Summer 1934

Early Literary Magazines in Kentucky, 1800-1900

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EARLY LITERARY MAGAZINES IN KENTUCKY, 1800-1900

BY

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A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT

OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

WESTERN KENTUCKY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

AUGUST, 1934

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PREFACE

This study of the literary magazines published in Kentucky between 1800 and 1900 consists of material derived from the following sources: The Louisville Public Library; the State and Kentucky State Historical Society libraries, Frankfort; the Lexington Public Library, Transylvania, and University of Kentucky libraries, Lexington; the public libraries of Paris, Covington, Newport, Cincinnati, and Nashville; the Western Kentucky State Teachers College library, Bowling Green; and also the newspaper files of the Nashville Banner, the Lexington Herald, the Paris Kentuckian-Citizen, and the Courier-Journal.

I wish to thank Dr. Gordon Wilson, Head of the Department of English in the Western Kentucky State Teachers College, Bowling Green, Kentucky, for his encouragement given me during this study and for his patient and careful supervision of the work.

Acknowledgements are also due Dr. Earl A. Moore, of the English Department of the Western Kentucky State Teachers College, for the valuable information he taught me in handling the technical parts of a study of this kind.

I wish to thank all the librarians in all the libraries listed, whose efforts and services in helping me find the material needed were greatly appreciated.

In conclusion, I wish to make it clear that this study is of literary magazines only. Other phases might have entered into the study, such as politics and religion, but this study concerns the magazines for their literary qualities alone.

INTRODUCTION

Kentucky has failed to produce and maintain a respectable literary magazine for any considerable length of time. In the nineteenth century nine literary magazines were born in Kentucky[1] with high hopes, and a few of them braved the storms for a number of years, but all of them went the way of all the earth after a pathetic struggle for existence. The reasons lie not far afield: the leading magazines of the East through the extent of their circulation secured that large patronage necessary to maintain a publication conducted on a generous basis, insuring variety and excellence. Experience demonstrated even to the bravest of the inland publishers that the point of distribution is the controlling factor in success. However, the greatest bugbear of the magazines was the question of finance. The financial struggle through which the magazines were going was voiced in almost every monthly issue by their editors. Not only were the magazines of the West burdened with this affliction, but also some of the magazines of the East as well. Horace Greeley lamented that the harder he worked and the larger the list of subscribers to his New-Yorker became, the more money he lost.[2] And many a magazine in its swan song laid the responsibility for

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[1]The Western Messenger and the Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal originated in Cincinnati, Ohio, later moving to Kentucky.

[2]Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines 1741-1850 (New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1930), p. 515.

its death upon its own well-wishing but non-paying subscribers. The editor of the Western Messenger makes this plea:

> "Those who wish our work sustained, are requested to make an effort to pay their subscriptions at once. While old names are falling off, and no new ones coming in, it is evident that our work cannot go on. We hear words of encouragement every day from all quarters. We are told that the Messenger must be supported--that it must go on. But very few of us pay our subscriptions. Brethren let us not love in name only, but in deed and in truth."[3]

And again:

> "Those who are owing us will be kind enough either to pay our agents, or forward the money by mail. We have not time nor money to write letters to our distant subscribers. They must remember us themselves, without being reminded by us, or we shall never receive what they owe us."[4]

Kentucky literary magazines made the fatal mistake of truckling to dead prejudices and sectionalism. The material and the builders were usually there, but the whole-hearted support, which, after all, is the first essential, failed to materialize; and it may be regretfully said that after weighing all the causes for the failure of the magazines, the latter reason was the most potent.

The purpose of this thesis is to make a study of all the literary magazines published in Kentucky between 1800 and 1900 and to present the material gathered in this research study in such a way as to make it a valuable reference to anyone who

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[3]The Western Messenger, III, 480 (December, 1837).

[4]Loc. cit.

might desire to use it, or a basis for research at some later date. The study deals with eleven magazines, nine of which originated in Kentucky and two others which originated elsewhere but were later moved to Kentucky.

I used as a basis for my bibliography the three following books: Ralph Leslie Rusk's The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier, Vols. I and II; Frank Luther Mott's A History of American Magazines 1741-1850; and John Wilson Townsend's Kentucky in American Letters, Vol. I. With these books as a basis, I increased my bibliography from the books which I discovered on my subject in the various libraries mentioned in the preface. The newspaper articles discovered, however, were purely a matter of research on my part and not suggested by any book.

CHAPTER I

THE MEDLEY

In the Kentucky Gazette for October 26, 1802, there appears among other items a proposal by Daniel Bradford to publish by subscription the Medley, a monthly miscellany. This advertisement indicates that it was the publisher's idea to deliver the magazine the first Tuesday of each month, presented in paper-bound copies of twenty-four pages, at a subscription price of one dollar per annum, which price was to be reduced to seventy-five cents if paid at the time of subscribing.

The Medley, now regarded as Kentucky's first magazine of any description, finally appeared, late in January, 1803. In its prospectus it was proposed to present original essays as well as selected literary compositions in prose and poetry. This plan was adhered to throughout the life of the magazine, which ended with Number 12, in December, 1803.

On January 3, 1804, the Kentucky Gazette announced the demise of the first magazine of the Blue Grass as follows:

> "The Subscribers to the Medley are informed that it will be no longer published. The 12th number which was issued on Tuesday last completes the volume. Those who wish to preserve their volumes can have them bound on reasonable terms; and any parts lost or destroyed will be replaced at 6d. per number. A few sets, complete, may be had on the same terms."

The prose division of the Medley consists of 240 pages including the index, and the poetical section with its

index increases the volume to 288 pages. The magazine is without illustrations and is 7½ x 4½ inches in size. It contains 88 prose titles and 46 poetical titles. The title page is as follows:

"The Medley

or

Monthly Miscellany

For the year 1803.

Containing

Essays on a Variety of Subjects,

Sketches of Public Characters,

Moral Tales, Poetry, etc., etc.

Intended to Combine Amusement

with Useful Information . . .

' to hold as[1] the mirror up to Nature;
to shew Virtue her own feature, Scorn her
own image, and the very age and body of the
time his form and presence' . . .

Printed by

Daniel Bradford

Lexington, Kentucky"

This Western magazine is a medley, as its title page declared, of essays on a variety of subjects, sketches of public characters, moral tales, and poetry, which intended to combine

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[1]A word here is water-faded beyond recognition in the only available copy containing the title-page.

amusement with useful information. A reflection of the old radical sympathies of Bradford's Gazette of a few years earlier may, perhaps, be seen in the choice of such subjects as Helvetius, Charles James Fox, and Jefferson.[2] Some articles of this kind, especially A. B. Magruder's characterization of Jefferson, display a degree of excellence; "but, for the most part, the contents of the Medley were of no more literary distinction than might be found in the miscellany of any ordinary frontier newspaper."[3] The amount of original material printed in the monthly issues varies from practically nothing to four-fifths of the whole; but by far "the greater part of the contents would have had exactly the same appeal had its publication been delayed half a dozen years."[4] The remarkable fact is, however, that the Medley existed at all in 1803.

The contents of the diminutive backwoods magazine are a fair imitation, on a less pretentious scale, of what the Columbian Magazine, or Monthly Miscellany, of Philadelphia, had published sixteen years earlier.[5] Besides the articles before mentioned on Helvetius, Jefferson, and Charles James Fox, the distinguished English statesman, we find, upon investigating the contents of the twelve issues, ten serials making their

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[2]Ralph Leslie Rusk, The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier (New York, Columbia University Press, 1926), I, 164.

[3]Ibid., I, 165.

[4]Loc. cit.

[5]Ibid., I, 164.

appearance; some running for five issues and others for only two. Among other articles are several biographical sketches on such characters as Lord Chatham the elder, Isabella, queen of Spain, the Comtesse De Genlis, and Captain Cook. Descriptions are frequently found of places, such as Lake Superior, the River St. Lawrence, Monticello, and St. Cloud. Of the fictitious type of story there are many, among them being "Abou Taib, an Eastern Tale," "Dreadful Effects of Jealousy," "The Death of Henry," "Neera," "The Eccentric Man," "Omar," and others. Even the ladies are given special attention in magazines at this early date. There is one page of the magazine given exclusively to the ladies, this page being called "Hints to the Ladies," and five months before the magazine came to an end a new department was instituted, known as "London Fashions for August," September, or whatever month the magazine appeared in. Each month, with the exception of the first two, there is on the last sheet of each issue a sort of hodge-podge column under different headings, changing frequently: "Axioms," "Maxims," "Italian Proverbs," and "Spanish Proverbs."[6] Of the poetry, what little there is appearing in the twelve issues, very little can be said. Poems entitled "An Elegy," "Intemperance," and "On Lying," unsigned by the authors and for the most part having little, if any, literary appeal, leave the present-day lovers of poetry with nothing to praise, except the fact that they were an effort on somebody's

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[6]The title of this page did not necessarily change each month; sometimes the same title was used for two or three months in succession.

part to produce poetry of some sort.

Beyond all doubt, the literary gems of the issues of the Medley for the year 1803 can be named under four articles: "Thomas Jefferson," by Allen B. Magruder; "The Virginia Mountains," by Thomas Jefferson; "Kotzebue's Account of the Illness and Death of his Wife"; and "Charles James Fox." Each of these articles has literary appeal, is well written, and holds the reader's interest throughout. The majority of the other articles are monotonous, too detailed, poorly written, and lack incentive for the reader to go on.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century students of the early periodical literature of the Ohio Valley regarded the Medley as an exceedingly rare publication. It was thought by some that an old sheepskin-bound copy of the Medley containing 276 pages, now preserved in the Lexington Public Library, was the only one in existence. Since that time ardent students of the early history of Kentucky have rescued from oblivion three additional copies, making four in all. One of these at least, the one mentioned above and used in this study, is perfect. The title page bears the following: "James Logue to J. D. Shane, July 21, 1852."[7] The title page is slightly water-stained, but otherwise the volume is in perfect condition. The second is now a part of a very excellent library of early

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[7]Perhaps this statement should be more clearly explained. It simply means that James Logue gave to J. D. Shane this particular copy of the Medley and that this inscription, "James Logue to J. D. Shane, July 21, 1852," appears in ink on the title page.

Ohio Valley magazines in the possession of the Smith Book Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.[8] The third, an imperfect copy, is to be found in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, at Madison, Wisconsin;[9] and a fourth rests in the private historical library of Judge Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington, Kentucky. This last volume came from the celebrated library of Judge James Mulligan, of Lexington, Kentucky.

Other copies of the Medley may be in existence, but their whereabouts are now unknown.

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[8]W. H. Venable, The Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley (Cincinnati, Ohio, Robert Clark and Co., 1891), p. 60.

[9]Loc. cit.

CHAPTER II

WILLIAM GIBBES HUNT, PIONEER JOURNALIST

Born of a long line of New England ancestors, three of whom were graduates of Harvard, William Gibbes Hunt became one of the most potent forces in developing a literary culture in pioneer Kentucky and Tennessee, surpassed at that time by hardly any other in America with the possible exception of that in Philadelphia. Though his life was comparatively short as numbered by years, his work and activities were great; and the amount of his influence can be measured only in terms of how he inspired others to go on with that which he had originated and developed but partially.

William Gibbes Hunt's first American ancestor was Enoch Hunt, of Litenden, in the parish of Lee, near Wendover, Buckinghamshire, England, who came to Newport, Rhode Island, and was admitted a freeman there in 1638.[1] Though Enoch Hunt returned to England, his son Ephraim became the founder of a long line of descendants, who settled principally at Weymouth and Watertown, Massachusetts. One of William Gibbes Hunt's ancestors, his great-grandfather, the Reverend Samuel Hunt, graduated from Harvard College in 1700 and was the first of that name to obtain a degree from that institution. Both the father, Samuel, and a grandfather were graduates of Harvard.

Hunt was born in Boston, February 21, 1791. He was the

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[1] Dictionary of American Biography.

seventh child of his father and the first of his mother, who was his father's second wife. William Gibbes Hunt's mother was before her marriage to his father Mrs. Elizabeth Shepherd, formerly a Miss Gibbes of Charleston, South Carolina.[2] A mixture, by ancestors, therefore, of the Puritan on one side and the Cavalier on the other, Hunt became known to fame in the Ohio Valley, whose population is made up of a blending of these orders of social and religious belief.

Hunt was educated in Boston under his father and Caleb Bingham, the most popular and engaging teacher in elementary subjects in that city during the latter part of the eighteenth century. At the age of fifteen he entered Harvard and received his A. B. degree, August 28, 1810.[3]

Hunt does not seem to have distinguished himself at Harvard; at least, not, to our knowledge, producing anything in the way of literature that foreshadowed his future career in the West. It is true that there is a bare possibility of his having contributed to the Harvard Lyceum, which was established just a month before his graduation and ran until 1811; but the custom of contributing articles to periodicals in those days either unsigned or with initials, not necessarily one's own, renders it often impossible to trace an author's work. There were in Boston three important newspapers, the Columbian Centinal, the Independent Chronical, and the Boston Patriot. But none of

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[2]Loc. cit.

[3]Loc. cit.

these was of such a nature as to lend itself as a medium for a literary career. At this period of Boston's history there is a surprising dearth of literary magazines. The old Royal American Magazine[4] had been discontinued in 1775; and the Boston Magazine[5] became extinct in 1786. There was, of course, the celebrated Monthly Anthology[6] and the Boston Review,[7] which ran continuously from November, 1803, to June, 1811, and was finally merged with the North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal,[8] in May, 1815. In accordance with the custom of the day the Monthly Anthology printed its articles anonymously. However, a file of this magazine preserved in the Boston Public Library has appended to its articles the name of the authors in ink; but among them Hunt's name does not appear. It is, of course, uncertain whether he wrote for other minor Boston periodicals, such as the Satarist, the Scourge, or the Christian Disciple.

Although the law school at Harvard had not formally been opened until after his graduation, he prepared himself while in college for a legal career and at the same time mastered the Greek and Latin classics, by which he was greatly influenced in later life.

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[4]Mott, op. cit., p. 26.

[5]Ibid., p. 26.

[6]Ibid., p. 124.

[7]Ibid., p. 138.

[8]Ibid., p. 130.

> "Should the time ever come, when Latin and Greek should be banished from the universities, and the study of Cicero and Demosthenes, of Homer and Virgil should be considered unnecessary for the formation of a scholar, we should regard mankind as fast sinking into absolute barbarism, and the gloom and mental darkness has [sic] likely to increase until it should become universal."[9]

Little is known of the few years following Hunt's graduation. He was awarded his A. M. degree in August, 1813, conferred then as a matter of course three years after the A. B. and upon the payment of a small sum. He was practicing law at the time.

The Ohio Valley, known then as "The West," was the wonderland of America about the year 1815, a place of romance and adventure which excited the imagination of every Eastern boy. Lexington, Kentucky, was by this time a rather remarkable town for America; all the more so because of its remote situation in a region which not many years before had been a virgin wilderness, and so far removed from the great centers of population on the Atlantic Coast. Writing of Lexington about this time, Timothy Flint,[10] another Boston man and a graduate of Harvard, says,

> "In the circles where I visited [1815] literature was the most common subject of conversation. The window seats presented the blank covers of the newest and most interesting publications. The best works had been generally read. The university, which has since become so famous, was even then taking a higher standard than the other seminaries in the western country. There was generally an air of ease and politeness in the

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[9]The Western Review (October, 1820), III, 145.

[10]Born, July 11, 1780; died, August 16, 1840. He issued at Cincinnati the Western Monthly Review from May, 1827, to June, 1830.

> social intercourse of the inhabitants of this town, which evinced the cultivation of good taste and good feeling."[11]

Lexington had a distinct literary culture all its own; neither Eastern, nor Southern, nor New England, but Western; perhaps a trifle breezy and with too great a tinge of classical taste to be quite genuine; but withal elegant and well-bred and equal to that produced in Philadelphia and Boston. Whether Hunt first heard of the literary and cultural activities of Lexington through Timothy Flint or Dr. Horace Holley, president of Transylvania, is uncertain. About the year 1814 he had fully decided to cast his lot with the rest, going there not to pursue his profession of law but with the express purpose of going into the publishing business. Though Hunt may have been influenced by Dr. Holley in his decision to settle in Kentucky and devote himself to a literary career there, he was actually in Lexington fully four months before Holley was elected president of Transylvania; and because of certain misunderstandings Holley's administration did not begin until 1818.

It was not unlikely, too, that Hunt was familiar with the literary activities of this Western town as early as 1810, if not before; there were plenty of Bostonians in the West who kept bringing back reports of the wonderful Western progress.

Hunt arrived in Lexington during the summer of 1815. On August 25 he became editor of the Western Monitor, a Federalist

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[11]"Timothy Flint," an anonymous article in the Lexington Herald, May 12, 1928.

paper of which Thomas D. Skillman was publisher. Three years later Hunt became sole publisher and editor.

This was the beginning of Hunt's publishing career in the West. It was not precisely successful. On his next undertaking rests the principal source of his subsequent fame; and though his career during the course of this periodical was not much more successful financially than during previous publications, the fault lay not with himself. As a brilliant literary magazine, as an organ for Western literature and science, as an elegant piece of work modelled after the best fashion of eighteenth-century classicism, the Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine a Monthly Publication, Devoted to Literature and Science,[12] stands out as the best thing of its time yet attempted in the West; and it is quite possible that in point of literary excellence it has never been surpassed by any other Western magazine. The first number appeared in August, 1819. Hunt was sole founder, proprietor, editor, and publisher of the Western Review, one "whose cultural attainments were equal to the task he undertook."[13]

Transylvania University exerted about the same influence on Lexington as did Harvard on Boston, and the Western Review, in fact, soon became the literary and scientific organ of the Western college. The principal contributors were the professors of Transylvania. President Holley wrote under the initial "T,"

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[12]Part of the title page.

[13]Rusk, op. cit., I, 166.

which probably stood for Transylvania. The celebrated Rafinesque used the initial "C" for his botanical and ichthyological treatises. Rafinesque, accomplished as he was eccentric, contributed some French verse, the reader being kindly asked to "supply the accents"[14] because of the fact that the type for these was not closer than Philadelphia. Some of Rafinesque's articles, however, were signed by his full name one of these being his "Botany of Kentucky."[15] In the issue for July, 1820, he also had a signed article, "Geology of the Valley of the Mississippi." Perhaps the most notable article published in the Western Review was his "Natural History of the Fishes of the Ohio River and its Tributary Streams." The introduction appeared in the issue of December, 1819. This article was published by Hunt in book form the following year under the title Ichthyologia Ohiensis. It describes one hundred and four fishes of the Ohio River. The book is important because the material was all new subject matter and contained descriptions of species hitherto unknown to science. The book is regarded by scientists as the best work on natural history that ever came out of the West. Incidentally this book is now comparatively rare and is probably one of the most valuable of early Ohio Valley books extant. It generally commands a good sum at book auctions.

Following this article is another by Rafinesque, "On a Remarkable Ancient Monument near Lexington." It seems not

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[14]The Western Review, Editor's note Vol. II, No. 4 (May, 1820).

[15]Ibid., Vol. I, No. 3 (September, 1819).

infrequently Rafinesque allowed his imagination to get the better of him, especially in his archaeological work. This article is an imaginative treatise on the high order of culture of what he calls "The Alleghawee Nation," claiming that these prehistoric people built temples, fortified towns, civil monuments, and majestic burial places. He goes on to elaborate the great civilization of these people; and the material is later used in one of his books on the History of the American Indians. Rafinesque also contributed voluminous letters to the Western Review on various Indian antiquities, articles which now appear to us as so quaint in their high-powered imagination and fanciful speculation that we have to regard them as monuments to human fancy rather than serious works of scholarship. In fact, some of Rafinesque's statements rather jarred upon the sensibilities of the celebrated Caleb Atwater, Ohio's venerable antiquarian,[16] so that he had to write to the editor calling attention to certain errors that the eccentric archaeologist had introduced into his writings. Searching the century-old pages of the old Western Review reveals the fact that Rafinesque contributed articles on about every phase of science. In the issue for October, 1819, he had an article on "Veterinary," describing "a disease in horses caused by eating certain poisonous plants in meadows."[17] In the same issue is an article on agriculture in which he states that "pumpkin

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[16] Dictionary of American Biography.

[17] The Western Review, I, 182 (October, 1819).

bread and cakes are as much used in the interior of Kentucky as pumpkin pie in New England. The bread is made either by itself or mixed with corn meal, by kneading pumpkins either raw or boiled and baking them immediately afterwards without addition of yeast."[18]

For the most partthe material of the magazine consisted of articles relating to the history of the West; as a repository for such information which might otherwise have been lost or have been imperfect had it been published in periodicals in the East, the Western Review commands our respect. Short sketches on prominent Westerners, articles on the Indians and Indian archaeology written by actual observers, reprints of chapters of notable English and continental books, poems, and essays form a prominent part in the Review's subject matter. There are some legal articles, a notable one appearing in the issue for September, 1819, "Trial by Jury," written by one who signs himself "H," more than likely some professor of law at Transylvania. Because of the large number of Freemasons in the West at this time there are a good many Masonic articles, including one on "Cross's Masonic Chart," in the issue for September, 1819.

Hunt kept in close touch with the reviews of books, speeches, and things in general at Harvard and sometimes printed articles and reviews of notable Harvard men. In the issue for December, 1819, there is one by Andrews Norton, "Inaugural Discourse Delivered at the University of Cambridge, August 10,

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[18]Ibid., p. 189.

1819."

The format of the Western Review consists of octavo untrimmed paper, and generally the paper covers extend over the reading matter by about half an inch. Each number consisted of sixty-four pages. Each volume consisted of six numbers, being numbered from July and January. The "wrappers" of Volume I are a brownish yellow without marginal decoration, but on the other three volumes they are of a deep blue with an exceedingly intricately designed border, showing an excellent example of early Western engraving. The covers as well as the title pages carry the full title of the monthly. The imprint for Volume I is "Lexington, Ken. Published by William Gibbes Hunt." But in the other three volumes, "Ken." is changed to "Kentucky." The following is an example of the title page:

"The

Western Review
and
Miscellaneous Magazine

a

Monthly Publication
Devoted to
Literature and Science

Volume First

From August 1819 to Jan. 1820, Inclusive

Lexington, Kentucky

Published by William Gibbes Hunt

1820"

On the inside of the front wrapper of one of the early issues appears the following note:

> "We regret that it is out of our power to give our miscellany a more elegant dress. The paper is of a quality inferior to our wishes, but we have used our best exertions to obtain some superior. We shall continue to use them and have no doubt we shall ultimately succeed. Our readers, we trust, will have patience with us. They must bear in mind that ours is a new attempt in this quarter of the country; that our success must depend on the degree of patronage we receive, and that we shall be likely to improve both matter and manner in each succeeding number."[19]

An examination of the subsequent issues shows, however, that this improvement in the quality of the paper did not come before Volume III.

On September 13, 1819, Caleb Atwater wrote from his home in Circleville, Ohio:

> "Sir - I have just received and read the second number of the Western Review. I take great interest in the first attempt to publish a work of this kind in the West. You apologize for the quality of the paper on which it is printed; no apology is necessary."[20]

On the back wrapper of the same number Hunt modestly says,

> "It will be among the main objects of this work to develope the natural history of the Western States, to cultivate and improve our literary taste, to communicate the most interesting intelligence, and to vindicate, while it endeavors to advance, the literary character of our country."

The price of the Review throughout the course of its career

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[19] Ibid., Vol. I, No. 3 (September, 1819).

[20] Ibid., inside wrapper.

was four dollars a year, or fifty cents a copy.

Hunt was a bookseller in Lexington as well as a publisher and editor. On the back wrapper of the issue of the Western Review for July, 1820, he advertises:

> "New Book Store. William Gibbes Hunt has just received and is about opening a new assortment of valuable books in the several departments of literature and science. On Jordon's Roe, a few doors from Main street."

This was dated the first of June, 1820; so we are led to believe that Hunt had opened his bookshop sometime prior to this date. The books that he advertises for sale are noteworthy. Classical, contemporary fiction and poetry, law, medical, and religious books are mentioned as having been received at this time. In subsequent numbers Hunt advertises new lists of books received, among which were Latin and Greek classics, including Homer, Virgil, Cicero, Sallust, Tacitus, Livy, Caesar, Longinus, and Xenophon, showing how much in demand were the classical authors at this early date in the West. The advertisement of these books is dated December, 1820, and it still appeared in the issue for April, 1821, showing that no new consignment had been received in the meantime; testifying, too, to the long time that was required for a journey across the mountains.

The issues of the Western Review are by no means lost to the literary world. However, only a few collections contain the full twenty-four numbers. Of these, too, most of them have been shorn of their original paper "wrappers" and are thus rendered far less valuable from a collector's standpoint. The "wrappers" of such old periodicals are of the utmost value because of the

advertisements they contain and because of the editorial notes printed thereon, giving us concise knowledge of the publication not to be found elsewhere. The last number of the Western Review appeared in July, 1821, after being issued exactly two years.

Hunt's Western Review was not merely a frontier magazine chronicling in verse and prose the happenings of a frontier people; it was something vastly more; it brought the people of the West a particular medium of culture and instruction; it satisfied their needs for a journalistic publication devoted in every sense to Western literature and for a medium for outlining the scientific attainments of the West, in which Transylvania more than any other Western college was playing so conspicuous a part.

Removed as we are over a hundred years from this sudden literary culture and scientific attainment in the Ohio Valley, which after 1830 dwindled away and almost disappeared altogether, it is hard to appreciate fully the age when the Western Review flourished. Yet it was not a success from a purely commercial standpoint. As a literary venture it was a decided success. The fault of its commercial failure lay not with the editor nor with the magazine itself; nor did it lie exactly with the readers. A combination of circumstances, over which neither the editor nor the public had any control, was responsible for its decline. In the first place, as early as the year 1820 Lexington was beginning to lose a little of the prestige and influence which had raised her for the past thirty or forty

years above every other Western city. Not so advantageously placed in respect to growth or commercial supremacy, Lexington by that year began to feel the effects of the rivalry of Nashville, to the south, and Cincinnati, to the north. Cincinnati was Lexington's first serious rival. The Kentucky city had long proclaimed herself the "Athens of the West." Cincinnati retaliated and called herself the "Tyre of the West."[21]

Ever after 1820 Lexington's position was questioned by Louisville. Lexington had already seen her palmy days before William Gibbes Hunt established the Review, and although this city retained much of her former splendor until after the Civil War, it never again held that undisputed position she held from 1780 to 1820.

A load of misfortune fell upon the Western Review during 1820. Clifford, Beck, and Benjamin Birge, all faithful contributors, died that year. Rafinesque, on whom Hunt could never quite depend, wished to establish a magazine of his own, and he did establish one, calling it Annals of Nature, of which he was sole publisher, editor, and, before many weeks, sole contributor.

Though disappointed that so high-grade a periodical could not flourish in Lexington, Hunt was not deterred from continuing his publishing activities. Freemasonry was beginning to spread

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[21]Rusk, op. cit., I, 29.

rapidly throughout the West and particularly at Lexington,[22] which was considered the institution's chief Western stronghold. Hunt was a Freemason. Almost as soon as the Review ceased, he began the publication of the Masonic Miscellany and Ladies' Literary Magazine. It ran for two years and probably without marked success. It is interesting to observe at this point that Hunt appeared to have retained the distinct New England trait of precision, making him unwilling to break off the publication of his magazine during the middle of the year. Each of his Lexington publications ran for exactly twenty-four months. The Masonic Miscellany was not so different from the Western Review except that it contained more Masonic speeches, articles, and poems. The title page of a typical issue follows:

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[22]"Masonic Institutions," J. M. Larned, The New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading, and Research. Donald E. Smith, ed. (Springfield, Massachusetts, C. A. Nicholas Publishing Co., 1923).

"The

Masonic Miscellany

and

Ladies' Literary Magazine

Volume I - Number XI

For May, 1822

Contents

Lexington K.
William Gibbes Hunt

1823"

The magazine lasted from 1821 to 1823. Its merits in no way measured up to the standards set up in Hunt's other literary venture, the Western Review. However, being able to secure only two copies of the magazine, both for the same month, the writer is not able to judge properly the relative literary merits of the Masonic Miscellany as compared with the Western Review.

Among the literary contents of this copy is an extract from Cooper's The Spy, which had made its appearance in 1821; a serial entitled, "History of a Modern Attorney"; and an essay on the social life of the higher classes in England.

This ends the second period of the career of William Gibbes Hunt. Though he was particularly unsuccessful during this period in making his publications pay, we honor his memory all the more because of his ardent spirit of the pioneer and his sensitive and cultured personality in trying his best to bring order into the wilderness.

In the meantime Hunt had been studying law at Transylvania, where he was awarded an LL. B. in 1822. But the lure of a literary calling was too strong for him to desert his post. There were plenty of lawyers in the early West, but not so many good editors and publishers. What Western law would have gained journalism and literature would have lost if Hunt had decided to enter a legal career. Before closing the account of Hunt at Lexington, one might mention his "Address on the Principles of

Masonry," which he published in 1821.[23]

Hunt, in looking about for another city to begin again his publishing adventures, chose Nashville. He probably chose it for three reasons in preference to Cincinnati. In the first place, it was a smaller place than the Ohio city and as yet not the seat of so much publishing; while Lexington and Cincinnati boasted and gave themselves classical titles, Nashville stood by undecided what title she would take; it ended by Nashville's at length usurping Lexington's title, which it has kept ever since. The second reason why Hunt wished to be near Nashville, and one carrying more weight than the first, was that he was a Democrat to a degree that would have shocked Adamsonian Boston. At that time a Democrat and a Freemason combined in the same personality could rally around but one man, and that man was Andrew Jackson, who was just now becoming popular and being talked of for the presidency. Three years later Hunt formally cast his fortune with "Old Hickory" and devoted his life and services toward getting him nominated and elected President. To be near Andrew Jackson may, therefore, have been a principal reason for Hunt's deciding to choose Nashville in preference to any other city when he left Lexington.

Perhaps, however, the most potent reason or rather the immediate occasion of his going to Tennessee lay in the fact that the year before his giving up the Masonic Miscellany he

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[23]A copy of this very rare book has long been preserved by John Wilson Townsend, of Lexington, Kentucky.

had formed a partnership with John S. Simpson to publish the Nashville Banner.[24] It was a weekly, which had started in 1822. It was published as such until May, 1826, when it united with the Nashville Whig and was henceforth called the Nashville Banner and Nashville Whig.[25] It changed from a weekly to a semi-weekly, with Hunt as sole editor. This arrangement continued for four years.[26] In May, 1830, it was bought by W. Hassel Hunt, possibly a kinsman to William Gibbes, and Peter Tardiff. William Gibbes Hunt was retained as editor. For a little over a year it appeared three times a week. Finally on November 23, 1832, it became a daily, the first in Nashville and among the very first in the Middle West. With its career as a daily its name became the Nashville Banner and Nashville Advertiser.[27] It was published in the interest of Andrew Jackson. On May 2, 1833, the firm was dissolved, and William Gibbes Hunt again became sole owner and editor of this newspaper, now among the most powerful in the Ohio Valley.

This was the last adventure in the publishing game engaged in by Hunt. It was from a monetary standpoint, at least, the most successful. By it Hunt was able to regain much of the money he had lost in the Lexington publications. He died August 13, 1833, at Nashville and at the time was still editor

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[24]Dictionary of National Biography.

[25]Loc. cit.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Loc. cit.

of the Banner.

Hunt is best known to general history during his career in Nashville in espousing the cause of Andrew Jackson and the Freemasons[28] against the attack of the anti-Masonic party, which, though fomenting for many years, suddenly sprang into flame in 1826, became a potent factor by 1830, and two years later began suddenly to dwindle away. Hunt held many high Masonic offices.

In July, 1826, he was chosen to deliver a speech in memory of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who died on the fourth of that month. On April 6, 1831, he addressed the literary societies of the University of Nashville; on March 11, 1821, at the request of the Grand Chapter (Masonic) of Tennessee he gave an address on the character and services of De Witt Clinton. On the fourth of February, 1824, he addressed the public at Lexington in consequence of an attack by the Reverend M. H. Hall made in the Argus of Western America.[29]

Shortly before his leaving Lexington or about the time of his coming to Nashville, Hunt married Fanny Wigglesworth.[30] Their eldest child, a daughter, Julia Gibbes, was born October 26, 1823. She died young. Hunt's obituary notice states that he left a widow, three infant children, an aged mother, and a

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[28]Loc. cit.

[29]Nashville Banner, August 15, 1833.

[30]Dictionary of National Biography.

brother and sister, all of whom appear to have been living in Nashville.[31]

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[31]Nashville Banner, August 15, 1833.

CHAPTER III

THE WESTERN MESSENGER AND JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE

Perhaps the highest point in the literary achievement of early Western magazines was reached by a publication the avowed purpose of which was religious. The first number of the Western Messenger appeared at Cincinnati in June, 1835; and the magazine was to continue publication, with slight interruptions, either at Louisville or at Cincinnati, until after 1840. The chief purpose of the Messenger was to spread Unitarianism in the West. "This periodical," wrote one of its editors, "is devoted to the spread of a rational and liberal education";[1] but it was the determination of the founders to make it a leading periodical; and "a large portion of the matter actually published was of greater literary importance than the contents of most Western magazines which professed to be entirely literary."[2] For a time this critical interest was directed toward the West. Comment on frontier verse was introduced with the declaration that "it ought to be one object of a Western journal to encourage Western literature. . . . This, in our limited sphere, and in subordination to the main object of our work, we mean to do."[3]

For several issues this policy was continued. Western authors were criticized with sympathy but discrimination.

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[1]The Western Messenger, "General Preface to Volume I," I, viii (June, 1835).

[2]Rusk, op. cit., I, 179.

[3]The Western Messenger, I, 60 (June, 1835).

Frederick W. Thomas's novel Clinton Bradshaw, for example, was given some praise; but, said the reviewer, "The style is negligent and defective."[4] Gallager and Hall were given favorable notice, and poems by Charles D. Drake and Thomas Shreve were published. Critical articles by Mann Butler appeared in quantity. An extract from the verse contained in R. J. Meigs's Fourth of July oration delivered at Marietta in 1789 is introduced as the first poem written in the West.[5] But, with the fifth issue, the department of "Western Poetry" came to an end; and thenceforth little space was given to Western writings of any sort. Some three years later the Messenger published a comment on the frontier culture which makes clear the reason for the change:

> "Our people, perhaps, have as yet no literature because they have nothing to say. They are busy living, doing, growing. The age of reflection and imaginative reproduction has not yet arrived."[6]

The Western Messenger is commonly regarded as a literary periodical because of its poetry and criticism; but it was begun primarily as the organ of the Unitarian religion. The Western Unitarian Association was for a time its publisher. The editors and their assistants were chiefly clergymen, and sermons and doctrinal essays were prominent. There was even "a marked tendency to theological controversy in certain early numbers;

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[4]Rusk, op. cit., I, 179.

[5]Loc. cit.

[6]The Western Messenger, IV, 71 (April, 1838).

and the trial for heresy of Lyman Beecher, of Cincinnati's Lane Seminary, was followed with some care, tinged with amused wonder at the theological hair-splitting."[7] But after the first two years the Messenger became less and less sectarian, until it could say, in 1840, "Sectarianism is heresy."[8]

James Freeman Clarke, the editor of the Western Messenger from 1836 to October, 1839, was a Unitarian clergyman. He was born April 4, 1810, and named after his step-grandfather, Dr. James Freeman, minister of King's Chapel, Boston (1787-1835). His mother, Rebecca Parker Hull, was a daughter of General William Hull. He entered the Boston Latin School in 1821, and there he prepared for Harvard, from which he graduated in the class of 1829 celebrated in the poems of Oliver Wendell Holmes. After graduating from the Harvard Divinity school in 1833 and receiving ordination in Boston July 21, 1833, he went directly to Louisville, Kentucky, where he was minister of a Unitarian Church from August 4, 1833, to June 16, 1840. Returning to Boston, he founded there a new Unitarian Church modestly named "The Church of the Disciples," of which he became pastor on February 28, 1841. The founding of this church made almost as much stir in Boston as that of the Brattle Street Church nearly a century and a half before and for similar reasons, the chief of which was its exceptional recognition of the power of the laity. The value of this innovation was signally shown during the period

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[7]Mott, op. cit., p. 659.

[8]The Western Messenger, V, 5 (May, 1840).

from August 11, 1850, to January 1, 1854, when, notwithstanding the sale of the church property and the absence of the minister on account of ill health, the organization held together with occasional services, conducted by lay members in the church. These years, broken by a trip abroad, were spent by Clarke in Meadeville, Pennsylvania, where he acted as minister of the local Unitarian Church, which had been founded in 1825 by Harm Jan Huidepoper, whose daughter Anna he had married in August, 1839. With restored health, he returned to Boston in 1854 and resumed his duties as minister of the Church of the Disciples. In this position he speedily won the full and unbroken confidence not only of his clerical colleagues, but also of the community which he served in various ways.[9]

Another non-literary phase of the Messenger was its discussion of the slavery question, which began with James Freeman Clarke's editorship in April, 1836. The fact that Clarke was then living in Louisville, Kentucky, and editing and publishing the magazine there adds interest to his handling of the subject. In his first comment, published in connection with extensive quotations from William Ellery Channing's early essay on slavery, he agrees:

> "Slavery is wrong and evil; but it does not follow, that immediate emancipation is right, or that the slave-holder is a sinner. . . . it rests with the slave-holding states; [sic] and no others, to point out the

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[9]Dictionary of American Biography.

> time and the way in which slavery is to cease."[10]

When Lovejoy was killed by the Alton mob,[11] Clarke's outspoken condemnation of the outrage made trouble for him among his patrons. He said:

> "Abolitionists discontinue whenever we utter a word in extenuation of slave-holders,--anything in condemnation of the system. An article in our last number, in which we venture to call a murder in Alton by its true name, has caused half our subscribers there to discontinue the work."[12]

Clarke maintained his position, however, and was proud of the fact that slavery could be debated frankly in Kentucky.[13]

As a regional magazine the Messenger felt the obligation to interpret the Western country; doubtless it was also affected by the fever of promotion which is always contagious in a pioneer district. Mann Butler's "Manners and Habits of the Western Pioneers" was an excellent series in 1836, with plenty of good objective exposition; there was much of religion and culture in the West; and some sketches of Western preachers appeared in the first volume. A series on "Western Poetry" is of special interest; the works of William D. Gallager, F. W. Thomas, C. G. and J. G. Drake, Albert Pike, John B. Dillion, and Thomas Shreve

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[10] The Western Messenger, V, 5 (May, 1840).

[11] Mott, op. cit., p. 660

[12] The Western Messenger, IV, 431 (January, 1838).

[13] He continued the debate in the Christian World, founded in Boston as the exponent of the Church of the Disciples, of which Clarke was pastor, in 1843.

are discussed and quoted. While too indulgent toward much of this verse, the critic shows some discrimination. The book reviews are sometimes acute and fearless, even when dealing with Western productions: Mann Butler, for example, is not afraid to condemn Judge Hall's Sketches of History, Life and Manners in the West "for its uncritical neglect of facts and authorities."[14] Of the prospects of the new country, its growth and opportunities, the Messenger had much to say. Ephraim Peabody's Harvard Phi Beta Kappa poem on "New England Emigration Westward" was published at length in December, 1835.

Something has already been said of the Messenger's criticism. James H. Perkins, an assistant editor throughout the course of the magazine; Mann Butler, a Louisville teacher, and author of a history of Kentucky; Otway Curry and William D. Gallager, the Cincinnati poets; and the editors themselves were the leading reviewers. Besides these, Margaret Fuller sent from Boston a number of articles on English writers. The Messenger editors and contributors "were usually well fitted for criticism of both foreign and native writers,"[15] and their work in this field was of very high quality.

The Messenger's interest in literature turned in all directions. Almost in the first issue, in fact, it pointed toward England and New England. The British writers who were the subject of most comment were Coleridge, Wordsworth, Shelley,

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[14]The Western Messenger, I, 675 (May, 1836).

[15]Mott, op. cit., p. 66.

Keats, Carlyle, and Tennyson. It is significant that to Wordsworth, still comparatively little known in America, the Messenger gave highest praise, proclaiming him, in 1836, as a "rival of Milton."[16] Such criticism, however, was largely influenced by Wordsworth's later religious teachings:

> "We love and revere Wordsworth, however, not so much because a great poet, as because a great Christian Philosopher [sic]. His words to us compare with those of Milton and Southey, as the deep, human poetry of the Gospels does with the super-human verse of Job and the Prophets."[17]

But the tolerance of the sectarian reviewers in the Messenger was proved by their attitude toward Shelley; "Even what is called his atheism is better than the theism of some of his bigoted condemners."[18]

The English poet who, however, received the greatest attention was Keats. The circumstance of George Keats's[19] residence in Louisville at that time accounts for the publication of both poetry and prose that entitle the Western Messenger to fame. Although editors of Keats have failed to give the Messenger credit, "It was in the columns of this frontier periodical that one of his poems, as well as parts of his correspondence, first appeared in print."[20] In June, 1836, the Messenger contained

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[16] The Western Messenger, I, 460 (January, 1836).

[17] Loc. cit.

[18] Ibid., III, 475 (February, 1837).

[19] The poet's brother.

[20] Rusk, op. cit., I, 180. The "Ode to Apollo" here given was the poem later called "Hymn to Apollo," beginning "God of the golden bow."

the "Ode to Apollo," by John Keats, which was "for the first time published from the original manuscript, presented to the editor by the poet's brother."[21] "Winander Lake and Mountains," "Ambleside Fall," which, "until recently, was unknown to students of Keats,"[22] "Icolmkill," "Staffa," and "Fingal's Cave"[23] were drawn from the same source.

Something of the same distinction belongs to the Messenger for its early attention to New England authors. Bronson Alcott and Oliver Wendell Holmes were reviewed. Articles by Margaret Fuller and by Elizabeth Peabody were printed. Eighteen sonnets were contributed for a single issue, and others for another number,[24] by Jones Very, who wrote to the editor:

> "I was moved to send you the above sonnets; that they may help those in affliction for Christ's name is ever the prayer of me his disciple, called to be a witness of his sufferings and an expectant of his glory."[25]

Holmes also sent a poem for the fortunate periodical.[26] But the chief claim of the magazine to distinction in its service to New England literature was its defense of Emerson against his critics and its publication of "almost the first poetical specimens of

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[21] Ibid., I, 181.

[22] Loc. cit.

[23] The Western Messenger, I, 820-823 (July, 1836).

[24] Ibid., V, 308-314 (March, 1839) and 366-373 (April, 1839).

[25] Ibid., V, 308 (March, 1839).

[26] Ibid., IV, 78-80 (May, 1838). The poem here printed is not marked as an original contribution.

his writing which have appeared in print."[27] Several later famous, but until then unpublished, poems were sent by Emerson to James Freeman Clarke, at that time editor of the Western Messenger. "Each and All" appeared with a slightly different title.[28] "To the Humble-bee" was printed in a form somewhat different from that into which it grew under later revision, beginning in the Messenger with the couplet:

> "Fine humble-bee! fine humble-bee!
> Where thou art is clime for me" [29]

and exhibiting several other minor differences. These poems were followed by "Good-bye, Proud World!" and "The Rhodora."[30] Charles T. Brooks and J. H. Clarke were also translators for the magazine, working chiefly in German literature; Clarke translated De Wette's "Theodore," which was published serially in the first two volumes.

The Western Messenger was, in fact, the work of a group of New England men. It has been pointed out that at least ten of the Messenger's contributors were later writers for the Dial[31]

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[27] Ibid., V, 229 (February, 1839).

[28] As published in the Messenger, V, 229-330 (February, 1839), the poem was entitled "Each in All." Two lines printed in the Messenger were later dropped from the poem, and other very slight changes were made.

[29] Ibid., V, 239-241 (February, 1839). Of Emerson's poems published in the Messenger this one later was to undergo the most important revision.

[30] Ibid., V, 166 (July, 1839).

[31] A magazine founded by the New England Transcendentalists, devoted to literature, religion, and philosophy and lasting from July, 1840, to April, 1844.

and that the Dial followed its Western forerunner in art criticism, in attention to German and oriental literatures, in its attitude toward religion, and in other particulars. It was also the idea of this intellectual coterie, who afterwards founded the Dial, to plant, during their sojourn in the West, an offshoot of the new liberal theology and the high cultural ideals which characterized the chief teachers of that doctrine. Beginning in the Messenger's last year, the Dial undoubtedly owed something to the earlier transcendental spokesman "out West."

The Messenger was founded in Cincinnati, in 1835 by Clarke, William G. Elliot, and Ephraim Peabody, with T. H. Shreve and W. D. Gallager as publishers. Peabody was editor of the first eight numbers and then was forced to go south in search of health. In his valedictory he acknowledged help in his editorial duties from James H. Perkins, Henry Lowe, Gallager, and Shreve.[32] Clarke then took over the work, moving it to Louisville, where his pastoral work held him. C. P. Cranch, during his sojourn in Louisville, was an editorial assistant and managed the magazine while Clarke was in the East in the fall of 1837. "Clarke just lets his offspring go to the dickens," wrote the substitute editor at that time.[33] In May, 1839, the Messenger was returned to Cincinnati and issued under the joint editorship of Clarke, Perkins, and William Henry Channing. After a suspension from November, 1839, through April, 1840,

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[32]The Western Messenger, I, 731 (May, 1836).

[33]Mott, op. cit., p. 663.

Channing was sole editor to the end (April, 1841).

Handicapped by the unpopularity of its religious creed, the Western Messenger must have had, however, slight influence on the West. "There was our poor little Western Messenger," wrote Clarke many years later.

> "When it was printed in Louisville, I had to be publisher, editor, contributor, proof-reader, and boy to pack up the copies and carry them to the post office."[34]

For a time, it is true, the support of the magazine increased. The original subscription list was doubled before the second volume had been completed; but it could never have been large. The subscription price for a year was three dollars. There were at one time a hundred subscribers in Cincinnati; yet before the end of 1838 the number there had decreased to sixty, while at Louisville there were slightly more, and at St. Louis about half that number. In 1839 there might have been only a small profit if the readers had paid for it--as they did not do. It was only after a long cessation--not the first irregularity in its publication--that the Messenger reappeared in May, 1840; and it was finally discontinued with the number for April, 1841.[35]

It is doubtful whether the circulation of the Messenger ever reached as high as a thousand copies. Unitarianism was not popular in the West; the slavery discussion in which the journal indulged was bad for circulation; and it was issued at the time

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[34]Rusk, op. cit., I, 184.

[35]The Western Messenger, V, 572 (April, 1841).

of a financial panic.

The various sources of interest in the Western Messenger which have been set forth made it the most important magazine published in the West during the years in which that name meant the region between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. The title page follows:

"The
Western Messenger
Devoted to
Religion and Literature
Volume II
1836-1837

Louisville
Published by the Western Unitarian Association

Morton and Smith Publishers
1837"

Some mention should be made of the minor features of this magazine. Appearing in each issue were editorials on subjects such as "Horse Racing," "Public Schools in Louisville," "On Temperance," "Scott and Shakespeare," "Modern Jesuitism," and many others. There were numerous pictures of places of interest in Kentucky, but, a rather peculiar thing for a magazine of such popularity, there appeared in it no advertisements. A feature of the magazine that should not be overlooked was the editor's column, known as "Monthly Record." It contained letters from

the editor to the subscribers and vice versa. The subscribers were at liberty to criticize the magazine in any way, this criticism being considered helpful by the editor in the betterment of the magazine. The magazine also had its monthly column of personals. An interesting feature of the Messenger was the fillers which appeared throughout all the different issues of the magazine:

> "Bashfulness has as little in common with modesty as intemperance has with courage."[36]

> "People talk of the fallacy of illusions, yet are led astray by them. They all are like insects, which avoid the broad clear light of day; but if they see a candle by night, fly to it."[37]

> "The exercise of the mind, as well as that of the heart, imparts a feeling of internal activity, of which all those who abandon themselves to the impressions that come from without are rarely capable."[38]

> "The Philanthropist, who labors well, does more toward the spread of truth than the controversialist, however well he may preach. For he unites men of different opinions in the pursuit of a common object of benevolence, which is the best means of removing their mutual prejudices and teaching them to sympathize with each other; so that whatever truth any one of them possesses, quickly becomes the property of all. The best method of imparting truth, as well as finding it, is to do the will of the Father who is in Heaven."[39]

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[36] Ibid., I, 73 (June, 1835).

[37] Ibid., IV, 438 (January, 1838).

[38] Ibid., I, 463 (January, 1836).

[39] Ibid., III, 472 (February, 1837).

CHAPTER IV

THE WESTERN MONTHLY MAGAZINE, AND LITERARY JOURNAL AND THE LOUISVILLE LITERARY NEWS-LETTER

The Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal was in reality "the continuation of the Illinois Monthly Magazine."[1] This periodical thus metamorphosed became one of the most important of the pioneer period. It was "devoted chiefly to elegant literature"[2] and was at that time the only one of its kind beyond the mountains. Its editor, James Hall, began its publication in Cincinnati, which had for many years afforded the best opportunities in the West for such a publication. In January, 1833, the first issue appeared. The editor, with the wider influence made possible by beginning it in the largest town on the frontier, regarded his work as a kind of official gazette on literary culture. "The literature of the West," he wrote, "is still in its infancy, and we trust that we are not unconscious of the responsibility which rests on those who attempt to direct it."[3] The purpose was not so much to introduce the East to the West as to make the West conscious of itself. Western character was distinguished from Eastern[4] and was defended against detractors both in the East and in England.

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[1]Rusk, op. cit., I, 172.

[2]The Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal, I, 1 and 4 (January, 1833).

[3]Ibid., I, 1 (January, 1833).

[4]Ibid., I, 49-55 (February, 1833).

In the length of time during which it continued "Hall's experiment in frontier journalism was also in advance over what had been done before."[5] While in Cincinnati, the enterprise attained to a degree of financial prosperity. Beginning there with fewer than five hundred subscribers, Hall had secured nearly three thousand before the end of the first year, "a support greater than has been given to any Western periodical, and which few of those of the Eastern cities have attained."[6] There was, however, so much difficulty in collecting debts owed by subscribers, amounting to thousands of dollars, that the income during the first two years did not exceed the disbursements.[7] Later, public disapproval of the editor's defense of the Catholics against their critics, and his attack on abolitionists, caused disaster.[8] The feeling against Hall became very bitter; "it was even hinted that a mob might seek to punish him."[9] And, though he for some time maintained his position in defiance of the rising tide of protest, he finally announced, in June, 1836, that other engagements necessitated his withdrawal as editor. Joseph Reese Fry succeeded him in the conduct of the magazine,

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[5]Rusk, op. cit., I, 174.

[6]The Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal, I, 428 (September, 1833).

[7]Ibid., III, 93 (February, 1835).

[8]Ibid., IV, 131 (August, 1835). Hall later declared that the magazine had been a financial success; but in this statement he was contradicted by his publisher, and Hall himself stated that there were unpaid subscriptions to the amount of from seven to ten thousand dollars.

[9]Rusk, op. cit., I, 175.

which, after continuing for six months longer, ceased its existence in December, 1836.

The publication of the magazine was at first undertaken by Corey and Fairbank, who transferred their interest to Eli Taylor after not quite a year and a half. In July, 1834, it was announced that Joshua L. Tracy had become associated with Taylor as publisher. A quarrel[10] between Taylor and Hall resulted, in January, 1836, in the transfer of the magazine to Flash, Ryder and Company, who were the publishers at the end of the last year, 1836.

The new series of the Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal began publication at Louisville in February, 1837, under the joint supervision of William Davis Gallager and James B. Marshall. But the new series was destined to a brief career; the last number appeared in June, four months later. Gallager, one of the best-known of Western writers, was the editor of the magazine. Gallager, as in every periodical which he edited, labored loyally to promote Western literature: "One object of this magazine, set forth in our introductory, is to represent to ourselves and our neighbors, correctly and thoroughly, the literary character of the Great West."[11]

The Literary Journal, in fact, printed a great many contributions by frontier writers, as well as critical comments by the

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[10]Hall's article entitled "The Catholic Question" led to this quarrel between his publisher, Eli Taylor, and himself. Their controversy is aired in the preface to the fifth volume.

[11]Rusk, op. cit., I, 176.

editor on Western literature. Something like equal attention was paid to seven of the departments: "Tales," "Sketches," "Essays," "Miscellaneous," "Poetry," "Reviews, and Literary Notices," and the "Editor's Budget," while another department, "Biographical Sketches," contained comparatively few articles. Somewhat less than a third of the signed articles were by Gallager; and he was probably the author of most, or all, of the eighteen anonymous reviews and literary notices, as well as the like number of articles in the "Editor's Budget." Little, if any, borrowed material was used. Western drama and other literary productions were reviewed somewhat more critically than had been done before, tales with frontier flavor were included, and poetry "descriptive of pioneer life was given a place."[12] Prizes for original compositions were offered,[13] one of which was given to Harriet E. Beecher,[14] later the author of Uncle Tom's Cabin. There appeared in the Western Monthly articles by thirty-seven different writers (not counting anonymous articles); and of this number thirty were residents of the West. Western travel sketches appeared in many issues. Pioneer biography was given some attention. There were also narratives of frontier history and statistical accounts of the new states. Thus,

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[12]The Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal, I, 174-176 (April, 1833).

[13]Ibid., I, 429 (September, 1833).

[14]Rusk, op. cit., I, 173. Miss Beecher was the daughter of the president of Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati. She later married Professor Stowe of that institution.

although Eastern and English literature were, indeed, by no means neglected, it was the policy of the Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal to be as nearly Western in character as possible; and this program was more successfully carried out than similar aims had been by earlier periodicals. Other authors who lived west of the Appalachians, but whose contributions were recruited for the magazine, were Otway Curry, Hannah Gould, Caroline Lee Hentz, and E. D. Mansfield.

The subscription price per year was three dollars. The title page is not available, because in the volumes used in this particular study it was missing. The magazine was illustrated, and, as in the Western Messenger, there appeared fillers throughout the several issues. The following are examples:

> "Despotism can no longer exist in a nation until the liberty of the press be destroyed, then the night can happen before the sun is set."[15]
>
> "It is more easy to forgive the weak, who have injured us, than the powerful whom we have injured."[16]
>
> "Times of general calamity and confusion, have ever been productive of greatest minds. The purest ore is produced from the hottest furnace, and the brightest thunderbolt is elicited from the darkest storm."[17]
>
> "Men spend their lives in anticipations--

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[15]The Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal, I, 83 (February, 1833).

[16]Ibid., I, 435 (September, 1833).

[17]Ibid., I, 503 (November, 1833).

in determining to be vastly happy at some period or another, when they have time. But the present time has one advantage over every other--it is our own. We may lay in a stock of pleasures, as we would lay in a stock of wine; but if we defer tasting them too long, we shall find that both are soured by age."[18]

"Applause is the spur of noble minds, the end and aim of weak ones."[19]

The Louisville Literary News-letter

The Louisville Literary News-letter was edited by Edmund Flagg and appeared monthly from December 1, 1838, to November 28, 1840. The title page bears the following:

"Louisville Literary News-letter

Devoted to News, Science, Literature

and the Arts.

Louisville

Prentice and Weissinger

1838"

The News-letter had a number of Western contributors of importance; but its attention was largely occupied by Eastern or European literature, and it was the declared purpose of the editor "to select from worthy sources, such sentiments as may accord with our own, particularly when the thoughts happen to be expressed in better language than our compositions may have at

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[18]Ibid., III, 91 (February, 1833).

[19]Ibid., IV, 148 (August, 1835).

'all times exhibited."[20]

The News-letter drew heavily upon English and Eastern sources for its lengthy book reviews and for its matter of general literary interest. It contained, however, many valuable original articles on the Western country by its editor, Edmund Flagg, as well as by such authoritative contributors as J. M. Peck; some tales also by Flagg; and a considerable amount of verse by George D. Prentice, one of the publishers. Even a department of "Fine Arts" was attempted. When this unusually ambitious journal was begun, at the close of 1838, there were prospects for success. It was at that time thought to be the only literary periodical of the kind published west of Cincinnati or north of Natchez in the Western Valley, and it began with more than a thousand subscribers. But because of financial difficulties, it was abandoned at the end of two years.[21]

The subscription price was four dollars per annum, three dollars in advance. The magazine measured about twenty inches in length and ten inches in width, and the copy for May 18, 1839, contained eight pages.[22]

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[20]The Louisville Literary News-letter, December 1, 1838 (Editor's note).

[21]Rusk, op. cit., I, 164.

[22]This was one of the two copies I was able to secure. The copy for December 1, 1838, had only four pages.

CHAPTER V

MISCELLANEOUS

The Western Minerva, or American Annals of Knowledge and Literature

Rafinesque, before the failure of Hunt's Western Review, had been a prominent contributor to his magazine, but in 1820 Rafinesque and Hunt had some misunderstanding which ultimately led, in October, 1820, to the establishment of a rival journal to be called the Western Minerva, or American Annals of Knowledge and Literature, designed as a quarterly.[1] In the following January "one number was actually printed, and at least a few copies were distributed."[2] The contents, consisting of a study in ichthyology by Rafinesque, the editor; the same writer's unfriendly review of Caleb Atwater's essay on the antiquities of the West; "Letters on Cincinnati," described as "a miserable attempt at wit"; and "fifteen or twenty pages" of "sing-song and rhyme," the whole recommended "to all lovers of the 'bathos,' as the finest medley of 'scraps' that we have ever seen,"[3] seem not to have pleased the public. The new quarterly was, in fact, immediately discontinued, "ostensibly because of the lack of

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[1] Rusk, op. cit., I, 168.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] The account here given of the contents of the Western Minerva is taken entirely from Rusk, I, 168. I have been unable to discover a copy of the magazine. Mott say that most of the copies were destroyed.

subscribers,"[4] though the editor charged that it had been maliciously suppressed by the publisher under the influence of its secret foes.

The Transylvanian or Lexington Literary Journal

A curious monthly publication, strangely in contrast with such popular entertainers as the Western Review and the Western Messenger and affording an eloquent example of the whole-hearted attempts of isolated college communities to urge their cultural ideas upon the backwoodsmen about them, was the Transylvanian, the first number of which appeared in January, 1829, at Lexington, Kentucky, and the magazine ended with the ninth number, in September. Heavily freighted with original translations from the works of Plato and reviews of college addresses, with comparatively slight space reserved for almost equally pedantic sketches of travel and scenery, this magazine was little calculated to reach a large reading public. In fact, it seems "to have owed its existence entirely to its character as an 'extra' number of a weekly paper."[5] "Miscellaneous Selections" were allowed a large portion of its columns, while the "Original Communications," which made up the remainder, could scarcely have been popular. There were many articles on scientific subjects; and even the fiction, as in "Letters from Theodoric to Aspasia," was distinguished by a pedantic flavor.

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[4]Rusk, op. cit., I, 168.

[5]Ibid., I, 187.

Fetter's Southern Magazine

This magazine first began publication in August, 1892, under the title of Fetter's Southern Magazine. It continued publication under this title until July, 1893, when it became known as the Southern Magazine, and this series of publications lasted until February, 1894. Later, this same year, its publication was continued under the title Mid-Continent Magazine, and the magazine's activities were brought to a close in March, 1895.

During the time that it appeared under the title of Fetter's Southern Magazine and the Southern Magazine it was published by Fetter and Shober, with Fetter as sole editor. Then, with its appearance as the Mid-Continent Magazine, it was published by F. C. Nunemacher, with himself as editor.

The subscription price was three dollars per annum, if paid in advance; if not, three dollars and a half per annum. The magazine was twenty-five cents a copy.[6] The editor in his column in each issue urged the creation of literary clubs to study early Western literature exclusively. As an incentive to create such clubs he made this offer:

> "To each literary club organizing from month to month, we will send as a special offer, free of charge, a monthly copy of the magazine."[7]

The contents of this magazine were strictly literary in character, and studying its contents, we meet not only popular Western authors who had made a name for themselves outside of Kentucky,

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[6] Fetter's Southern Magazine, I, 85 (August, 1892).

[7] Ibid., I, 86 (August, 1892).

but native Kentuckians, whose works and names by this time of the century had become exceptionally well-known.

All the contents of the magazines appear in five volumes. Volume I extends from August, 1892, to January, 1893; Volume II from February, 1893, to July, 1893; Volume III from August, 1893, to January, 1894; Volume IV from February, 1894, to July, 1894; and Volume V from August, 1894, to March, 1895. The first volume contained 627 pages, the second 56 pages, the third 676 pages, the fourth 656 pages, and the fifth 606 pages. The title page follows:

"Fetter's Southern Magazine
(Illustrated)
A Popular Journal of
Literature, Poetry, Romance, Art

Louisville, Kentucky, U. S. A.
Fetter and Shober, Publishers
1892"

The magazine was highly illustrated throughout. Among the illustrators were Robert Burns Willson, Fredrick W. Cawein, who illustrated all of Madison Cawein's poetry, Carolus Brenner, the Hon. J. Proctor Knott, W. Benneville Rhodes, C. Grunwald, and Angele Crippen.

The magazine carried vigorous editorials by the editor and by others as well. Among the writers of editorials were Angele Crippen, Kate Weathers, C. Emma Cheney, and J. H. Smith. Among

the editorials were "Hester Higbee," "Alfred Tennyson," and "The Sweetness of True Politics."

As had been the case in the earlier Western periodicals, poetry in this magazine was not neglected. Poems by one of Kentucky's greatest poets, Madison Cawein, appear in abundance. Among them, all illustrated by Fredrick W. Cawein, were "In Shadow," "The Moonshiners," "The Water Witch," "In Revery," "On a Portrait," "In Gold and Gray," and "Masby at Hamilton." Also of Cawein's there appeared two stories "The Demon Lover" and "His Legacy," the latter a story of identities and extremely interesting. A few other poems in the magazine by Kentucky authors were "Recompense" and "December," by W. H. Fields; "In Late December," "Quatrains," "The Cannibals," and "To a Skull," by Charles J. O'Malley; "The Brook," "The Ocean," and "Enchantment," by Robert Burns Willson; "Voice of the Bells," by George Griffith Fetter; "Love Song," by Sallie Margaret O'Malley; "Magnolia," by Mary H. Leonard; "When Spring Awakens," by Henry Cleveland Wood; and "Christmas Gifts," by Henry T. Stanton. There were many others.

Feature articles and biographical sketches were numerous in this magazine and appeared under the signatures of some well-known Western writers. Some of the outstanding feature articles were "Gethsemane Abbey," by Louis G. Deppen, it being a vivid and picturesque description of the Catholic activities at Bardstown, Kentucky; "At the Golden Door" and "A Mule with a Mission," by Angele Crippen; "Blasphemy in Religion," by J. S. Smith; "A Glance at the Indian Question," by Henry T. Stanton;

"Romance and Origin of Louisville," by Ruben T. Durrett; "Aspects of Modern Life," by Abraham Flexner; "English Wood-Notes, with Kentucky Echoes," by James Lane Allen; "Purple Rhododendron," by the great Kentucky novelist, John Fox, Jr.; and "An Incumbent of War," by Young E. Allison.

Of the biographical sketches a few were "Audubon," by Basil W. Duke, a very interesting sketch on the life and activities of the great American naturalist; "Mary Anderson de Navarro," by Benjamin H. Ridgely; "Robert Louis Stevenson," by Young E. Allison; and a section of each monthly issue known as "People Worth Knowing," written by Emma K. Speed, giving short biographical sketches of well-known persons of that day. One of the best of all the biographical sketches that the writer was privileged to read was entitled "Personal Recollections of Jeremiah Sullivan Black," by J. Proctor Knott.

Another interesting feature of the magazine was the "Comment and Criticism" section, written by the editor, criticizing the monthly articles appearing throughout the different issues. A section entitled "Salmagundi," edited by Opie Read, ran throughout the life of the periodical and contained jokes and other bits of humor. The "Woman's Department" was edited by Angele Crippen and consisted largely of household advice. The advertisements appearing in the periodical were very few, and they usually concerned liquor and patent medicines.

The Southern Bivouac

The Southern Bivouac first appeared in September, 1883. It was intended to be devoted to both literature and history, but

little can be said of its literary qualities, unless we take into consideration the value of the historical articles from a literary standpoint. Most of the articles deal with battles of the Civil War, and the stories have all their plots woven around some incident that had happened during that struggle between the states. Only a few poems of importance made their appearance, usually as fillers, where some prose article had failed to fill the page.

The Bivouac had as its first editors Basil W. Duke and R. W. Knott until 1885, Duke becoming sole editor when Knott retired. The first volume includes the issues from September, 1882, to July, 1883, and was printed at the Courier-Journal job rooms; Volume II, from September, 1883, to August, 1884, and Volume III, from September, 1884, to May, 1885, were published by E. H. and W. N. McDonald; Volume IV, from June, 1885, to May, 1886, and Volume V, from June, 1886, to May, 1887, were printed by B. F. Avery and Sons. The total pagination of the five volumes was 2085 pages. The title page follows:

"The Southern Bivouac

A Monthly

Literature and Historical Magazine

Conducted by Basil W. Duke

Louisville, Kentucky

1886"

The subscription price for the Bivouac was two dollars per annum in advance; the price per single copy was twenty cents.[8]

Of the poetry worth mentioning in the Bivouac these should be by no means overlooked: "A Pledge to Lee," by Catherine A. Warfield; "The Rainbow," by Amelia B. Welby; "The Bivouac of the Dead," "The Old Pioneer," "Second Love," by Theodore O'Hara; "A Rollicking Rhyme," and "Paddle Your Own Canoe," by Sarah T. Bolton; "The Moneyless Man," by Henry T. Stanton; "In Cloumel Parish Churchyard," by Sarah M. B. Pratt; "The Old Sergeant," by Forceythe Willson; and "The Faded Flower," by Mary P. Shindler.

The prose contents consist of biographical sketches, descriptions, stories of the Civil War, places of interest in Kentucky, dialogues, abstracts of speeches, prefaces, and addresses. The following examples are the most outstanding of the works of Kentucky authors appearing in this magazine: "Aloysius and Mr. Fenton," by Francis H. Underwood; "The Fame of William T. Barry," by Theodore O'Hara; "The Ancient Mounds of the West," by Edmund Flagg; "The Bishop's Arrival," by Martin J. Spaulding; "The Death of Lee," by Emily V. Mason; "From the Duluth Speech," by J. Proctor Knott; "Battle of Shiloh--Sunday Morning," by William P. Johnson; "Morgan, the Man," by Basil W. Duke; "The Gypsies," by Gilderoy W. Griffin; "Eulogy Upon Associate Justice McKinley," by John J. Crittenden; "The Mexican War," by Thomas Corwin; "Preface to the First Edition," by Lewis

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[8]This applied only to the later volumes (1885-1887). In the early volumes (1882-1885) the subscription price was one dollar and a half per annum and fifteen cents per copy.

Collins; "Temperance: An Address," by Thomas F. Marshall; "Seven Crises Caused The Civil War," by Albert T. Bledsoe; and "Henry Clay," by John C. Breckinridge.[9] Almost all the great battles of the Civil War are described at length throughout the different issues.

The Paris Pamphleteer

This novel little pamphlet was published in Paris, Kentucky, in monthly issues by a literary club. This club consisted of about twenty-five members and met the first Tuesday in each month. The club received its name from Houston Creek, a small stream in the vicinity of Paris. Its editor was the Reverend Joel Lyle, pastor of the Paris Baptist Church. The pamphlet was short-lived, lasting only throughout the year 1823. A copy of this valuable pamphlet was found in the private collection of Mrs. Elizabeth Grimes, of Paris. In size it measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ x $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The contents consist of the monthly program of the club, a few anonymous poems, and notes on the meeting of the last session.

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[9]The student of Kentucky literature will observe that many of these contributions are reprinted from magazines and books of previous years. The Southern Bivouac made it a matter of policy to honor Kentucky authors. Some of the authors represented had been dead for many years.

APPENDIX

LITERARY MAGAZINES IN KENTUCKY, 1800-1900

1. The Medley, or Monthly Miscellany. For the year 1803. Containing Essays, on a Variety of Subjects, Sketches of Public Characters, Moral Tales, Poetry, etc. Intended to Combine Amusement with useful Information . . . Lexington, Kentucky, Daniel Bradford, 1803.

Only one volume published, January-December, 1803, Nos. 1-12, 288 pages. The Lexington Public Library and the Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky, have a volume each.

The following are the contents for all the twelve issues:

Contents

No. 1, January, 1803.

No. 2, February, 1803.

No. 3, March, 1803.

No. 4, April, 1803.

No. 5, May, 1803.

No. 6, June, 1803.

No. 7, July, 1803.

No. 8, August, 1803.

No. 9, September, 1803.

No. 10, October, 1803.

No. 11, November, 1803.

No. 12, December, 1803.

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2. The Louisville Literary News - letter. Devoted to News, Science, Literature and the Arts. Louisville, Prentice and Weissinger Publishers, 1833-1840.

Two copies extant: May 18, 1839, Louisville Public Library; December 1, 1838, Cincinnati Public Library.

Leading contributors: J. M. Peck, Edmund Flagg, and George D. Prentice.

3. The Transylvanian or Lexington Literary Journal. Lexington, 1829. Publisher and editor not given.

Transylvania University Library has all copies but No. 6, which is missing; all articles are unsigned. There is no pagination.

4. Western Minerva, or American Annals of Knowledge and Literature. Lexington, Kentucky. Thomas Smith Publisher, 1821. Edited by Constantine S. Rafinesque.

No copies extant. See Rusk, I, 168.

Rafinesque was the chief contributor.

5. The Western Messenger; Devoted to Religion and Literature. 1835-1840. Edited by James Freeman Clarke, Ephraim Peabody, and William E. Channing. Published in Cincinnati and for a time in Louisville.

The volumes used in this study are: Vol. I, June, 1835-July, 1836, Nos. 1-12 (No issue in March), 864 pages, Cincinnati Public Library; Vol. II and III, August, 1836-July, 1837, No. 1-6, VIII, 854 pages, Cincinnati Public Library, Louisville Public Library; Vol. IV, September, 1837-February, 1838, Nos. 1-6, 432 pages, Cincinnati Public Library; Vol. V, April-September, 1838, Nos. 1-6, 424 pages, Cincinnati Public Library; Vol. VI, November, 1838-April, 1839, Nos. 1-6, 432 pages, Cincinnati Public Library; Vol. VII, May-October, 1839, Nos. 1-6, 436 pages, Cincinnati Public Library.

Leading contributors: Fredrick W. Thomas, William Gallager, James Hall, Charles D. Drake, Thomas Shreve, Mann Butler, R. J. Meigs, Albert Pike, John B. Dillon, Ephraim Peabody, Otway Curry, Margaret Fuller, Bronson Alcott, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Elizabeth Peabody, and Jones Very.

6. The Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal. 1833-1837.

The volumes used in this study are: Vol. I (Corey and Fairbank, publishers; edited by James Hall), January-December, 1833, twelve issues, 600 pages. Vol. II (Corey and Fairbank, later Eli Taylor, and finally Taylor and Tracy, publishers; edited by James Hall), January-December, 1834, twelve issues, 670 pages. Vol. III (Taylor and Tracy, publishers; edited by James Hall), July-December, 1835, six issues, 425 pages. Vol. V (Edited by James B. Marshall and William D. Gallager, printed in Louisville), February-June, 1837, Nos. 1-5, 364 pages. All in Cincinnati Public Library. Vol. IV is missing.

Leading contributors: Otway Curry, Hannah Gould, Caroline Lee Hentz, William D. Gallager, and E. D. Mansfield.

7. The Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine, a Monthly Publication, Devoted to Literature and Science. Lexington, William Gibbes Hunt, 1819-1821.

The copies used in this study are: Vol. I, August, 1819-January, 1820, Nos. 1-6, 384 pages, Lexington Public Library, Transylvania University Library; Vol. II, February-July, 1820, Nos. 1-6, 384 pages, Transylvania University Library; Vol. III, August, 1820-January, 1821, Nos. 1-6, 384 pages, Lexington Public Library and Transylvania University

Library; Vol. IV, February-July, 1821, Nos. 1-6, 384 pages, Lexington Public Library and Transylvania University Library. The Western Kentucky State Teachers College Library has twelve issues: September, October, November, 1819; January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August, and December, 1820.

Leading contributors: Rafinesque, Dr. Horace Holley, Caleb Atwater, William Gibbes Hunt, J. C. Breckinridge, and H. McMurtrie.

8. The Masonic Miscellany and Ladies' Literary Magazine, a Periodical Publication, Devoted to Masonic and General Literature. Lexington, Kentucky, William Gibbes Hunt, 1821-1823.

The two copies used in this study are: May, 1822, Lexington Public Library; May, 1823, Western Kentucky State Teachers College Library.

Leading contributors: John Elliot, Asa Child, and William Gibbes Hunt.

9. The Southern Bivouac, a Monthly Literature and Historical Magazine. Published in Louisville, Kentucky, 1882-1887. Edited by Basil W. Duke and R. W. Knott.

The volumes used in this study are: Vol. I, September, 1882-July, 1883, published at the Courier-Journal job rooms. Vol. II, September, 1883-August, 1884; Vol. III, September, 1884-May, 1885; both volumes published by E. H. and W. W. McDonald. Vol. IV, June, 1885-May, 1886; Vol. V, June, 1886-May, 1887; both

volumes published by B. F. Avery and Sons. All in Louisville Public Library.

Leading contributors: Thomas Corwin, Lewis Collins, Robert J. Breckinridge, Thomas F. Marshall, William D. Gallager, Albert T. Bledsoe, Emily V. Mason, Edmund Flagg, Amelia B. Welby, Theodore O'Hara, John C. Breckinridge, Richard H. Collins, and Francis H. Underwood.

10. Fetter's Southern Magazine, a Popular Journal of Literature, Poetry, Romance, Art. Louisville, Kentucky, 1892-1895. Edited by George Griffith Fetter and published by Fetter and Shober.

The volumes used in this study are: Vol. I, August, 1892-January, 1893, 627 pages. Vol. II, February-July, 1893, 56 pages. Vol. III, August, 1893-January, 1894, 576 pages. Vol. IV, February-July, 1894, 656 pages. Vol. V, August, 1894-March, 1895, 606 pages.

Leading contributors: Young E. Allison, Madison Cawein, Abraham Flexner, Robert Burns Wilson, J. Proctor Knott, Angele Crippen, Henry T. Stantion, Charles J. O'Malley, Basil W. Duke, John Fox, Jr., Louis G. Deppen, Cynthia Berry, Sallie Margaret O'Malley, W. H. Field, and Carolus Bremer.

11. The Paris Pamphleteer (See Chapter V).

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II

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1. The Courier-Journal (Referred to often for general material).

2. Kentucky Gazette, October 26, 1802; January 3, 1804.

3. Lexington Herald--"Timothy Flint," May 12, 1928.

4. The Nashville Banner, August 15, 1833, anonymous article on "William Gibbes Hunt."

5. The Paris Kentuckian-Citizen, May 15, 1866, anonymous article on "Reverend Joel T. Lyle."

IV

Magazines

1. Fetter's Southern Magazine, Vols. I-V.

2. Louisville Literary News-letter, 2 copies: May 18, 1839, and December 1, 1838.

3. Masonic Miscellany and Ladies Literary Magazine, 2 copies: May, 1822, and May, 1823.

4. Medley, or Monthly Miscellany, Volume I.

5. Register (Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky), Vol. XXII.

6. Southern Bivouac, Vols. I-V.

7. Transylvanian, or Lexington Literary Journal, copies I, II, III, IV, V, VII, VIII, IX.

8. Western Messenger, Vols. I-VII.

9. Western Monthly Magazine, and Literary Journal, Vols. I, III, and IV.

10. Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine, Vols. I-IV.