood consistently addresses this reality. In what is, perhaps, one of the clearest examples of her keen use of humor, Greenwood satirically proposes a violent solution to this more violent problem. After imagining the possibilities for women if unnecessary barriers no longer impeded her progress, Greenwood recognizes that such a dire situation requires an extreme response:

. . .I hold that it has demonstrated the capacity of women to attain to and fill very responsible places, to be first-class servants of Government, which is honored by their honest and faithful service. The experiment proves that if unjust hindrances of custom and prejudice be removed, they may develop extensive abilities undreamed of, even by themselves. Were other barriers that keep them out of the placid paradise of politics thrown down, it is possible they might display some genius for administration and legislation, who knows? . . . The fact is, there are too many of us. I can think of no relief for coming
generations . . . except through the heroic remedy of quietly putting all female infants out of the way. Nothing could be so good for us except a long and glorious succession of Herods. (30 June 1873)

Reminiscent of Swift's "A Modest Proposal," Greenwood's satire proposes a solution to literally put women out of their misery. She alludes to Herod's "slaughter of the innocents," the gospel account of Herod's edict that all male children under two years of age be slaughtered to insure that the prophesied savior not usurp his position. Feminizing these "innocents," Greenwood identifies women with this prophesied savior, making a strong statement about the use of power by men and their insistence on disempowering women. She implies that the use of power by men is motivated by fear, a fear of usurpation. It is not that men are ignorant of their power but rather, like Herod, perceive a threat to their exclusive right to power. Ironically, using hyperbole to mock this fear of women, Greenwood suggests this slaughter of women would be for the best because there are too many; women are too powerful a force to suppress. Here she invokes another passage from scripture. She alludes to the story of Moses in which the Israelites had so increased in number that the Pharoah ordered all male infants killed. This second allusion reiterates the focus of the first: that the fear of female power has justified men in their extreme efforts to suppress women.
Highlighting the tragic situation of women in society, a society that deals with its fear of women by alternately putting them on the pedestal or in the pit, with her comic recreation of scriptural accounts, Greenwood negates the binaries of comedy and tragedy. In her political commentary, Greenwood negates the goodgirl and badgirl polar images of women with her use of goodgirl rhetoric, scripture, to discuss a badgirl topic, politics. The situation of women in American society, unfranchised by both church and state, was nothing short of tragic. But, in the face of such displacement, Greenwood resorts to a reliable method of relief, comic relief. To laugh at woman's situation, then or now, does not remedy it. It does, however, lessen its infectious effect.

Whether arguing for woman's rights--to work, to equal remuneration for her work, to vote--or against woman's wrongs--disenfranchisement, disempowerment, or violence--Greenwood attempts to wear a comic mask. Sometimes her mask slips. Sometimes the edge of her anger cuts so sharply that her sarcasm exposes little to laugh about. More often, however, her perspective on Washington life reveals a skillful and effective use of comic elements: irony, wordplay, puns, parody, satire, and even sarcasm. Throughout her "Washington Notes," however, her most characteristic comic device is her scriptural shtick. Cleverly interpreting, criticizing, or rewriting political events in Washington with scriptural narratives, Greenwood
consistently plays off the irony of her position in society, that of a woman trying to inform and, she hopes, reform, her political and religious traditions.

In spite of her cynical view of the situation of women in society, Greenwood occasionally musters guarded optimism about the possibility of reforming society. Employing scriptural language for heaven to describe a better world for women, Greenwood imagines an invitation to full citizenship in society: "'Sister, we recognize your political services, your moral worth and mental respectability; we acknowledge that you have done your duty by a perverse Congress and the departed Board; enter into the kingdom of equal rights'" (19 May 1874).

Notes

1Grace Greenwood, New York Times, 9 July 1877. All citations to Greenwood's letters in the New York Times will be referenced in the text by the date of their publication.

2Barbara Barnes and Suzanne Gossett, in Declarations of Independence, note that in the late 1860s and 1870s, women deliberated between direct and indirect political influence (155). Barnes and Gossett use Mary Clemmer Ames and "Olivia" along with fictional woman lobbyists, creations of Mark Twain and Henry James, for example, as their test cases to demonstrate an equivocation on the part of women entering and a fear on the part of men encountering women in the political realm (155-81). Barnes and Gossett use Laura Fair from Twain and Charles Warner's The Gilded Age (1873) and Verena Tarrant from James' The Bostonians (1886) among their examples of a seeming threat of woman's involvement in the political process as acknowledged in fiction by men.

3Beasley finds that the decade of the 1870s gave women greater freedom in their Washington political writing than ever before. She reviews records of press gallery rosters and finds that while women entered the galleries in the
1870s, by 1880 regulations for gaining admission had changed to effectively eliminate women's attendance.

4In a chapter on puns, Sanborn praises Greenwood for having "made more puns in print than any other woman" (17). Sanborn also includes an excellent example of Greenwood's punning: "It was Grace Greenwood who, at the tea-drinking at the woman's club in Boston was begged to tell one more story, but excused herself in this way, 'No, I cannot get more than one story high on a cup of tea'" (17).

5Greenwood alludes to a line from *Romeo and Juliet*.


7In 2 Samuel 6:12-22, David dances before God and is later accused of making "an exhibition of himself." David explains that he danced with joy because he is a chosen one, having received the Ark of the Covenant from God. Here Greenwood ironically notes that she "dances" before Congress, in spite of the fact that as a woman she does not reap the benefits of the chosen ones, men who are clearly favored by United States political policy.

8Greenwood is quoting Ezekiel 2:5 here. In the Hebrew scriptures, Ezekiel has a vision in which he is called to go to the House of Israel to convict the Israelites of their wrongful ways. Greenwood obviously has similar convictions concerning Congress.

9For further discussion on the importance of the Awakenings and the Enlightenment in shaping American self-image, see Ahlstrom. For further discussion of the Protestant face of American culture, see Kerr.

10Other critics have, to varying degrees, agreed with Douglas. See Tompkins' treatment, particularly of religion in her chapter on *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. See also Kelley, Part III, "Warfare Within," in which she imagines the "crisis of being" for women writers which religious conviction supposedly eased.

11"Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church" (II Corinthians 14:34-35, KJV). "In like manner also that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and
sobriety; not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but (which becometh a woman professing godliness) with good works. Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence" (I Timothy 2:9-12).

Greenwood's use of ethnic stereotype here is characteristic of one unsavory element of her humor that, while beyond the scope of this project, deserves attention. Her slurs are rare, but they do reveal her discomfort with racial and ethnic difference and indicate the limits of much nineteenth-century feminism in being inclusive of all people. This limitation, evident in the racism of many of the staunchest feminists and, ironically, abolitionists in the period highlights an identification with the oppressive power structure rather than with those in mutual oppression. A failure of first wave feminism, this pattern can, by negation, instruct contemporary feminists on the need to criticize all forms of oppression.

Greenwood courts an antagonistic relationship to Congress. In fact, in one letter, she explains that Congressmen read and refute her column during Congressional session (2 May 1874).


Proverbs 25:23.

Matthew 15:28.


Exodus 2

In particular, Miriam's leading the women of Israel out into the wilderness and in orgaic dance is one of the many sermons seldom heard on women in scripture. See Exodus 15:20+.

Elsewhere, Greenwood mocks the Washington Monument more directly, warning that its erection could lead to similar sights in the city: "If we get in the monumental way, as we did in the Lincoln statue way, we may go on after our fast, reckless American fashion, from the first
President to all the Presidents, till monster shafts shall be as thick in Washington as chimney-stacks in Birmingham, or steeples in Brooklyn" (19 May 1874).


23Lucretia Mott was a staunch supporter of abolitionist and woman's rights causes. Together with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, she called the Seneca Falls Convention in 1848.

24Anna Dickinson was a well-known woman's rights and abolitionist lecturer. After her success as a speaker, she enjoyed acting for a while. Greenwood apparently alludes to one of Dickinson's roles.

25Julia Ward Howe is best known today for writing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." She was also an active social reformer, speaking particularly on women's issues such as suffrage.

26Critics debate the prominence of definitions for "true womanhood" in the nineteenth century. Recently, however, some readers have noticed the tension some women found between cultural understandings of "true womanhood" and their own understandings of "real womanhood." Greenwood certainly seems aware of this tension and offers her own evidence to bridge the discrepancies between what she felt to be "real" womanhood and what society expected of "true" women. For consideration of tension between "true women" and "real women," see Hobbs.

27Greenwood frequently cites other women in an attempt to call attention to women's leadership capacity. For example, Greenwood compares women's skills to the failure of Congress to handle federal funds efficiently and argues that women would not be forgiven for the behavior for which men expect immediate absolution. She parallels the women leaders in woman's rights efforts with Congressional leaders:

May a poor, ignorant woman ask, why in the name of common sense to say nothing of common honestly, when these enormous dividends came rolling in, the consciences of honorable gentlemen did not take alarm? . . . If, at the close of the war, the women of the North had been, like the Negroes, accorded their political rights, if Hon. Julia Ward Howe had been in the place of Hon. H. L. Dawes, if Hon. Lucretia Mott had been in the place of Hon. W. D. Kelly, if Hon. Lucy Stone had been
in the place of Hon. J. A. Garfield, and if they had been, as of course, being human they might have been--involved in this compromising affair, and had shown a profound ignorance of its compromising character, what a yell of derision would have resounded from Maine to Georgia, and from Boston to San Francisco, over woman's incapacity not only to legislate for others, but to take care of herself. (22 February 1873)

28In another letter, Greenwood responds to a rumor that she has voted: "That is something I never did, here, or elsewhere, and never intend to do till men in power are manly and magnanimous enough to invite me" (19 May 1874).

29Genesis 22

30Turning even uxoricide on its head, Greenwood excoriates women murdering their husbands in a letter a month later. On February 22, 1873, she responds to reports to a woman's killing a man. She states that, although she is glad to see women filling various roles once thought only appropriate for men, women should not strive to be equally barbaric. She tempers this warning, however, with the suggestion that tradition, even religious tradition, has licensed men's behavior and that women, if they do kill, do so only in self-defense:

Our Puritan fathers allowed a man to beat his wife with a "stick no bigger than his thumb," which was moderate and merciful, for of course discipline must be kept up; but such is the spread of irreligion, and so rebellious has woman grown under the influence of this suffrage agitation, that a modern husband feels justified in seizing a club, a hatchet, a stove-lid, or any other handy little article to assert his supremacy over a refractory spouse, some times disciplining her to death in less than five minutes.

31Mary Livermore was a well-known temperance and woman's rights activist.

32Matthew 2.

33Exodus 1:22.
Chapter 5

An "Unprotected" Pilgrim; Or, A New Woman in the Old World: Grace Greenwood's European Escape, 1875-76, '78-79

Even while plucking ivy and wild flowers, which climb everywhere here, over moat and bastion, the beautiful besiegers of ruin, the far proud past was present to us. We pictured fair ladies sitting there in golden Autumn afternoons, cheating time with eternal needle-work, and looking off over the vine-clad hills, or down the silver river, for the coming of their warlike lords, who most likely when they did come had small comfort or tenderness to bestow upon them. After all, the most pathetic and immortal interest about a ruin of this kind, or about any human structure, is womanly. Some woman's glory, love, or misfortune is necessary to give to it the last vital, vivid romance. Westminster Abbey is the tomb of Elisabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart. Versailles is more the monument of Marie Antoinette than of Louis le Grand, Kennilworth is haunted by the gentle ghost of Amy Robsart, and that haughty, hapless Queen of Bohemia sits enthroned amid the ruins of Heidelberg Castle for all time.¹

After her optimistic travels in the West and her sarcastic stay in the East, Grace Greenwood leaves the New World to travel in the Old. On these travels, she again highlights the fact that she is a woman traveler. Unlike her travels in the West, however, where her optimism imagines a potential escape from strict gender restrictions, her travels abroad redefine such restrictions as almost universal. In the West, Greenwood is more of a spectator; traveling abroad, a spectacle. Almost everywhere she goes on her travels abroad, her awareness of her self as a woman is heightened. As a stranger in a strange land, Greenwood keenly senses and directly responds to the objectification of herself and of other women. She points out the
"unprotected" woman to accentuate what is clearly implied in the phrase: women need protection from men.

Earlier in the 1870s, in her commentary on the West and the East, Greenwood had already addressed the double standard that would exaggerate women as mere bodies, as objects for male consumption, but then deny them possession of their own worth, their sexuality. She had, on occasion, brazenly overstepped the expectations of purity for her gender with overt sexual comments. "Firing promiscuously" from the balcony of her cabin in Colorado, she had sexualized her revolver and praised its power to ward off would-be suitors or robbers, which, she suggests, are interchangeable (4 September 2874). In Washington, she had mocked the fears that women in the public view would sacrifice their "virginal purity" (12 February 1877). But on her travels abroad, to England, France, Switzerland, Belgium, and Italy, Greenwood more frequently responds to the objectification of women by deflecting its effects. She exposes male intimidation especially by exposing attention to the body as a constant reminder of male violence. She refuses gender definitions based on a mind/body binary, and, instead, offers her new definition of woman which encompasses both.

Traveling abroad, Greenwood revamps stereotypical definitions of womanhood. She becomes a kind of metawoman, consciously defining herself as a woman, in direct contradiction to objectified versions. Her response to
this objectification of women is varied. When the gaze is focused on herself, Greenwood subverts it. When the gaze is focused on other women, Greenwood exposes it. She flirts with femininity, she sexualizes herself and her surroundings, and she flaunts her freedom; she appropriates the male gaze and reveals its inadequate view. Railing against the attention to women's bodies rather than their intellects, Greenwood identifies various cultural voyeurs on her voyage. In her "Notes from Over the Sea," Grace Greenwood does sarcastically attend to the requisite defining of the New World, as was expected of American travel writers, but more intently she offers new definitions of a "New Woman."

Theories on women travelers have acknowledged distinctions that separate women's travelogues from men's. Generally, scholars have suggested that while the male traveler's attention is outward, the female traveler's attention is more likely to be inward. Rather than emphasizing the changes brought to a culture by their presence, as male travelers often do, female travelers often emphasize the need for culture to accommodate them more fully.

Within the context of her understanding of the imperial outlook of European travelers in the nineteenth century, Mary Louise Pratt attests to such gender distinctions within the travel writing discourse:

If the discourse of the capitalist vanguard is structured by a melding of the esthetic (or anti-
esthetic) and the economic, that of the social exploratresses melds politics and the personal. While the vanguardists tend to emplot their accounts as quests for achievement fueled by fantasies of transformation and dominance, the exploratresses emplot quests for self-realization and fantasies of social harmony. (Pratt 168)

Pratt explains that exploring new geographical areas provides women travelers with an opportunity to explore new possibilities for womanhood (169). Sara Mills, in *Discourses of Difference*, recognizes similar gender distinctions in women's "foreign" travel writing. Mary Suzanne Schriber, likewise, finds that women who left their homelands to travel abroad usually privileged their own political views over the political issues of dominant society: "... women transmute narratives of travel, traditionally androcentric, into gynocentric narratives of their lives and narratives of gender, using the travel book as a structure within which to embed a major agenda: the politics of gender" (xxx).

American women travel writers in the nineteenth century skillfully followed much of the map of the genre, but also traveled new territories through their discourses on difference, gender difference, within the course of their work. They explored new ideas not only about the world around them but also about their place, woman's place, in it. While much attention has been paid to the tradition of male travel writing, scholarly attention to women's travel writing is still a fairly new field of exploration.
Many American women writers employed the travel genre, and each provided not only her perspective on the locations she saw but also her vision, or revision, of womanhood as well. For example, Emma Hart Willard, founder of the Troy Seminary for Women, published her *Journal and Letters, from France and Great-Britain* in 1833. These letters, written to her sister and friends in the United States, retrace her plotted steps to tourist attractions, but they also reveal her ideas about social reform to improve the lives of women, in the New World and the Old.

Better-known literary women such as Catherine Maria Sedgwick, Caroline Kirkland, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Margaret Fuller wrote travel letters from Europe, negotiating definitions of womanhood even as they negotiated directions in guidebooks. Sedgwick's *Letters from Abroad to Kindred at Home* (1841), Kirkland's *Holiday's Abroad; or, Europe from the West* (1849) and Stowe's *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands* (1854), all written before the Civil War, demonstrate a continuing tension for American women living in a time when prevalent gender ideologies were so constraining. Each of these writers breached gender boundaries, even in conceiving of herself as a writer. The women negotiate this gender barrier by apologizing for or affronting it, sometimes alternating between the two within one letter, as they describe their vision of the Old World and define their version of womanhood. However, these works, like Greenwood's *Haps and Mishaps* (1853), still
express patriotic optimism of the ongoing reform of the American republic. Fuller's *At Home and Abroad; or Things and Thoughts in America and Europe* (1856), a collection of her travel letters originally published in Greeley's *New York Tribune* from 1847-49, was published in the wake of her bold assessment of feminism in America, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845). Fuller's letters express serious social criticism as a staunch Republican calling for reform, if not revolution, both at home and abroad. Fuller's ante-bellum observations position her as a forerunner in women's political activism in the nineteenth century.

Greenwood, writing for the *New York Times* after the Civil War, represents a new generation of women travel writers. Her travel letters speak candidly of the need for serious revision of the role of women everywhere. Greenwood speaks to this need for reform by highlighting her distinction as a woman, better yet an "unprotected" woman, traveler. In the prodigal framework, leaving home was accepted, even expected, for sons who somehow had to leave their fathers' homes, learn something about the world around them, and return to reclaim their rightful positions as restored heirs to the fathers' wealth. A narrative of a prodigal daughter's leaving home, however, had greater potential for originality, since, even in leaving home without a guardian or protector, let alone in writing about their travels, women were breaching gender boundaries. Well aware of this novelty, Greenwood flirts with a feminine
facade to promote her work in the otherwise crowded field of
travel writing. Initially, she even subtitles her "Notes
from Over the Sea" with a nod to feminine domestic work,
calling them "Drop Stitches of Travel."

More forthrightly, however, this prodigal daughter
exaggerates the spectacle of her travels by encouraging her
readers to follow the adventures of "our party of three
unprotected females" (17 June 1875). With this "unprotected
female" phrase, Greenwood exploits the implied sexual threat
to women traveling alone to entice her readers and thus
market her travel writing. But Greenwood uses this
appellation for more than heterosex appeal. It is also a
bold statement that she does not need a protector. It is an
advertisement that this merry band of pilgrims travels quite
nicely without male companions.

Greenwood had previously figured herself as an
"unprotected female" in an earlier work, Haps and Mishaps of
A Tour in Europe (1853), and Mark Twain and other travel
writers had already popularized the image of unprotected
female travelers, women traveling out of the company of men.
In his successful Innocents Abroad; Or The New Pilgrims
Progress (1869), Twain satirized "unprotected females" who
feigned disgust at Old World aristocracy but then managed
their best impersonations of New England aristocracy
whenever possible. Greenwood knew Twain's work; in fact,
she alludes to his title in one of her letters,
nostalgically recalling an earlier visit to Paris: "That
was before the 'Innocents' had gone 'Abroad'" (19 January 1879). In her "Notes Over the Sea," Greenwood more directly rebuffs such stereotypes of women as "innocents"; she goes out of her way to flaunt her own lack of innocence or to reclaim it not as a criticism of woman's naiveté but as a celebration of women's independence from men. She subverts the order of the male marketplace by recognizing and marketing her own value as a woman and by being her own protector.

Other women travel writers in the late nineteenth century, aware of strict gender ideologies that would keep them safely at home while their male counterparts explored the world, also made gender boundaries work for them by emphasizing the spectacle of women traveling. Schriber postulates that "by emphasizing the act of traveling alone . . . women may be engaging in entrepreneurial play with a feature of the travel genre that became more prominent with the escalating numbers of female travelers" (xxix). In 1881, Mrs. M. and Emma Straiton marketed their brazen collaborative travels in *Two Lady Tramps Abroad*. Nellie Bly's 1889 attempt to "girdle the world," letters from which were published in the *New York World*, gained national attention with its titillating attention to this unprotected female traveler. This marketing strategy must have worked for Greenwood even earlier; she had used this approach in 1875 and within two months her foreign travel correspondence was moved from the fifth page to the front page where it
remained largely for the duration of her excursion, often filling as many as four of the seven front page columns. It is easy, then, to read this "unprotected" label as simply a hook for her readers, and, indeed, it seems to have worked as a marketing strategy for Greenwood and others. But, the label can also be seen as something more subversive. Perhaps the "threat" behind these women's sexualization of themselves in their texts has less to do with their own implied vulnerability than with the challenge to a patriarchal social order, which their traveling out of the company of men flaunted.

Much scholarship on the nineteenth century denies any such potentially subversive elements in women's writing and focuses, instead, on women's presumed participation in their own oppression. Certainly, where attention to their bodies is concerned, women who emphasized their own femininity have been read as sentimentalizing culture or as adherents to the cult of domesticity.5 But, as Carroll Smith-Rosenberg demonstrates in Disorderly Conduct, many women in the period were actively reshaping themselves as women, redefining femininity, and, therefore, were not participating in society's standards but, instead, celebrating their own new definitions.

One of the primary issues that women in the nineteenth century rebelled against was the cultural assumption about a mind and body split.6 Smith-Rosenberg traces the ways many institutions, in particular the American Medical
Association, perpetuated a "female/body-male/mind polarity" (263). Women rejected such a polarity for its unqualified attention to their bodies and unquestioned inattention to their minds. One woman in the period, in fact, was so aware of this superimposed gender binary that she framed the entire debate of the "natural" roles of women succinctly: "'How do I look?' is the everlasting story from the beginning to the end of woman's life. Looks, not books, are the murderers of American woman" (qtd. in Smith-Rosenberg 263).

When women rejected such a binary and chose to nurture their intellects and even reclaim their bodies, they joined a growing number of women, called "New Women" by defenders and supporters alike, who were seen for better or for worse to be challenging existing attitudes regarding strict gender definitions (Smith-Rosenberg 245). Refusing to be molded into the shape society expected and insisting that they could, quite naturally, grow into the fullness of their being apart from such limitations, these women dared to privilege their own minds, often rejecting traditional marriage arrangements and favoring, instead, to live alone or in supportive, all-female communities. Refusing to be protected from men, ironically, by men, these women became, instead, their own protectors. This rejection of their role as the "body" in, as Greenwood puts it, the "sacred oneness" of marriage "challenged existing gender relations and the distribution of power" (Smith-Rosenberg 245).
Although Smith-Rosenberg posits the beginning of this discomfort with women's presumed gender-bending in the 1870s, there had been attention to women's reclaiming, even reshaping of their bodies much earlier. In the 1840s, large cities in the United States opened women's clubs, many of which were dedicated to women's athletic activities. In response to these openings, an 1843 editorial in the *New Mirror*, then edited by G. P. Morris and N. P. Willis, mocked the new clubs: "... no male foot is suffered to enter this gynesian gymnasium. ... The luxuries remaining to our sex, up to the present time, are fencing and boxing--the usurpation of which are probably under consideration" (9 December 1843: 159). Revealing fears of women's usurpation of male roles, this editorial indicates the entrenched assumptions that, although their bodies were able to endure childbirth, women were delicate figures unsuited to masculine sport. This editorial satirizes women's athleticism using the juxtaposition of gynesian and gymnasium, implying that the two are incongruent; it suggests that a woman's anatomy is incompatible with physical exercise.

Another editorial in this same journal indicates that the debate over the male/mind-female/body binary began, at least in literary circles, much earlier than Smith-Rosenberg assumes. In response to the growing number of women writers, the editors at the *New Mirror* sarcastically addressed the presence of women in literary society,
attacking both *Godey's Ladies Book* and *Ladies' Companion* for their friendliness to women writers and editors:

Godey's monthly is a powerful gynocracy; Snowden has yielded to the 'pressure from without,' and petticoated his authority, (though a *Ladies Companion* should be of our sex, one would think). . . . The catechism of life is about to change ends--the ladies to do the asking--and we must look up our submission, and prepare to play wallflower and 'mind our broidery.' (27 May 1843: 128)

Again the fear of female usurpation of male roles, including male sexual roles, is clear. The heterosexism expressed in the pun on the journal's title, that a proper *Ladies Companion* should be a man, indicates the underlying fear that societal chaos would occur if women inverted or rejected the compulsory heterosexual ordering of society in which men "do the asking" and women "play wallflower." In the next decade, the debate over women's dress, in particular the wearing of the bloomer costume, further betrayed societal fears about women's gender-bending that Smith-Rosenberg demonstrates was even more widespread in the 1870s.

Greenwood would have been familiar with such fears. In fact, she published in the *New Mirror* even at the time of these editorials, although her tenure there was quite brief. And by the 1850s, Greenwood willingly flaunted her patronage of the Boston Athletic Association, often answering requests for autographs on the club's stationery. And in both collections of *Greenwood Leaves* (1850, 1852), she defends women's rights to wear trousers.
Clearly, Greenwood had already challenged prevalent gender boundaries. By the 1870s, however, when societal fears about women's redefining "woman's sphere" grew more rampant, Greenwood responded with more forthright criticism of such gender restrictions. Her travels abroad highlighted these restrictions because, as Schriber and others have noted, travel intensified a woman's self-consciousness about being a woman. It made her even more aware of society's objectification of her gender. Greenwood not only deflects this objectification and its implied body/mind binary by overtly characterizing herself on her travels, but she also repudiates various patterns that exaggerate such a binary.

Her use of the "unprotected" traveler phrase, while highlighting the fact that the gaze can be threatening to women, also mocks the objectifying power of male attention. Although she uses the phrase frequently, at one point she more clearly identifies the necessary protection for women. Leaving England for Switzerland, Greenwood describes her growing group: "From this point our original party of three became, by reinforcements, a company of five--still all unprotected females, but presenting a rather strong front to the enemy" (10 September 1875). Even in this light-hearted attention to the group, her use of military language--the new women are "reinforcements" to help protect against the "enemy"--Greenwood exposes the threat to women traveling without men but asserts that women can protect themselves from such threats.
On another occasion, when the group has grown from five to six, Greenwood emphasizes that, although they are the visitors, they have become the spectacle. She describes the attention her group garners: "Here, as we halted for another rest, a great multitude sallied out to see us, explaining in all the languages of Europe, and especially in the dialect of London, 'Six ladies on horseback, without a gentleman'" (1 October 1875). Greenwood insists that this concern for women traveling out of the company of men is obviously widespread. In fact, "all the languages of Europe" have a phrase with which to express such concern. Having recounted the skills of these six horsewomen in great detail, Greenwood shows the absurdity of such a belief that six women would actually be aided at all by the presence of one man.

In addition to her exposure of the lurid attention to women travelers, occasionally on her travels abroad Greenwood subverts the male gaze by appropriating it herself and redirecting it toward men. After hearing a speech by the Lord Mayor of London, for example, Greenwood admits that she was almost taken in by him. But her attention is not directed toward his ideas, rather his looks: "Gorgeous as he was, he had reconciled us to Republicanism" (6 August 1876). Making the Lord Mayor the object of her gaze, she nevertheless rejects his ideas on the supremacy of England's political structure, and resolves, instead, to remain true to her beloved Republicanism. On another occasion,
Greenwood and her companions observe a lone, male traveler. Again recasting the gaze, Greenwood finds that the view is not as impressive, and she mocks common assumptions that women secretly want to be men: "Every woman of us pitied his weakness and thanked heaven it had not made her such a man" (1 October 1875).

On this same mountain adventure, Greenwood reveals the "secret" of what women really want. Women do not want to be men, they want to be free to define themselves as they see fit. Similar to the ecstatic scene Greenwood recalls at the height of her travels in California, this scene in Switzerland recaptures the group's celebration of the camaraderie within their sisterhood:

We backslid, in spirit, some eighteen centuries and were landed in the beautiful old mythologies, ready to sing poems to Luna and pour libation of Rudeshein on the white altar of Dian's temple. In fact, our delight all through this wonderful moonlight ride amounted to an ecstasy, an intoxication of the finer senses. There was everything that could appeal to the imagination, the love of beauty, and, above all, to the secret passion for adventure which was a characteristic of each of that party of six picked and kindred souls. We travel with all our eyes about us, and every sense alert and awake--we do! We laughed and sung, executed the Alpine jodle, with Yankee variations, and gave a small Rocky Mountain war whoop to the astonished echoes. (1 October 1875)

Within her recollection of this rowdy group's revelry, Greenwood couches more serious commentary with her allusion to mythology. In Roman mythology, Diana is the huntress, the virgin goddess. Figuring herself and her companions as followers of Diana, worshippers at the temple where men were not allowed to enter, Greenwood further extricates the women
from the need for male companionship. Celebrating the "ecstasy" and "intoxication" the women find on this moonlit ride together, Greenwood privileges the camaraderie of these six "kindred souls," subverting the notion that men are necessary to women. Instead, Greenwood emphasizes the "passion for adventure" these women share. Women among themselves, Greenwood suggests, laugh and sing and celebrate themselves. This laughter and singing emphasizes the freedom of self-expression women find when released from the male gaze, which often makes of them silent objects.

When this same group stops to rest for the evening, Greenwood describes their bohemian arrangements in a guest house, rejecting the threat to female sexuality. She details a scene typically threatening for women, highlighting the potential for the voyeuristic male gaze to intrude, but then describes one woman's self-possession of her own body, undercutting the impact of the gaze:

The floor of our apartment was thickly spread with mattresses for ladies, and some of them went regularly to bed, and said prayers greatly disproportionate to their accommodations. Large doorways insufficiently draped with curtains conducted into the apartments for male tourists, some of whom wandered in and out . . . and in the midst of their perambulations I noticed one fair lady cooly and calmly disrobed herself and . . . "laid down in her loveliness." (1 October 1875)

Greenwood's notation of the prayers of the women, in addition to her detail of the "insufficiently draped" doorways, recreates a scene of potential vulnerability for women. In contrast, then, she recalls the cool and calm disrobing of a woman who, apparently, rests in full view of
"the enemy." Undaunted by the potential leers of men in the neighboring room and the physical threat they imply, this irrepressible woman, at least in Greenwood's view, disempowers the threat of the gaze that could "undress" fully clothed women by boldly showing herself "in her loveliness."

Perhaps Greenwood's most direct subversion of patriarchal ordering in society occurs as she recalls her earlier travels, in the 1850s, with Charlotte Cushman. Cushman, a well-known actress, was best known for her cross-dressing roles as Romeo and Hamlet. Remembering these pleasant travels and relying on Cushman's reputation, Greenwood lands a striking blow against the romanticized ideal family, in which everything is organized to garner power for the required male head of the household. Greenwood describes an evening ritual:

This was during my six months' residence in Rome, the favorite walk of our household of six English and American women, all single ladies of pretty decided characteristics--each one with an art, profession, or mission, yet all good friends and jolly companions. The wicked artists of that time used to call us 'The Happy Family.' (30 April 1876)

That the six women, each with individual identities, could come together for companionship and dare to be called, even if only in jest, "The Happy Family," subverts long-held notions of required patriarchal ordering in the family. With no patriarch, there is no leader around whom all others in the family should focus their attention. Instead, the women forge an egalitarian existence. Even in a joking
manner, this redefinition of family offers a radical alternative to the prevalent ideology of the family.\textsuperscript{10}

Greenwood sets such radical redefinitions of woman against the background of familiar tourist attractions. In addition to her self-reflection, Greenwood surveys many of the same sites that travel writers before her have covered—those sites deemed important to an understanding of history. For the most part, her travels follow the guidebooks, with an occasional detour through the home of a forgotten woman artist or an excessive delay at a traditional tourist attraction to reconsider this location for its relevance to women.\textsuperscript{11} For example, on a tour in Stratford, visiting Shakespeare's home, she pauses long enough in the familiar tourist spot to reconsider it within a feminine framework. Surveying the gardens in which she imagines Shakespeare and Ann Hathaway must have walked, she wonders how "he played Romeo to Ann Hathaway's Juliet" (30 June 1875). She sympathizes with Hathaway, in contrast to the usual praise of Shakespeare:

She little thought, as he wooed her there, with marvelous persuasion and dainty wit and winsome wiles, that he would ever flee from peace, respectability, and her, take to the evil ways of a play-actor and poet, and finally put upon her, in his last will and testament, an eternal slight—extinguish her under his "second-best bed." (30 June 1875)

In the London home of Mrs. Philps, British host of a literary salon frequented by American writers, Greenwood encounters Mrs. Charles Dickens, whose separation from her husband has been the subject of much gossip. Greenwood
acknowledges that Mrs. Dickens is "brave and magnanimous" in not telling her side of the story which, Greenwood is sure, tells a different "side of that painful story of dissatisfaction and estrangement" (17 September 1876). And in cemeteries where tourists can see the "resting places" of Oliver Cromwell, John Bunyan, Daniel Defoe and Charles and John Wesley, Greenwood lingers long enough to call attention, as well, to the graves of Susannah Wesley, Anne Scott, and Sophia and Una Hawthorne (6 October 1878). Even as she visits places familiar to her readers from other travel writers' accounts, Greenwood pays particular attention to their significance to women. On occasion, however, she jokingly participates with other travel writers in the task of defining an American identity, which she does by focusing on women.

Indeed, one task of American male writers, particularly travel writers, in the nineteenth century was to forge an essential American identity. Many of the best-known male writers from the period employed the genre. In the first half of the century, Washington Irving, in the "Spanish Sketch Book" from the 1830s, and Herman Melville, especially in Typee (1846) and Omoo (1847), highlight the independent, American male traveler exploring exotic locations and establishing the "American Adam" as a robust adventurer. From the second half of the century, Hawthorne's Marble Faun (1860) might be considered travel fiction, and Bayard Taylor, a friend of Greenwood's with
whom she corresponded frequently, published numerous travel volumes and is the best known specifically travel writer of the century.\textsuperscript{14} Writing mainly before the American Civil War, both Hawthorne and Taylor focus their travel writings on defending the national reputation and imagining even greater dominance for the up and coming republic.\textsuperscript{15} Male writers immediately after the Civil War, of whom Mark Twain is best-known, began to demonstrate a growing self-consciousness about a war-torn American identity and diminishing American idealism.

Still later in the century, Henry James continued this task of forging an American identity with his letters from Paris to the New York Tribune and with his fictional accounts of Americans traveling abroad. James changes his focus from the male American protagonist, Christopher Newman, in The American (1877), to his views of "the American girl" making a way for herself abroad in Daisy Miller (1879) and The Portrait of a Lady (1881).\textsuperscript{16} Not surprisingly, this shift from male protagonist to female protagonist follows James' growing cynicism about an essentially American identity; James' brashest Americans are female, and his most debasing views on the degeneration of American ideals are reserved for American women. As the century progressed, and especially after the Civil War, the identity created in American letters moved from the idealism of Irving to the sarcasm of Twain to the cynicism of James. In their travels abroad, these nineteenth-century male
travel writers, even unwittingly, perpetuate the monolithic American identity, almost always male, or, if female, unflatteringly so.

Strict gender codes contributed another understood element of this American identity for many male travel writers in the nineteenth century. As previously acknowledged, male travelers usually survey landscapes and translate them for their audience with sharp attention to staging and careful attendance on scenery. James Buzard, in The Beaten Tracks, highlights the penchant particularly of American male travel writers to read "foreign" cultures for their aesthetic effect and to produce narratives from their travels as "a co-ordinated picture or mise-en-scene" (10). American male travelers gaze at foreign cultures in order to reproduce, to the extent that the scene is pleasing, or to rearrange, if necessary, the lands before them.17

Although most of Greenwood's attention is focused on gender identity, she does, on occasion, focus on national identity. When national reputation is at stake, Greenwood often prefers the proud, Protestant and democratic identity of the New World, but she seems to do so mockingly, as if well aware of this self-congratulatory strain in the travel writing of others. She surveys the natural beauty in Europe but insists that it cannot compete with the natural beauty of the American West; the waterfalls thundering from the heights of the Swiss Alps are, she says, "mere silvery spurts and tricklings, compared with American waterfalls" (9
January 1876). She argues for the principles of American democracy in the face of other forms of government; in London, at a centennial celebration of the United States' independence, however, she insists that the distinctions between the two countries were hardly worth the war fought over them; the difference between scribes and Pharisees, after all, is merely a matter of class:

Yet I will venture to transcribe a few of my slight notes of that memorable commemorative Fourth of July dinner, that happy open communion of free Anglo-Saxons whereat monarchists and members of Parliament sat down with Republicans and sinners, and democratic scribes and aristocratic Pharisees dipped sop together. (6 August 1876)

And she insists that the non-intermediary Protestantism of the New World is preferable to the male hierarchy of European Catholicism; her dismissal of Catholic priests, not to mention English politicians, however, sounds strikingly familiar to her dismissal of their American counterparts: "I have often noticed that the very ideal and essence of snobbery and sycophancy may be found under the cloth. Flunkies are not always in powdered wigs, laced coats, and plush breeches; they sometimes wear the 'livery of heaven'" (4 May 1879). In contrast to the male literary tradition of highlighting difference, Greenwood recognizes similarities within cultures.

In fact, in one scene Greenwood subverts the male mise-en-scene technique, usually employed through colonizing eyes. She orchestrates a scene, but she does so in fantasizing about potential social harmony, not potential
economic gain. Having visited a familiar tourist attraction, Madame Toussaud's wax museum, Greenwood claims that she dreams about it. In her dream, she returns again to the museum, but somehow, magically, all of the wax figures come to life. Animated, these figures work out old grievances, crossing historical and geographical lines to do so. For example, she describes a reconciliation of England's past monarchs, "Elizabeth and Mary Tudor, Mary and Arabella Stuart talked over their old family quarrels and grievances without undue excitement." And the six wives of Henry the Eighth all unite, making it, "an awkward thing for the Eighth Henry to 'come to' in the concrete bosom of his family." Greenwood even sees George III and George Washington calmly discussing the New World. Describing her dream's outcome, Greenwood imagines peaceful resolutions to many time-honored and historically-held disagreements: "Most personal, political, social, and even religious differences and distinctions seemed forgotten or ignored in this strange neutral state of being" (3 September 1876).

While working out a redefinition of woman and rehearsing, if only to show the ridiculousness of, the complaints of Americans in the New World against the Old, Greenwood ultimately transforms the genre into a forum for challenging the treatment of women in the Old World and in the New. In her "Notes from Over the Sea," Greenwood is less concerned with what it means to be an American than with what it means to be a woman, and this definition, she
proposes, extends across geographical boundaries. In her focus on women she encounters on her travels, Greenwood exposes the ways in which women are valued primarily for their bodies in society but then are denied the freedom to make decisions about their own bodies. She exposes this traditional view of women in artistic, religious, and political arrangements and offers, whenever possible, alternatives to such a mind/body split.

Redirecting the gaze, then, away from a colonizing national identity to a more universal gender identity, Greenwood observes women in a variety of locations, all of whom share a similar situation; they need to be free to define themselves; they need to escape objectification. Highlighting the inadequate representation of women in art galleries, except as the nude subjects of male artists, Greenwood analyzes this multi-layered evidence of the male gaze. She has an equivocal response to an English exhibit:

There was not, I think, one picture before which a father would hesitate to stand with his daughter. If there were pretentious portraits of the eternal 'lady' and 'gentleman,' to weary one, there were no wanton nymphs and leering satyrs to disgust one. If there was some crudity to complain of, there was no nudity to blush at. Not that dress is always decency, or the lack of it immodesty. (24 September 1876)

Greenwood mocks the polarity of "lady" and "wanton nymph" in portraits of women, but clearly prefers, of the two extremes, the "lady." However, Greenwood also makes clear that it is not the object itself that makes it decent or indecent but rather the presentation.
In comparison to this English exhibition, Greenwood describes the nude portraits in a French salon:

The next characteristic feature of the salon of this year was the appalling array of nude women . . . born of no cleaner foam than that of the Seine in flood-time—and about whom never hovered a dove or a love; Eves who have never fallen, because they have never been pure—conscious, but not unblushing. (24 September 1876)

She describes these paintings in the style of Rubens, but she balks at their unnatural recreation of women: "without a certain healthiness of tone and contour, the honest voluptuousness of a sort of respectable sensuality."

Approving of only one portrait in the gallery, a portrait of Venus, Greenwood praises the work for its neutrality: "She alone belonged to that poetic, classic, morally negative realm wherein there is neither virtue nor sin, shame nor shamelessness" (24 September 76).

Greenwood not only reclaims women's body images from the equally destructive angel/whore binary, but she calls for more honest portraits of women. She wants to see women as they are, not women as men see them or think that they should be. To find women defining for themselves who they are, Greenwood turns her attention to another forum for women in the arts. With attention to actors and writers, Greenwood claims for women a right to a public image; she insists that it is not that women cannot or should not be seen in public, but that they have a right to define their public roles apart from male intimidation. She praises women in public roles of actresses and writers. Greenwood
reviews almost every dramatic production in the major cities she visits, and in each review she raves about the freedom women find to express themselves on stage. In addition to her lavish praise for women on stage, Greenwood praises several women writers, each a gender-bender in her own right. Playing on George Eliot's use of a male nom-de-guerre, Greenwood mocks the mind/body polarity: "... she is broad, brave, sympathetic, and natural--the largest-brained woman and the biggest-hearted man in England" (26 July 1875). Implying that the two cohabit within Eliot, Greenwood refutes the notion that women and men need to find their complements in the presumed "opposite" gender.

Greenwood describes another large-brained woman and strong-hearted man: George Sand. At the death of this French novelist, Greenwood explains that she has read all of the French accounts of Sand's death, all of which give more attention to Sand than the brief New York Times obituary. In her earlier public letters, collected in Greenwood Leaves, Greenwood had defended Sand for wearing trousers, cropping her hair and smoking cigars. Sand's behavior was the subject of much attention in the early half of the nineteenth century. She left a smothering marriage for a lover, with whom she collaborated to write a novel. Eventually taking part of her lover's name as her own pseudonym, Sand continued to write and openly espoused a philosophy of free association rather than marriage. Near the end of her life, Sand returned to a strict moralist...
stance. Although Greenwood equivocates somewhat in negotiating many of the details of Sand's life, she nevertheless defends Sand: "She . . . who, perhaps, alone in her country and time gave the lie to the sentiment of Balzac—'Superiority is a burden which a woman knows not how to bear'" (23 July 1876). Praising Sand's progressive views, Greenwood revises the abbreviated obituary in the Times, returning attention to this well-known public persona.

One stage where women have not been free to define themselves, however, is the church. Greenwood's criticism of the church's use and abuse of women is different in predominantly Catholic Europe and predominantly Anglican England. Although in America Greenwood criticizes the absence of women in the leadership positions of organized religion, abroad she criticizes the morbid presence of women in the church. Visiting a cathedral of Cologne, for example, Greenwood mocks the church's obsession with women's bodies and its unexamined marketing of them:

[The church] thrives well on their remains and works mighty works with their bones, which fact is triumphantly demonstrated by the Church of Eleven Thousand Virgins, which derives its chief income from the exhibition of the osseous structure of St. Ursula and her great train of maiden martyrs. . . . The church is said to stand on the site of the massacre, and the exhumed bones are built into the walls of the interior, in glass cases, are under your feet, and over your head everywhere. But the sacristy, or "Golden Chamber," is the place where they are mostly employed in the decorative way. Legends are imprinted with them, and they appear in sacred emblems and ghastly devices. It is wonderful how much priests and
monks can do with the bones of young women.  
(13 September 1875)

Here Greenwood exposes an irony in the church's response to women. Alluding to the legend of Saint Ursula, the virgin saint, and her martyrdom for the sake of the Roman Catholic Church, Greenwood unveils the discrepancy between the church's treatment of women when they are alive and when they are dead. Greenwood mocks the celibacy statute for women and men in the church, contrasting it to the equally absurd exploitation of women's bodies after death.

In contrast to churches profiting from the dead bodies of women, Greenwood celebrates women in the church who took possession of their own bodies. She applauds the strategic success of a group of women, recalling their defense of a church in Paris against a communist attack. Calling these women "Amazons of the Lord," she describes their clever defense of their building:

> At a signal from their leader, each caught up one of these clumsy, but formidable weapons and brandished it in the air, then the whole white-bonneted force, uttering as war-cries the names of their saints, rushed en masse upon the sacrilegious Communists, and actually drove them out of the church. (27 October 1878)

Employing a familiar, derogatory epithet often leveled at women coming out of their sphere, Greenwood champions these women's efforts, even legitimizing their attacks because they are not just Amazons, but Amazons with a mission.

Like the church, government is a place, Greenwood shows, where women are used but rarely free to define their identities. Even in powerful positions, such as Queen,
women struggle to escape the objectifying public gaze. Although the obsessive attention to these women is not as obviously threatening as other objectifications of women, Greenwood insists that it is insidious because it masks fetishism with fondness. As Greenwood observes this, she exposes the gaze directed towards Queens in the various countries she visits. In England, she describes Queen Victoria's attempt to avoid public view in order to attend to her work:

The Queen was expected with the rest, but she chose to come in by a back way from the Chiswick station, and so disappointed a multitude of her loyal subjects, hungry for a sight of her pleasant, motherly face. . . . In a few days Majesty moves on to Osborne, and from thence back to Balmoral, most blessed and beloved retreat. Some of the Queen's subjects rebel against this absenteeism, this resolute flinging off of the pomp and circumstance of glorious royalty; but we hear from one who has the best opportunity of knowing the facts that this is the only course of life by which her Majesty can preserve her health and strength and so discharge her purely official duties. These she has never neglected, not even in times of profoundest sorrow. Doubtless her life in the heart of the Highlands, quiet, simple, natural, surrounded by a loyal but self-respecting people, is more to her tastes than ever was the life of courts and the servile adulation of palace flunkies. (28 July 1875)

Insisting that the public appreciates Victoria as an image, that the public wants to see Victoria for her "motherly face," Greenwood celebrates, instead, Victoria's ability to find a refuge for herself out of the city and, therefore, out of the public view. Greenwood even gives evidence that Queen Victoria relaxes into a more natural state of womanhood where she can fling off pomp and circumstance
apart from the public view. This flinging off of ritual is not, Greenwood insists, Victoria's work avoidance. Instead, these departures enable Victoria to better discern the work required of her; the Queen can use her mind better when her body is out of public view.

Greenwood recognizes a similar public gaze toward the Queen in Belgium. When the Queen's yacht collides with another boat and a woman is killed, Greenwood is appalled that people still gawk to see royalty, even at the expense of the grieving family of the deceased:

Exposing the fact that the gaze of royalty watching makes these Queens one-dimensional, that it neglects their personalities and actions, Greenwood humanizes these female figures by identifying with them beyond their images. She describes them as active, compassionate women who, when escaping from the public view, live less exaggerated lives. Insisting that the Queen of Belgium recognizes this leering attention for what it is, a fetishism, Greenwood clarifies that this idolatry is uninvited by the "sensible" woman.

Greenwood does not always stop at exposure of this obsessive gazing at female royalty. On rare occasions, she
more directly mocks it, satirizing the excessive attention to these women and especially to their appearances. In Switzerland, Greenwood and her companions arrive at an inn, narrowly missing the Queen of Saxony who, unbeknownst to them, had been scheduled to stay in the same place. Parodying the extreme disappointment other royalty watchers would feel at such a near miss, Greenwood shows the absurdity of such obsessions:

But alas! On landing, we found that her Majesty had taken an unlucky royal freak, and departed that very morning. It was more aggravating, as we soon ascertained that one of our rooms connected with the royal apartments. It is true, they had locked the door and taken away the key—but they had left the keyhole. (26 September 1875)

Greenwood portrays herself as one of the gazers with a royal fetish in order to satirize the entire habit. Emphasizing the depths to which these royalty watchers would stoop to see the Queen, even willingly invading the Queen's private quarters, Greenwood equates this fetishism with the stereotypical voyeur, peeking through the keyhole.

In contrast to this gazing attention to royalty, Greenwood chastises the treatment of poor women who are, at least while alive, too far out of the public eye. She rails against the reality that this objectifying of women turns attention to women who do not want it and prevents any real attention to women who need it. Greenwood challenges a society that sets up strict codes of behavior for women, that limits women's opportunities for fulfillment and then would dishonor women for making seemingly the only choices

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available. For example, on a nightly walk in Paris, Greenwood sees a woman who had drowned herself in the Seine. Greenwood appropriates the gaze here to humanize the dead woman and to insist that the causes which led to this woman's suicide should not be ignored: "It was a body with no soft feminine contours—no slightest remains of sensuous charms, but wasted, pinched, and shriveled, as by starvation." She notes from the woman's ragged clothes that the woman was obviously a peasant, living, "a life for which there seemed no place in the world, no need, no use." Acknowledging that the traditional view of this woman would condemn her self-possession, even unto death, Greenwood's gaze instead elicits sympathy for the woman: "I have always had a sort of shuddering respect for suicide. I cannot think it a cowardly crime. . . . There was for me a certain awful dignity and solemnity" (22 December 1878). Reclaiming the gaze that would dismiss this woman's behavior, Greenwood valorizes her choice; it is, Greenwood believes, at least self-directed even if self-destructive.

Again revising the view of a woman whose behavior is condemned in society, Greenwood defends a young woman who has been sentenced to the death penalty in London. When the unwed woman discovers that she is pregnant, both her lover and her parents reject her. With no way to care for herself or her child, her public reputation having diminished any opportunities for work to achieve economic independence, the woman, in desperation, kills the child at its birth and then
attempts to kill herself. Her attempted suicide is discovered before it is successful, and the all-male judicial system condemns her to death for her "crimes." Greenwood describes the scene: "... this timid, tender, young creature, still suffering from illness, pallid and trembling, and half distraught, heard a jury of husbands, brothers, and fathers render the verdict, "guilty," without one word of recommendation to mercy." Greenwood scathingly criticizes this sentence to a public display of the woman's body; she is to be hung in the street. Greenwood is further scandalized by the irony that murder at the hands of men and in the name of justice is legitimate. She insists that this woman, with no way to care for her child, actually chose a compassionate action in sparing the child from a life of public scorn. Greenwood further exposes the hypocrisy that this woman's crimes, both murder and suicide, are to be punished by what she considers to be an equal offense: capital punishment.

Even further appalling to Greenwood is the inattention in the case to the other responsible party, the father. When the woman receives a stay of execution and is imprisoned instead, Greenwood still insists that this punishment supports a sex-discriminatory double-standard. She emphasizes the life in prison the young woman "must endure there when the cowardly lover, the unnatural father of the poor child for whom there seemed no room, except with God is allowed to go and come freely, to hold up his
accursed head in a decent community, absolutely unpunished and unproached" (9 June 1879). The ultimate irony for Greenwood is that a jury of "husbands, brothers, and fathers" condemns the young woman. By emphasizing the traditional family roles, Greenwood highlights the traditional social expectation that these men would be the "protectors" of the female sex. In this case, as in many cases, they serve as both judges and executioners, leaving this unfortunate woman an "unprotected female"; Greenwood insists that this woman needs protection from, not by, men.

In her travel letters from abroad, Greenwood balks at the familiar image of women in need of protection. She is, unfortunately, made well aware that women do, indeed, need protectors, but, she insists, women can and should be their own. She is made equally aware that the supposed "protectors" of women are often those from whom women need "protection." That women are discouraged from traveling, or living for that matter, out of the company of men is an irony Greenwood cannot ignore. It was too great an irony for many women to ignore in the nineteenth century.

Other women writers had observed society's standard that traveling women needed the "protection" of men. Scoffing at this insistence and defending women's right to attend woman's rights conventions even if they had to travel "unprotected," Frances Gage, a well-known temperance and woman's rights activist, identified the irony:

Permit me here a remark, that traveling from my home to Philadelphia, and back, without the...
protection of a gentleman, has tended to improve my ideas of mankind in general, and actually to make me doubt their own averments that they are all rude, uncivilized, and that a lady should always have a male protector traveling. A protector against what? Against the men of course--there are no wild beasts in the way now a days to be protected against. (The Lily, August 1852: 66)

Gage's satiric response in the 1850s to the suggestion that women should not travel alone foreshadows women's more direct rejection of this standard in the 1870s. Although Gage recognizes that if women do need to be protected they need to be protected from men, she optimistically proposes that women no longer need such protection. But Greenwood, celebrating the potential for a "New Woman," insists that women still need protection from men; she more brazenly insists that women can be their own protectors. Well aware that this leering attention to women, in particular, women's bodies, prompts such concern for "unprotected female" travelers, Greenwood flaunts the fact that she travels out of the company of men. In fact, she praises the sisterhood, the support, but most importantly the security she finds in the company of women. Repossessing the gaze, then, and redirecting it at culture, Greenwood exposes the thinly veiled threat behind men's objectifying gaze that reduces women to bodies, to sexual objects. In her travel letters from abroad to the New York Times, Greenwood revises the purpose of her genre. Rather than proud, patriotic letters intent on defining an American identity apart from other cultures, Greenwood writes bold letters intent on reclaiming
an independence for "New Women," with greater safety and freedom apart from men.

Notes

1Grace Greenwood, *New York Times*, 26 September 1875. All citations to Greenwood's letters in the *New York Times* will be referenced in the text by the date of their publication.

2In the 1850s, Greenwood had spent eighteen months traveling around Europe as one of the youngest of a group of six women. Her travel writing from this earlier expedition, *Haps and Mishaps of a Tour In Europe* (1853), was her most successful publication. In fact, a later woman journalist, Kate Fields, with whom Greenwood was acquainted and whose career Greenwood later encouraged, wrote of her own European travels in *Hap-Hazard* (1873), playing off of Greenwood's popular title. While in England in 1876, Greenwood met Fields in the home of another woman artist, Miss Philps, who apparently provided a literary salon for American writers away from the New York salon scene. Greenwood taunts readers with her independence, and the potential danger this presents, in her earlier travel writing, noting the understood threat of female independence and yet recognizing the impossibility of testing that independence on this safe, proper pilgrimage. Balancing her own fears of being a "'strong-minded woman' abroad" with the danger of becoming "more babyishly dependent than ever," Greenwood traverses gender as well as geographical boundaries in *Haps and Mishaps*, as well (Haps 49-50). Written primarily for *The Saturday Evening Post*, these earlier travel letters are more playful reveries than her more serious, though still humorous, social commentary for the *New York Times*.

3Jay Fliegelman has read much of early American culture in this framework, recognizing the "ideological inheritance" transferred from father England to New England son.

4Luce Irigaray more broadly theorizes about women recognizing their own value in the market place traditionally understood to be the domain of men in *This Sex Which Is Not One*.

5This debate over women's outright rejection of or retention in order to subvert gender images continues even in the most contemporary feminist work. Both Pamela Robertson and Judith Butler note the potentially subversive nature of gender parody. In fact, although it is beyond the scope of this work, Robertson's ideas of the feminist use of camp can be applied to Greenwood. Although this camp theory
is usually applied to film and theater, the theory could be applied to women's verbal self-representations.

6 For a thorough discussion on binary definitions of male and female in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, see Smith-Rosenberg's chapter "The New Woman as Androgyne: Social Disorder and Gender Crisis, 1870-1936" in Disorderly Conduct (245-96).

7 See Greenwood's celebration of a court case in which a woman wins the right to separate from her husband in Chapter 3.

8 N. P. Willis was the brother of Sara Willis Parton, otherwise known as Fanny Fern. In her novel, Ruth Hall, Fern figures her brother as something of a villain.

9 By the 1850s, Greenwood seems to have settled on a rhyme, which she used to present her autograph to fans. Although on occasion she simply signed her name, most often she included the following poem: "Says Juliet on the balcony, 'what's in a name.' Not much, I own, and yet my all of grace and fame. Grace Greenwood." See Appendix II.

10 Describing an adventure of the later group of six women, from her travels in 1876, Greenwood romanticizes a picnic the women share in Pompeii. After visiting many of the locations described in Bulwer's History of Pompeii, the women stop for lunch, and Greenwood recounts their meal:

   We took our lunch like the romantic young party that we were, in the peristyle of the house of the 'Dramatic Poet,' Bulwer's Glaucus. We made believe hard that our hard-boiled eggs, iron-clad rolls, tough apples, and tenacious tongue were the classic and choice viands, fruits, and sweetmeats he set before his guests on the occasion of his famous banquet—and that our poor vin ordinaire was delicious Lesbian. (7 June 1876)

It is tempting to argue that here Greenwood is characterizing not only the wine but also the women. However, it is not clear that the word "lesbian" enjoyed wide-spread use as a description of women's relationships at this time. The Oxford English Dictionary records that "lesbian" was used only rarely in the 1870s to describe women's relationships, but by the 1880s it was used more often. It is not obvious, then, that Greenwood employs double-entendre here, but her consistent celebration of women's relationships and her characteristic use of puns, an element of her style for which she was praised in the period, support such a reading. See also Faderman's discussion of women's relationships in the nineteenth
century, in particular her chapter, "Love and 'Women Who Live By The Brain, '" which directly focuses on women's rejection of the mind/body binary (145-230).

James Buzard considers the tension between tourism and travel, understood to be more aristocratic. In doing so, he analyzes the use of guidebooks by male travelers.

Irving published a series of works on his travels in Spain: The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus (1828), The Conquest of Granada (1829), Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus (1831), and The Alhambra (1832).

In a collection of parodies on the works of some of the most popular writers in the period, Greenwood hilariously imitates Melville's style in her "Letter from the Author of Typee" (Leaves 294-96). Whittier, Hawthorne, and Poe are among the other male authors she imitates. Among the "Lady Writers" she mimics are Child, Sigourney, Osgood, and Forrester.

Taylor is remembered primarily as a travel writer though he, like Greenwood, penned verse that was published in many of the leading papers of the day. Taylor's most successful travel writing is a collection of letters from abroad, Views Afoot (1846). These letters were originally published in the Saturday Evening Post, where Taylor served as correspondent and where he and Greenwood often published adjacent travel columns.

For an overview of American male travel writing in the nineteenth century, see especially "A Scripted Continent: British and American Travel-Writers in Europe, c. 1825-1875" (Buzard 155-216).

For further consideration of James' travel writing, see Buzard 217-85.

For further consideration of the male gaze in travel writing, see Savoy 287-300.

Greenwood had earlier defended Sand, but indicated that she did not exactly identify with Sand's imitation of masculinity. In the second edition of Greenwood Leaves, she explains that she cannot understand Sand's behavior:

I cannot, for the life of me, comprehend why a woman who conceives herself wronged by the other sex, should desire to resemble it. To me it appears that, should I suffer wrong and oppression from man, I should exult in the dissimilarity which nature had created between us, and strive to
render it greater by the habits of my life and more intense womanliness of feeling. This scorn of one's own sex must be a miserable feeling, pitifully childish and contemptible. (225)
Chapter 6

Conclusion

I gave them to understand that I was a friend to the sex, ready at any time, on the shortest notice, to lift up my voice against the wrongs and disabilities of women.¹

It is ironic that Grace Greenwood, whose life and writing was about women, devoted to righting the wrongs in society for women, has been largely ignored by a generation whose purpose has been to recover and validate women from previous generations. Grace Greenwood was unquestionably a friend to women. Her version of feminism, a supportive sisterhood, clearly and cleverly addresses women's issues in a manner acceptable even to those opposed to woman's rights.

One idea that resonates throughout Greenwood's work is that women should value women. She believed in women, and she believed in the power of women helping women. For example, in a letter rejecting men's definition of woman's sphere, Greenwood reclaims women's right to define themselves:

Man is not best qualified to mark out woman's life-path. He knows, indeed, what he desires her to be, but he does not yet understand what God and nature require of her. Hers should be a distinct individuality--an independent moral existence--or, at least, the dependence should be mutual. Woman can best judge of woman, of her wants, capacities, aspirations and powers. . . . She can best teach her to be true to herself--to her high nature, to her brave spirit. . . . Woman can strengthen woman . . . . (Leaves 289)

In this and other bold statements, Greenwood celebrates the sisterhood and insists on its necessity for women to
flourish in a society bent on limiting women's roles and rights.

These bold statements communicate well today, as they did in her own time. Weaving some of Greenwood's poems, stories, and letters into a women's studies class this past semester, I was amazed at the way her work engaged students. Their response to the simple story "Sophie Norton's Way Of Heading A Conspiracy Against Her Peace" made perfectly clear to me that Greenwood's work is worth recovering. In the story, Greenwood rejects a stereotype that women are a jealous lot: "In the name of the sisterhood, I deny the charge" (Leaves 1). My women students immediately identified with her wish to abolish the stereotypical image of women as jealous, but they especially enjoyed her playful praise of women's solidarity.

Responding to an attack on women by a male columnist who "generously" omitted Greenwood from his criticism of women's activism, Greenwood further insists on sisterly solidarity: "But I will not be excepted. . . . I will not be received as an exception, where full justice is not done to the class to which I belong" (Leaves 291). Again, it is ironic that a woman who would not be excepted in her own day has been excepted in ours.

But Greenwood's humor justifies a reconsideration of her work. She glorified women most effectively in her use of humor. Returning this critic's disdain with her playful, pun-filled rejoinder, for example, Greenwood strongly
defends women and their rights. She reverses his insinuation that active women are neglecting their domestic duties by demonstrating that men, supposed "protectors," have domestic duties, too.

Suppose now, that I should write a poem, to deliver before some 'Woman's Rights Convention,' or 'Ladies' Literary Association,' or 'The Times,' which should come down sharp and heavy on the literary men, of the day... for flirting with the muse, while their wives are wanting for shoes --or perpetuating puns, while their children cry for 'buns!' Suppose that, pointing every line with wit, I should hold them up to contempt... UNMANLY in all their tastes! After this, should I very handsomely make an exception in favor of Mr. Saxe, would he feel complimented? (Leaves 291)

Even in this lighthearted retort to a critic of woman's rights, Greenwood cleverly highlights the dependent roles women are often assigned to. This and other of Greenwood's letters evince her broad and broad-minded use of humor.

Greenwood was, indeed, a funny woman. Strong-minded, even brazen when necessary, or when she felt like it, Greenwood supported woman's rights efforts in the nineteenth century and provided much needed comic relief in women's often difficult struggles for justice. But the subversiveness of her humor ought not to be underestimated. With an irreverent wit, Greenwood revealed the absurdity of many of the wrongs women faced in the nineteenth century. This wit, by the 1870s written primarily in the pages of a daily paper, no doubt drew attention to issues some readers would otherwise have ignored.
Employing various literary genres, and including her irreverent wit in each, Greenwood consistently exposed the ridiculousness of the wrong's women had to endure. Emphasizing women's commonalties, her wit would have appealed to women in various social situations. To appeal to women in various social situations is a goal of contemporary feminists as well. A shared sense of humor can be a major step toward finding common ground, an important key to any social movement. Greenwood's use of humor, then, in her social commentary provides a framework in which we can consider our own ability to appeal to even skeptical audiences.

Greenwood's prodigious writing career, publishing for more than sixty years, provides yet another framework for contemporary feminists. Here is a woman who edited one of the first children's journals in the country, who arranged financial support for her travels in the American West and abroad, and who managed, in the process, to privilege herself and other women. With rare exceptions, Greenwood managed to succeed in the marketplace without forgetting her own self-worth. Greenwood championed feminine feminism, braving predominantly male environments with her womanly ways intact. Braver still, Greenwood defended her womanly ways and her desire to nurture them within the company of women. She genuinely believed in the potential for improving her own world, and she believed women played an important role with their vision for such improvement.
On a quest to improve her world, particularly for the sake of women, Greenwood managed to see much of the world and to frame her social commentary within her narratives from these travels. In her movement through the American West, testing selfhood and projecting herself as the prodigal daughter, Greenwood envisions for her reader the possibilities for women given their fair share of the patriarchal inheritance, or even possibilities for unrestrained, disinherited women. Returning home, where the ironies of Washington society provided ready comic material, her wit sharpens further. Greenwood rails against the politics of both church and state, demanding for women a more fair share of the "democratic" heritage into which they have been born. Her greatest support for women, for sisterhood, develops in her European escapades. Insisting that women can be their own protectors, Greenwood celebrates the support of women for one another that traveling "unprotected" allows. Her letters to the New York Times, although representing only a portion of her writing demanding women's rights, nonetheless establish her firmly in the tradition of sisterhood.

There is more work to be done on Greenwood and her sisters. Women's recovery of their own literary heritage needs more lively figures such as Greenwood. But these figures, Greenwood and other women writers in the nineteenth century, need to be brought into full view, not domesticated by an underestimation of their progressive vision. One way.
to insure such productive inquiry is to bring the texts by these women into print. None of Greenwood's works is readily available; a collection of Greenwood's diverse writing could serve to promote understanding and appreciation of nineteenth century-women. In addition, her ideas for social reform invite further inquiry in frameworks emphasizing race or class identities.

The community of women with whom Greenwood collaborated deserves scholarly attention as well. As Caroline Chesbro's dedication to Greenwood indicated, women in the nineteenth century established intricate patterns of connection with other women writers to support and encourage one another. The literary salons, writing circles, and social networks of working women in the nineteenth century is a protocol for women's support systems today. A study of women's use of alternative language--the language of flowers, colors, or emblems--to communicate metaphorical messages could provide a further framework in which to consider women's dual use of language, especially humor, today.

Returning our attention to nineteenth-century women, especially to Grace Greenwood, we need to revise our ideas of what women were really like a century ago. For the most part, such ideas were framed through male discourse which devalued women and their work. To reclaim then, only to again devalue them as "womanly" and therefore unfit foremothers is to perpetuate the mythology of American womanhood in the nineteenth century. Many women in the
nineteenth century had radical ideas about reforming their worlds. Frequently, they communicated these ideas covertly, to keep an audience or to code conversations among women. Further analysis of women's complex rhetorical strategies in the nineteenth century, as this analysis of Greenwood's indicates, reveals astounding, even inspiring evidence of women's support of reform. Grace Greenwood called for respect of women in her own time. In doing so, she clearly understood that following generations of women would benefit from the work of the "few brave spirits" who dared to speak for woman's rights. Greenwood is one such spirit who ought to be revived.

There surely is a great truth involved in this question of "Woman's Rights," and agitated as it may be, with wisdom and mildness, or with rashness and the bold, high spirit which shocks and startles at the first, good will come out of it eventually--great good--and the women of the next age will be the stronger and the freer, aye, and the happier, for the few brave spirits who now stand up fearlessly for unpopular truth against the world. (Grace Greenwood, Leaves 300)

Notes

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Engraving of Greenwood for *Poems*, 1851

Fin-de-siecle photograph of Greenwood
Frontispiece in Greenwood Leaves, 1850

“The Little Pilgrim,” mascot for Greenwood’s children’s magazine, 1866

Cover of New Life in New Lands: Notes of Travel, 1873
White Cottage, Greenwood's home in New Brighton, Pennsylvania

Historical marker in front of White Cottage

Grace Episcopal Church, next door to White Cottage. Greenwood was married here in 1853.
Greenwood Institute,
New Brighton, Pennsylvania

Greenwood's grave marker,
Grove Cemetery,
New Brighton, Pennsylvania

Greenwood's home in
Washington, D.C.
Grace Greenwood’s signature poem with autograph on Boston Athletic Association Stationary: "Says Juliet, in her balcony/ 'What's in a name?'/Not much, I own, and yet my all/ Of Grace and fame."

Courtesy of Clifton Waller Barrett Collection,
University of Virginia Library
Vita

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Major Field: English

Title of Dissertation: Prodigal Daughters and Pilgrims in Petticoats: Grace Greenwood and the Tradition of American Women's Travel Writing

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