

## Unmasking *The Literary Garland's* T.D. Foster

*The Christian Register* pertinently asks, "Will the coming woman work?"  
The editor gallantly answers, "Yes, if you give her opportunity."  
—*Columbus Daily Enquirer*, 1868

In 1982, a disagreement took place in *Canadian Notes and Queries* about the identity of an author. The players were all long dead, the question admittedly academic: was the woman who signed herself T.D. Foster the sister or the niece of Harriet Vaughan Cheney (1796-1889) and Eliza Lanesford Cushing (1794-1886)? Cheney and Cushing are perhaps best recalled as the owners and editors of *The Snow Drop*, the first Canadian periodical for children, produced and published in Montreal from 1847 to 1853. As Mary Lu MacDonald notes, "Alongside their sisters T.D. and Hannah White Barrett [1796-1833], they participated actively in the literary, religious, and benevolent life of Montreal, beginning in the 1830s" ("Foster Sisters"). This included contributions to the Montreal-based journal *The Literary Garland*, which famously published the writings of Susanna Moodie, Catharine Parr Traill, and other notable early Canadian authors. As David Arnason describes it, the *Garland* was the "longest single publishing enterprise before Confederation," lasting "for thirteen years at a time when other journals found survival nearly impossible" (127). The contribution of the Foster sisters to the *Garland's* success, as authors, promoters, and editors, should not be underestimated. Whether sister or niece, this credit must also extend to the elusive T.D.

It is undeniable that Barrett, Cheney, and Cushing are the daughters of a well-known American author, Hannah Webster Foster (1758-1840), whose 1797 novel *The Coquette* remained a bestseller throughout the nineteenth century. (Her second novel, *The Boarding School* [1798], emphasized the

need for female education and attests to her belief in the moral power of the pen.) However, T.D. Foster is absent from American histories and genealogies of the Foster family or those in which they appear (a not infrequent occurrence given their colonial pedigree) as well as biographies of Hannah Webster Foster (Paige 2: 547; Pierce 238-39). Instead, the original identification of Foster as a sister occurs in John Lovell's *Catalogue of the Library of Parliament* (1858). He writes: "T.D.F. –Miss Foster, another sister of Mrs. Cushing ; since married to the Revd. Mr. Giles, of Boston, who has also written several papers for the *Garland*" (1409). As Lovell (1810-93) was the publisher of *The Literary Garland* there is an expectation that he is correct on this matter. However, David Bentley and Sabine Nolke have suggested in *Canadian Notes and Queries* that Lovell errs, that T.D. Foster is a niece of the Foster sisters, not their sibling. While Bentley and Nolke take at face value the claim that Foster married Giles, they turn to the Foster genealogies from which T.D. is excluded to forward their hypothesis that Lovell is mistaken in his statement of relation. Still, little effort is made to identify exactly who T.D. is—perhaps a daughter of James Foster, they suggest (12). Mary Lu MacDonald, a Foster expert who has conducted significant archival research on the sisters, challenges their theory, most recently in 2002, noting that in the absence of solid proof otherwise, Lovell's word must stand.

If this were the only mystery about T.D., it would hardly be intriguing. But as it turns out, almost everything we know about her has been a matter of misinformation. This has served to obscure particular literary connections, while inventing others. Following Lovell, the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* repeats that T.D. wed the Reverend Henry Giles (1809-82), who had been a visiting Unitarian minister in Montreal in 1842 (Wagner 85-86). Alternately, *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English* marries her to a Mr. Gibson (MacDonald, "Harriet" 71; Wagner 85; Blain, Clements, and Grundy 256). It is fairly easy to disprove the first claim: the Henry Giles who preached in Montreal was a dynamic Irishman who would become famous in Boston for his oratorical prowess and works of criticism; his *Human Life in Shakespeare* was described by one commentator as "The finest Essays on Shakespeare ever written" (M'Clintock and Strong 764; Giles 120). Should Giles have been associated with the Fosters by marriage, we can assume a long and fruitful exchange of ideas, writings, and publications. Yet contemporary sources, including census records, identify and confirm his spouse as Harriet Louise Lord, a Maine resident whom he married in 1849 (Rich 282). When she died in 1875, Giles—reduced by alcoholism—did not remarry.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Gibson is a slightly more enigmatic proposition as a husband for T.D., and does not seem to appear anywhere but *The Feminist Companion*. The Foster sisters did know a Mr. Gibson, namely John Gibson, editor of the *Literary Garland* from 1838 to his death in 1850. However, as of December 1836, Gibson was married to Sarah, a sister of Lovell, thus eliminating him as a possible spouse for T.D. Of course it is possible another Gibson suitor existed; still, it seems an unlikely coincidence. It would appear more likely that Gibson was a typographical error, where Giles was intended. And so we have a T.D. Foster who may or may not have been a sister or a niece to the Fosters, who could have married a Gibson, but definitely did not marry Rev. Henry Giles, about whom we know little else, except that she was literary, dedicated, and “evidently fluent in both Italian and French” embodying “the very model of a cultivated, well-travelled gentlewoman” (MacDonald, “Foster Sisters”).

That said, once the confusion caused by Lovell’s naming of Giles is resolved, a suitable candidate emerges. Notably, Hannah Webster Foster’s son, John Standish Foster, married Miss Theoda Williams Bartlett in June of 1811 (Hibner 262). Their daughter, Theoda Davis Foster—T.D.F.—was born December 11th of that same year in Boston.<sup>2</sup> John S. Foster is best remembered today as “a genius chemist in the glassmaking field” (Baker 1: 1) but this did not interfere with his love of reading and intellectual culture, which he shared with his daughter (Bush 10-19). Both Hannah Webster Foster and her son took an interest in Theoda’s education. The girl appeared to be a favourite with her paternal grandparents, spending much time with them in Brighton, where she attended Miss Abigail B. Cook’s school (Merwin, “no. 5,” 4; Bush 28). Cook, obviously in awe of Theoda’s grandmother, paid the child particular attention according to the reminiscences of a resentful schoolmate (Merwin, “no. 10” 4). If Cook pretended to teach more than she did, Theoda’s further education made up for it, as she later studied under the well-known reformer Dorothea Dix as well as William Bentley Fowle, a textbook author and scholar of education (Bush 12). Theoda’s appreciation of fine art and literature, as well as her knowledge of European history, are evident in her letters and journals, and are in keeping with what we can deduce of T.D. Foster (Bush 38, 131-33). The same can be said of her social justice concerns—she was firmly anti-slavery—and her religious orientation, as a devout Unitarian.<sup>3</sup>

If this intellectual preparation were the only evidence of Theoda as T.D. Foster, it would be compelling, but not irrefutable. For that we must turn to

another source, namely, the account given by Theoda Davis Foster's husband. In a memoir of his wife produced shortly after her death in 1888, the Reverend Solon Wanton Bush describes her parentage, upbringing and, eventually, time in Montreal, where she relocated after her father's death in 1834.<sup>4</sup> He writes:

The home of her two aunts, where she lived, was the centre of intellectual activity. They and their niece were diligent readers of the best books. Often one of them would read aloud, and then they would fall into animated conversation as to the quality of the thought and the characteristics of the author. The two aunts were very unlike in their mental organization; and the niece, even at this early period, held to her own independent judgments. So often the talk became a spirited discussion of free, independent, active minds. Thus the intellect of the girl was stimulated and strengthened. Mrs. Cushing edited the *Garland*, a magazine well known in Canada, and a children's periodical called the *Dew Drop* [sic]. The three were the chief contributors. Thus there were active influences to strengthen her mental growth. The Unitarian Church was at this time in its beginnings; and, as the three were deeply interested in its success, they gave much thought and work to its advancement. The ministers who preached were always welcomed to their house with a heartfelt cordiality. (20-21)

In addition to providing an intimate literary-domestic portrait of the Foster sisters, this account supports Mary Lu MacDonald's pre-existing work on the Fosters and Unitarianism; indeed if Theoda's ongoing career as an author is accounted for, it renders their literary and religious efforts inseparable in a way not appreciated before.<sup>5</sup>

If we previously made an assumption that the Foster sisters were at the centre of Montreal's literary scene, adding Theoda to the picture gives us some additional insight into their social position. In particular, Bush writes of his wife's enjoyment of Montreal society, where "visiting, dinners, and balls were the chief forms of social activity" (20). According to the conventions of the time, the Foster sisters would have facilitated their niece's introduction to their own circle, and thus we can determine from the connections she formed that the Fosters were of the city's elite. Among Theoda's chief Montreal friends was Louisa Goddard Frothingham, the philanthropic heir of a wealthy wholesale hardware dealer, who would eventually marry the heir to the Molson family fortune. Louisa's sociability was not confined to Theoda: she continued to socialize with the Foster sisters until the last died in 1889.<sup>6</sup> Theoda's friendship with Charlotte Temple, the daughter of a Vermont gentleman (and first cousin to Henry James), was no doubt tinged with amusement: if Hannah Webster Foster's novel *The Coquette* had any competition for sentimental favourite in the hearts of American readers, it would have been Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1791). Lady Charlotte, as she would become following the

elevation of her husband, John Rose, was renowned for her hospitality, entertaining constantly. Their house, Rosemount, was impressive, “fifty feet square, on a commanding situation, with a lovely terraced garden in the rear.” When the Prince of Wales visited Montreal in 1860, it was there he stayed (Leonard 55).<sup>7</sup> It is probable these women and their social circles followed the literary productions of their Foster friends quite closely, subscribing to the *Literary Garland* and, on the behalf of their children or those of friends, the *Snow Drop*.

Though Theoda lived primarily with her Foster aunts until her own marriage in 1849, she also spent considerable time with her maternal family in Roxbury, then a suburb of Boston. Accordingly, Foster did not limit her literary efforts to Montreal, and during this time was also an anonymous contributor to the prestigious *Knickerbocker*, in company with such luminaries as Longfellow, Whittier, Cooper, and others.<sup>8</sup> This dual orientation must have furthered what one critic described as the “Anglo-Bostonian” tone of the *Literary Garland*; Theoda may have also been the individual responsible for securing the *Snow Drop's* twenty-nine Boston subscribers (Klinck 1: 160; *Snow Drop* 128).

Marriage to Solon Wanton Bush in 1849 did not stem Theoda's literary activities; indeed her husband appears to have encouraged them, as she writes in one letter “I am trying to be a good girl and to please my troublesome !!! husband, by writing a sketch for the *Miscellany*” (qtd. in Bush 35).<sup>9</sup> Still, writing and charity work were joined by motherhood and the duties of a minister's wife, first in Burlington, Vermont and, after 1852, in Brattleboro, where they stayed for six years and “left a legacy of affection and goodwill behind” (Cabot 1: 393). Theoda in particular was commended for her commitment to the Sunday school (Staples 45). Bush's next post, in Medfield, Massachusetts was remembered as “peaceful and efficient,” terminating—perhaps at his own request—in 1864 (Hurd 450).

Whether Bush had tired of the life of minister is not known. If that was the case, though, at least he was not without prospects. A contributor to a number of journals, including the *Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* and *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, he was also the unnamed and admired American correspondent for the *London Daily News* during the United States Civil War (J.F.S. Bush lxxv-lxxvi). And so, in 1864, he assumed the role of editor of the *Christian Register*, a weekly four-page Unitarian paper. A notice to that effect appeared in the 26 December 1863 issue, informing readers:

Rev. S. W. Bush will become the responsible Editor of the *Christian Register* on the first of January. His connection with the religious and secular press of this country and of England has given him especial faculties for the charge of such a journal as ours;—and the reputation he has gained in the duties of that connection makes it unnecessary for us to speak of his fitness for the work. (2)

While Bush had a history of submitting his writings for publication, at the time he was named editor he appeared to have had little if any experience of editing or producing a publication (Eliot 56). In this he was evidently assisted, if not guided, by Theoda, who had her apprenticeship with her Montreal aunts upon which to draw. The degree to which Theoda aided her husband in his editorial duties cannot be fully determined, but it is more than apparent she did. From the start Theoda generated a significant amount of the material published in the *Christian Register's* page four section of miscellany, and possibly elsewhere. While her name or initials did not appear regularly until mid-1868, internal evidence suggests she was writing under the mark of + as early as the second week of February 1864.<sup>10</sup> If this is the case, there were issues where Theoda was responsible for producing almost the entire creative content of the *Christian Register's* final page—a full quarter of the issue, and an even larger portion of its original material. No doubt other productions went unmarked both before and after she began using her initials in 1868.

Theoda's contributions vary. While predominantly short fiction, occasionally extended over successive issues, they also include history, translation, art appreciation, and memorials. She draws on the various devices deployed in the *Snow Drop*, introducing recurring characters as well as dialogue, particularly in the conceit of "Cousin Lizzie" who explains different matters and events to her younger relatives. Though Theoda's name was never on the masthead, her husband makes clear her involvement when he comments on her time in control of the *Register's* Home Department (81). As the literary review section also appeared on page four, it too may have been within Theoda's purview—certainly her opinion on literature was valued by those such as the respected writer and *Atlantic Monthly* contributor, Edward Everett Hale, who wrote of her, "thoroughly trained as she was, she would have been as good a literary critic as the best of them; but that was not her affair. What interested her in a book was its real purpose and the extent to which that purpose was carried out. . . . After I had talked with her, I had good authority on whether a book had any positive and permanent value or were [sic] simply a book of the year" (qtd. in Bush 6-7).

In addition to drawing on her own resources to fill the *Register*, Theoda also enlisted her Canadian connections early on, especially her Montreal aunts, whom she continued to visit regularly.<sup>11</sup> Both Harriet Vaughan Cheney and Eliza Lanesford Cushing appear in the pages of the *Christian Register* during the seven years of Bush's time as editor. Cheney contributed at least five pieces including "Harry and his Dog; or, the Evils of Disobedience" in December of 1864, and "Cousin Jane's Visit, or the Lesson in Botany" in April of 1865. Cushing surpassed her sister, and is credited over two dozen times, including a piece which describes her habit of walking in the St. Antoine suburbs of Montreal—demonstrating that the sisters did not entirely ignore Canada in their writing. For those who have wondered how the women sustained themselves in later years, the answer seems clear: they wrote. Harriet's son and Theoda's first cousin, Edward M. Cheney, also appears on the masthead as the paper's business agent. Theoda did not ignore other Canadian talent from her *Literary Garland* days either, either: Catharine Parr Traill was among the Canadian contributors, as was Emma Donoghue Grant, editor of the *Quebec Transcript* and another *Garland* alumna. The latter in particular benefited from the association, receiving an endorsement from the Unitarian journal—not to mention free advertising—when it reprinted her poem "Clouds" introducing it as, "From 'Stray Leaves,' a volume of sweet, natural poetry, by Mrs. J. P. Grant, just published in Montreal" (Grant 4).<sup>12</sup> In this way we see how networks of women in print span not only journals, but also countries and generations. In the case of the Foster relatives, the ties are not simply literary or even genealogical, but religious and social, demonstrating a thread of continuity from their literary and non-literary efforts in Montreal on the behalf of Unitarianism, and Theoda's own forwarding of the cause in Boston.

It seems clear that Theoda's effort to secure and produce material was crucial to the *Christian Register* during her husband's stewardship. In fact, it seems probable that she actively functioned as an unacknowledged co-editor for the Unitarian journal, just as Cushing was not adequately credited in her editorial endeavours with the *Garland*. Whatever the exact division of labour, the time both spent with the *Register* was considered a success, as their son posthumously observed of Solon W. Bush's tenure:

He made the paper a more natural paper than it was: he made it show, what so few religious papers do show, what the word "religion" is and what it means; that it is better for the people of the day to study the history of to-day than to discover what were the relations of the Greek Church and the Roman Church in the eleventh century. (J.F.S. Bush lxxvi)



When, after seven years, Bush left the *Christian Register*, so too did his wife, taking her contributions and connections with her. The loss to the journal is evident in her last story to appear in the paper that year, "The Two Creeds," spanning two issues in April of 1870. In it, a courting couple debates the merits of their differing denominational commitments, as well as their reasoning in adhering to them. Eventually, the woman ends the relationship, deeming the connection unsuitable based on the revelations and convictions the exchange lays bare. The romance serves as a compelling yet tidy framing device for what is in fact a deeply personal and advanced theological debate, and attests to Theoda's skill and value to the paper as a writer. Without the Fosters' original productions, the *Christian Register* turned to the practice of reprinting from other sources to fill its miscellany section, effectively diminishing the journal's commercial worth and distinctiveness. Clearly, the *Christian Register* lost more than its official editor when Bush departed, though he at least maintained a connection.<sup>13</sup>

If we can deduce Theoda was an important part of the *Christian Register's* operations, it is impossible to assess the degree to which she might have assisted with the weekly women's rights paper, *Women's Journal*, published by Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell, though it is known that Solon W. Bush acted as "occasional editor" when Stone and Blackwell were absent (Kerr 278).<sup>14</sup> Commended by Harriet Beecher Stowe for possessing a "conservative religious tone" and "paying attention to women's domestic life and the honor given to it" the journal would have been an acceptable venue for articles by the wife of a minister (Stowe 273). As Bush's involvement with both suggests, the *Women's Journal* and the *Christian Register* were not incompatible venues, the former even reprinting items from the latter (e.g., "A Pioneer Nurse"). However, a cursory reading of several years of the *Journal* has not revealed the initials under which Theoda commonly published, or her name in conjunction with organizational activities. While her absence from committees might be explained by her unpredictable health, and anonymous contributions were not uncommon, it seems more likely that she privileged other causes, including the Hampton Agricultural and Industrial School (now University) founded to educate recently emancipated African Americans; an association to alleviate poverty among women in India; and especially Roxbury's Children's Home and the Home for Aged Females ("Appendix" 10-11; Bush 73-74). Ultimately her death went unremarked in the pages of the *Women's Journal*.

Independent of her husband's activities, T.D. Foster Bush retained a literary profile of her own. Her writing for the *Christian Register* was deemed worthy



of reprinting by other journals including, notably, a short story about the formerly enslaved, which found its way into the *New National Era*, of which Frederick Douglass was part owner. Claims that Theoda did not write fiction, but was primarily a translator, are belied by these productions and others. Even as her *Christian Register* contributions ended with her husband's term—after which he returned to the ministry, at Needham—her writing did not cease. Her support of the New England Women's Hospital led to a special fundraising project, a daily paper called *Hospital Waif*, which she edited and managed as part of an annual hospital fair. Such literary productions, often by women, have been historically overlooked by scholars, in all probability because of their ephemeral nature which meant they were not preserved. *Hospital Waif* appears to have suffered this fate. Given her involvement with various causes it is possible that other similar works also were produced but did not survive. However, one did, providing an excellent example of this kind of literary activism: namely, during the four-day Carnival of Authors organized in support of the Old South Church in January 1879, Theoda issued a daily paper (Bush 77-78). As the paper attests, those who treasured the church were worried it would be razed as had recently been the fate of other historic buildings, and thus sought to raise funds for its preservation.<sup>15</sup> All four issues of volume 1 of *The Carnival Transcript*, covering the duration of the event, have been preserved, prominently listing Mrs. T.F. Bush as editor.<sup>16</sup> Each issue is six pages, and provides a guide to that evening's happenings, as well as—for the less well read, perhaps—an overview of the literary works they draw upon. Also included is an editorial, excerpts from the popular authors featured, commercial advertisements, jokes, and original compositions. A short story by Theoda about the staging of tableaux spans the first two issues, encouraging attendees to return, if only to buy the guide on a daily basis. Once again the family was enlisted: staffing *The Carnival Transcript* tent was her only child, Dr. John Standish Foster Bush, with his wife.

For those interested in the culture of literary celebrity and its popular manifestations, *The Carnival Transcript* provides a rich resource with its accounts of faux waxwork likenesses of famed authors, impersonators of others, staged tableaux of literary scenes, and re-enactments of literary passages. There was also a “minuet on the large stage” which is described as contrasting the “whirling waltz and flying gallop of our day” as well as a fan drill. Whittier wrote an original poem to be read aloud (“Programme” 6). Children were not neglected, as Mother Goose took up residence in Booth #8 where, readers were promised:

[I]n the house garden will be found many children of ye olden day, engaged in games, songs, and old-time amusements. Tableaux will be given on the large stage, representing many nursery rhymes, viz.: "Old King Cole," "Bo-peep," "Mistress Mary," "Simple Simon" and others like unto these . . . The rhymes and melodies will be given by the children, and with much spirit.

There is a further caution: "Owing to the fact that children are at this booth, the songs, games, and so forth will cease each evening at nine o'clock"—it was a school-night, after all (*Carnival Transcript* Issue 1, Vol. 1, 5).

That the events went past nine p.m.—in fact past ten—tells us a great deal about the energy Theoda expended on behalf of the *Transcript*, as editorials appearing the following day referenced happenings of the previous evening, demonstrating a tight turn-around time for producing and editing copy in advance of printing. Her professional abilities were more than evident in the *Transcript's* composition and execution. Yet at the same time, she inherited another facet of her aunts' existence, where women utilized their skills without being adequately remunerated or recognized. Likewise, such women writers were conceived of as straddling the worlds of professional and amateur when they were, in fact, the former. That many such women were often seen as writing to advance causes further diminished the evaluation of their abilities, as the perception was that it was a hobby or duty, not professional calling. Independent of any analysis of Theoda's professional activities, after all, this is exactly how the *Transcript* might appear, as the production of a talented woman, but a dilettante or dabbler nonetheless. Yet, in the context of her other endeavours, *The Carnival Transcript* extends our understanding of women editors as activists, yes, but also as professionals capable of carrying projects through for themselves and others.

Though recuperating all of Theoda's literary endeavors is an impossible task, we can determine that she was a highly respected literary woman. As the Reverend Edward Augustus Horton, of Boston's Second Church, commented, her pen: "was busy for good purposes. Stories for the young, with pithy moral; articles on current topics of vital importance; appeals and arguments; organization of forces; pushing forward of educational moral agencies; calling for consultation; rallying for new courage" (qtd. in Bush 165). To that we can now add a commitment to historic preservation, a vital belief in the transformative potential of literature, a deep appreciation of art, and a desire to advance the cause of African Americans. Moreover, she was clearly embedded within a network of social reformers and reforms committed to a variety of causes.

Admittedly, identifying Theoda Davis Foster Bush does little to alter our perception of the *Literary Garland* more broadly, though it does create the basis for a reconsideration of her work. In addition to illuminating her career, it also further enriches our understanding of the intellectual milieu in which the Foster sisters were positioned, the social and political events which might have swayed them, and their legacy for other female authors and editors whom they nurtured. For those who have claimed that Cheney, Cushing and their ilk were apolitical (cf. Trofimenkoff), it is worth reconsidering how such literary productions were in fact decidedly political in that they were meant to advance women's causes, education, and social reformation. Theoda was the third generation in the family to assume the need for greater opportunities for women, especially in education, and to advocate strongly for them through her pen. Notably, Theoda's obituary emphasizes this legacy, naming each of the women in connection with their literary activities (H. 7). While Theoda had no daughters, it is clear her son imbibed her beliefs, as one of his daughters, also named Theoda, attended Radcliffe, taught at Dana Hall School in Wellesley, and in 1910 founded a summer camp for young women dedicated to athletic pursuits—a somewhat advanced proposition at the time (Bush and Johnson 11; Hesperides 277). In 1913 this granddaughter made a strong statement:

I have never been interested in the so-called fashionable, and ultra-fashionable doings, which concern so many women. The day of moping, of sitting still and whining for things, of believing that some chosen man will bring us the things we desire, including health, are long past. (qtd. in "Don't Mope" 6)

While her literary grandmother, great-aunts, and great-grandmother would have phrased it more diplomatically, it was a claim they had all been making in one form or another since 1797. Certainly, *The Coquette*, the *Snow Drop*, as well as page four of the *Christian Register*, advocated that young women should take responsibility for themselves and their lives. The difference is that after two-hundred-plus years this twentieth-century Theoda had the luxury of being blunt without being judged. Perhaps such forthrightness was something she shared with the generations of students she taught, along with the earlier lessons inherited from her Foster ancestors.

#### NOTES

- 1 For their deaths see "Deaths in Bucksport" (51). The United States Federal Censuses for 1850, 1860, and 1870 support their marriage. The 1880 Census identifies Giles as a widower. By this time he was also confined to bed, and not likely to remarry (see Rich).

- 2 For Theoda Williams Bartlett, see Hibner (262). Foster changed his name to John Standish Foster in February of 1811 (Commonwealth of Massachusetts 325).
- 3 In a letter Theoda recounts being remarkably moved by Samuel Joseph May's Boylston Hall anti-slavery speech. By his account, that would have been fall, 1833 (Gannett 291; May 138).
- 4 Bush gives her father's date of death as 1839; however, business records for the Redwood Glass Manufacturing Company date it to 1834. A local historian gives his date of death as 2 January 1834 (Carpenter n. pag.). As the book was advertised for sale (\$1.25) she must have had a following, either literary or social. See the book announcement section of *The Unitarian* (528).
- 5 The Fosters' Unitarianism can be traced to Rev. John Foster and was decidedly personal. A doctrinal disagreement in his Brighton congregation led to a splinter group leaving (Marchione 6-7).
- 6 In 1873, at the age of forty-six, Louisa married John Henry Robinson Molson (1826-97), who had inherited the brewery in 1836. It was from Cheney that Louisa learned of Theoda's death (Bush 180).
- 7 John Rose's conduct following his wife's death served as the inspiration for Henry James' "The Marriages." Likewise, Charlotte Temple's sister Minnie was the model for Isabel Archer (*The Portrait of a Lady*) and Milly Theale (*The Wings of the Dove*) (Richards 316-17). Theoda and Charlotte's friendship survived past Montreal, and included transatlantic visits (Bush 115); however, the Rose family reports no letters survived (Correspondence with Sir Julian Rose, 28 Sept. 2010). For Charlotte Rose see "Lady Rose" 291. Their home is now the site of Percy Walters Park.
- 8 As the *Knickerbocker* is the only journal mentioned in her obituary, I assume it was the most prestigious with which she was connected (H. 7). No trace of her has been found in that journal as of yet.
- 9 I been unable to definitively identify this journal. The Unitarian journal *The Monthly Miscellany* was absorbed by *The Christian Examiner and Religious Miscellany* in 1844; it is possible this is it. Bush (1819-98) was a Rhode Island native who, after a time in commercial life, enrolled at Brown University, then Harvard Divinity School, graduating 1848 (J.F.S. Bush lxxv-lxxvi).
- 10 The + mark appears in the page four section soon after Bush assumes the helm of the journal. The writings above it are not only consistent with Theoda's style, but also demonstrate continuity of content and interests. The use of + ends exactly as Theoda's own initials are introduced in June 1868.
- 11 This travel would explain her appearance in Montreal records as "a communicant of the Unitarian church in 1848 and 1852." MacDonald transcribes her "first" name from the church register as Theo [oti de ile], which, for those familiar with nineteenth-century handwriting, would seem to be a rendering of Theoda Davis (MacDonald, "Foster Sisters").
- 12 "The Transcript was a very nice little literary paper edited by my friend Mrs. Grant, of the 'Stray Leaves,' and her sister, (the MK of page 78,) and printed by Mr. T. Donoghue, their brother ; but it was before the age and died young, as things fair and fragile will do" (Wicksteed 3).
- 13 The new editor was a personal protégé of the Buses, brought from Medfield (Eliot 55; *Medfield* 30).
- 14 In addition to describing select activities, S.W. Bush quotes extensively from his wife's journals and papers, which have not been located. Several generations of the family have been traced, and it seems most likely that they were passed to her granddaughter, Theoda

- F. Bush (1889-1964). Miss Bush did not marry, and a rift on religious grounds prevented her from willing any family materials to her sister's family. Upon her death, her belongings passed first to the woman with whom she lived and then, soon after, to the nephews of another woman with whom she had once operated a summer camp for girls. That family holds many items belonging to Theoda F. Bush; however no papers survived. It is the opinion of family members that the value of the papers would not have been apparent at the time, and had they been among her effects, would most likely have been discarded (private correspondence).
- 15 In the second issue the writer makes clear they are undertaking this fundraiser to ensure the church doesn't follow the fate of the recently demolished Hancock house ("Carnival Reveille" 5).
- 16 The *Carnival Transcript* is held at the Widener Library, Harvard, where I am indebted to Frederic Burchsted for his assistance. Volume 2, beginning 3 May 1879, was edited by Miss Mary G. Morrison; only a few pages of its first issue survived.

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