

Elements of Bile: Placing Daniel Ottolengui (1836-1918) in the Heritage of Hate

Sally Stokes

AROUND AND ABOUT IN OLD NEW YORK:
LITERARY AND THEATRICAL GOINGS-ON

Just east of Broadway, in 1846, Isaac D. Baker and Charles Scribner opened their publishing house on Nassau Street near Ann Street in lower Manhattan.¹ By the time of the Civil War, Baker & Scribner had cemented a reputation for thoughtful and elevating texts. In 1867, the firm, now Charles Scribner & Co., having moved up to 654 Broadway and released a miscellany of Christian meditations, poetry by Robert Burns, and a translation of the *Iliad*, had picked up Henry Ward Beecher's *Norwood, or Village Life in New England*. This lone novel by Beecher—orator, abolitionist, and minister of Brooklyn's Plymouth Church—had run as a serial in Robert Bonner's paper, the *New York Ledger*, starting in early May.²

The *Ledger's* May 9th advertisement in the *New York Times* captured more than two dozen reviews. From the *Titusville Herald*: "If Beecher can write an 'entertaining' sermon [. . .], it is [. . .] not to be feared that he will write a 'dull' novel." *Turf, Field and Farm* fawned, or perhaps chortled, "[It] gives promise of great power and brilliancy."³ Not cited was *Flake's Bulletin*: "Worse novels have been read, and a great many better ones have died. [. . . It] will be hardly known five years hence" ("Eminent"; "Beecher's Novel").⁴

Norwood is replete with stereotypes, such as hack-driver Hiram Beers and African American Pete Sawmill. The saga follows Abiah and Rachel Cathcart and their adult children, Alice and Barton. Neighbor Rose Wentworth is fond of Barton but has other suitors, including a Virginian, Tom Heywood. Soon after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, Barton joins the Union army. Tom serves the Confederacy, but his exposure to *Norwood's* inhabitants makes him question the Rebel cause. Alice and Rose serve as nurses at Gettysburg, where Tom conveniently dies in a charge led by Barton, who is taken prisoner. Just as Alice is about to speak with General Lee about Barton's release, she learns that her brother is safe. After two more years in the Union army, Barton returns to *Norwood*, where he and Rose are married, to the joy of the villagers.

Scholars have concluded that Beecher's attitudes about religion and human dignity were inconsistent, and that *Norwood* is unexceptional.⁵ Perhaps for these very reasons, librettists of the 1860s sprang swiftly into

action. Only a few installments of *Norwood* had appeared in the *Ledger* when in August 1867 Buffalo saloonkeeper W. T. Dulany advertised for applications to produce his comedy, derived from Beecher's novel.⁶ The last instalment of *Norwood* ran in the *Ledger* on November 11th 1867. That same evening, *The Legend of "Norwood,"* by the leading melodramatist of the day, Augustin Daly, debuted at the Worrell Sisters' Theatre at 728–730 Broadway.⁷ Pete Sawmill, whom Beecher had introduced as "a great, black, clumsy-moving fellow" (20), Daly described as "the most useless piece of timber about the village" (7). Daly's play was quickly caricatured in black-face minstrelsy as *Norwood, or Village Life Almost Anywhere*, at the fabled Tony Pastor's music hall in the Bowery (Odell 353; Zellers 27–31). Daly's production soon moved to the Brooklyn Academy of Music, opening on December 9th. The same night, in Hooley's New Opera House in Brooklyn, yet another burlesque adaptation of *Norwood* began its run.⁸

At 609 Broadway, in October 1867, the curtain had risen on a different bit of theatre, in the emporium of Messrs. Brady & Co. A year and a half after Abraham Lincoln's assassination, Mary Todd Lincoln had engaged W. H. Brady to sell some of her clothing, furs, and jewelry. Assisting her in this effort was the Washington, D.C. dressmaker Elizabeth Keckley.⁹ Mrs. Lincoln's wardrobe sale was of national interest. *Harper's Weekly* featured an illustration of the showroom (Fox 684); the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reported that "'all sorts and conditions' of men, women, and artists continually visit it, but unfortunately not to buy" ("Mrs. Lincoln's Property").¹⁰ Journalists had little sympathy for Mrs. Lincoln.¹¹ The publication in the *New York World* of letters Mary Lincoln had written to Brady only intensified disdain for the President's widow. The matter came to be known as the "Old Clothes Scandal" (Ellison 194).

Back in Baker & Scribner's old neighborhood, there had blossomed a corpus of bookmen whose presses rolled out satire, farce, and rant. Calvin Blanchard, a sometime tenant at 23 & 26 Ann Street, issued classic works in reprint and tirades on the "bunkum rhetoric" of preachers and politicians.¹² The George W. Carleton Co., of the 400 block of Broadway, in association with the New York Printing Company at 81, 83, and 85 Centre Street, handled the works of humorists Bret Harte and Artemus Ward, peppering its offerings with Beecher's 595 *Pulpit Pungencies*; Fanny Fern's "spicy new novel," *Folly as it Flies*; and George Carleton's own—writing as Radical Freelance, Esq.—*The Philosophers of Fougouville*, a send-up of the Fourierist Utopian North American Phalanx. None of these, however, would cause such a commotion as did Elizabeth Keckley's *Behind the Scenes, by Elizabeth Keckley, Formerly a Slave, but More Recently Modiste, and a Friend to Mrs. Lincoln*, which Carleton's spring 1868 advertisements would tout as "a literary thunderbolt," "sensational disclo-

tures,” and “White House revelations.”¹³ Chapters I through IV cover Keckley’s years as an enslaved person and her rise to independent business-woman. The bulk of the book consists of anecdotes about the Lincoln family, Lincoln’s cabinet, and Mrs. Lincoln’s relationship with Stephen A. Douglas. Chapter XV is titled “The Secret History of Mrs. Lincoln’s Wardrobe in New York”; the appendix consists of twenty-one letters from Mary Lincoln to Elizabeth Keckley.

Literate from childhood, Keckley had purchased her freedom. She enjoyed success as dressmaker to politicians’ wives, Union and Confederate, including Mary Todd Lincoln and Varina Davis, wife of Jefferson Davis. Keckley served as president of the Contraband Relief Association, which fed and clothed destitute freedpersons. A letter with Keckley’s signature block, soliciting donations to the Association, shows the writer to have been eloquent and decorous.¹⁴ Keckley’s apologia for her role in the sale of Mrs. Lincoln’s clothing, however, and the breach of confidence in publishing Mary Lincoln’s letters to her did Keckley no favors in the public eye.¹⁵ The gossipy tone of *Behind the Scenes*; the idea that a former slave could have written *any* book, especially one with such highly-wrought Victorian expressions as “love’s tendrils” and “paroxysms of grief,” called her authorship into question. Remarkd the *Eagle*:

Behind the Scenes [. . .] purports to have been written by Elizabeth Keckley, but bears sufficient internal evidence of the handiwork of that class of [. . .] literary craftsmen who are always ready for an odd job, and not too particular as to what it is. [. . .]

If her African friend and confidante had designed to hold [Mrs. Lincoln] up to ridicule and contempt it would not have been easy to hit upon a more effectual method than the publication of *Behind the Scenes* (“New Publications” [2]).¹⁶

Eight blocks from the New York Printing Company, which had manufactured *Behind the Scenes* for Carleton, was the ostensible National News Company, purportedly quartered at 21 & 23 Ann Street. The entire product of the not necessarily National News appears to consist of three items, all published in 1868.¹⁷ Two were burlesques of releases from Scribner and Carleton, respectively. As was typical of this form of humor, the take-offs spoofed the original titles and authors’ names; thus, *Gnaw-wood, or New England Life in a Village*, by “Henry W. B. Cher”; and, more churlishly, *Behind the Seams; by a Nigger Woman who Took in Work from Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Davis*, by “Betsey Kickley.” *Gnaw-wood* has received scant attention from Beecher scholars; *Behind the Seams* has evoked dismay and revulsion at the hatefulness of the text and, along with *Behind the Scenes*,

has been the subject of scholarly evaluation. Researchers and critics have long been confounded in tracing the authorship of *Behind the Seams* because of a typesetting error on the verso of the title page.

MYSTERY WRITER

In 1866 or 1867, Daniel Ottolengui, about thirty years of age, arrived in New York from his home city of Charleston, South Carolina. Charleston had provided abundant opportunities for a lad of the merchant class who was interested in literary arts or dabbled in greasepaint and footlights. Its Library Society had been founded in 1748; Russell's bookstore was the local "mecca of culture" in the 1850s (Stern 61). Poets and pundits published their works through small presses around town. Between 1800 and 1861, over fourteen hundred concerts, plays, and traveling acts were performed in Charleston auditoriums. As Daniel approached adulthood, a typical season might include engagements by Edwin Booth and Campbell's Minstrels, as well as local stock presentations. The theatre-goer of 1857–58 could see *Il Trovatore*, *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Macbeth*, and light fare such as *Irish Assurance and Yankee Modesty* (Hoole, *Ante-Bellum* 49, 147–48). Ottolengui, educated in the classical tradition at South Carolina College, had surely been exposed to an abundance of written works and theatrical diversions by the time he set out for New York.¹⁸

The Civil War and early Reconstruction took a shattering toll on the "cradle of secession." As journalist Robert Somers wrote in 1871, "Never had a completer ruin fallen on any city" (37). In the spring of 1865, freedmen from the countryside had flocked into Charleston, moving into the abandoned houses of white residents. Union officers governed, censoring newspapers and cooperating with the Freedmen's Bureau to control the public school system. And none other than Henry Ward Beecher had given the address in April at nearby Fort Sumter, upon its restoration to Federal control ("Fort Sumter. Raising"; "Fort Sumter. Restoration").

The recently widowed father of three young children, Ottolengui had departed this unsettled environment to seek work in New York. By February 1867, he had become a manager at The Hall, a lesser amusement spot around the block from the Worrell Sisters' playhouse.¹⁹ He may well have caught the first segment of *Norwood* in the *Ledger* in May, and read, or seen reviews of, Bret Harte's *Condensed Novels*—short sendups of well-known works, out from Carleton & Co. in October ("New Publications" [1]). By the time the Trow's 1868 city directory was compiled, Ottolengui was employed at a "segar" store at 860 Broadway, which, like the Hall, was within easy strolling distance of Brady's.²⁰ It happens that the cigar store was located at one of the hotels in which Mrs. Lincoln, under an assumed

name, stayed with Mrs. Keckley while negotiating arrangements for the wardrobe sale. From that hotel, the Union Place, Mrs. Lincoln penned her letters to Brady (Keckley 212).

The Union Place Hotel was a key activity point for nattering and news bulletins about the two secretive guests. According to Keckley's memoir, "Our trunks in the main hall below were examined daily, and curiosity was more keenly excited when the argus-eyed reporters for the press traced Mrs. Lincoln's name on the cover of one of her trunks" (212). If Ottolengui was working at this cigar store between early October and late November 1867, he was right in the heart of the Old Clothes Scandal.

In Charleston, Ottolengui had been a newspaper stringer, producer, lyricist, health officer, and clerk. Did he aspire to join the ranks of Pastor, promoter of blackface musicals and variety theatre; of Daly, producer, playwright, and director; of Blanchard, master publisher of abstruse criticism; or of Harte, re-draftsman extraordinaire of novels into burlesques? ²¹ Did he hope to parlay his newswriting background into a spot on a New York daily, or supply news feed on Mrs. Lincoln's and Mrs. Keckley's movements? Whatever his aims, he was awake to the popular reaction to *Norwood*, and to its byproducts, and was wholly conversant with *Behind the Scenes*.

Indeed, Daniel Ottolengui was the author of *both* of these texts—*Gnaw-wood* and *Behind the Seams*. In the latter, his name is incorrectly given as "Ottolengul." ²² This slip-up at the National News has frustrated researchers who have tried to trace the individual who crafted the hate-filled Keckley parody. Reinstating the "i," and consulting ephemeral and other sources, permits exploration of the life, mind, and impact of a writer whose attitudes were embedded in his Charleston origins and heritage but were not foreign to the New York literary, newspaper, and theatrical world.

WITTY WAG OR HATEFUL HUMORIST

Gnaw-wood starts with a sassy recasting of *Norwood*'s preface that is followed by roguish digests of Beecher's protracted passages. Ottolengui intentionally lets his summaries peter out, then jerks them alive with "But it is time to have some plot," and, a few pages later, "As I have before remarked, it is time to have some plot." He alters characters' names in purposely hackneyed fashion: Beers becomes "Lager"; Wentworth, "Wentforth"; Cathcart, "Cathwagon"; Heywood, "Strawwood." In all, *Gnaw-wood* may at first glance seem a cheeky trifle. Yet its components are those of literary burlesque as it was understood, according to Mark Twain scholar Franklin R. Rogers, by "19th-century practitioners of the art." Such writers saw the form as

a humorous imitation and exaggeration of the conventions [. . .] peculiar to a literary type or a particular play, short story, or poem [and] not necessarily the result of a critical appraisal and condemnation of another work or literary device. It may reflect instead [. . .] an aversion for the particular book in question, a personal animus for an author, an innocuous desire to be funny, or, strange as it may seem, a desire to learn by imitation (10).²³

Rogers continues,

A statement in *Vanity Fair* (the house-organ, so to speak, of the New York Bohemians, the group of young writers [including Mark Twain and Artemus Ward] who gathered in Pfaff's famous beer-cellar [at 653 Broadway] during the late 1850s and early 1860s, [and who] made literary burlesque their specialty [. . .]) indicates that, to some of the Pfaffians at least, burlesque was nothing more than a frivolous game: "We are [. . .] proving that everything is susceptible of being burlesqued" (10).²⁴

Excerpts from the prefaces of *Norwood* and *Gnaw-wood* are revealing:

Beecher's *Norwood*

" . . . I received Mr. Bonner's proposal to write a story for the *Ledger*. Had it been a request to carve a statue or build a man-of-war, the task would hardly have seemed less likely of accomplishment. . . .

"I reflected that . . . the life of a humble family . . . even if not told as skillfully as Wordsworth . . . or as minutely faithful[ly] as Crabbe . . . could hardly fail to win some interest. . . .

"By interesting my readers . . . in the ordinary experiences of daily life, . . . and by a certain largeness of moral feeling, I hoped to inspire a pleasure which, if it did not rise very high, might . . . continue the longer."

Ottolengui's *Gnaw-wood*

"I received a note from Mr. Bonheur, proprietor of Dexter and also of the New York *Sledger*. . . . If he had suggested that I should build an Iron Clad, or carve a statue of his friend Commodore Vanderbilt, I would have done it, although I know nothing about either business. . . .

"I do not pretend to write as well as Wordsworth, or Tupper, or Crabbe, or Augustin Daily [*sic*], or Artemus Ward, or Dickens, or Fanny Fern, nevertheless I'm some on a story, as well as on a sermon, at least Bonheur thinks so, he likes my style, 'he pays his money and he takes his choice.' . . .

"There is a certain largeness of moral feeling about the story, and a corresponding largeness of size about the book, considering the smallness of the plot."

Ottolengui demonstrates the burlesque norm of flinging in a French

witticism²⁵ and/or assumes his reader knows the works of painters Auguste and Rosa Bonheur; takes a swipe at Bonner's trotting-horse rivalry with Cornelius Vanderbilt; places Beecher in the realm of such didactic writers as Martin Farquhar Tupper; and shows that he is versed in popular social satirists and humorists.²⁶ His mentioning Ward shows that Ottolengui knew Ward's trademark to be deliberately flawed spelling and grammar. Notable also is Ottolengui's reference to Daly, playwright of *The Legend of "Norwood."* It appears that Ottolengui is out to demonstrate his competence at burlesque writing and to show Beecher as a humbug. As *Gnaw-wood* proceeds, however, the "aversion" and "personal animus" that Rogers notes begin to crystallize. One soon senses that Ottolengui deeply detests Henry Ward Beecher.

In *Gnaw-wood*, Ottolengui was warming up for *Behind the Seams*, in which Elizabeth Keckley transmutes to "Betsey Kickley."²⁷ Elizabeth Young, who has examined the structure of *Behind the Seams* as parody, concludes that *Behind the Scenes* was itself a parody before the parodist ever got his hands on it (146). Young focuses on Ottolengui's abilities in wordplay and sexual metaphor, but *Behind the Seams* is more than dalliance with quips, alliteration, and innuendo. As in *Gnaw-wood*, Ottolengui follows literary burlesque conventions (see Shepperson) by delivering a version of the target work involving mimicry and distortion of an author's style and the characters' idiosyncrasies. For example, Ottolengui extends the affectations of *Behind the Scenes* by having Kickley lob the occasional pseudo-sophisticated French expression such as "*mauvaise honte*" —literally, "false shame"; idiomatically, "bashfulness." Neither interpretation is flattering to Keckley/Kickley.

Ottolengui's choice of "Betsey," an unremarkable diminutive of "Elizabeth," may seem innocuous; but it demeans Keckley by presuming familiarity, further mocking the fact that Mary Lincoln, too, addressed Keckley by a common diminutive, "Lizzie," (which Keckley apparently found acceptable). "Betsey" was also a popular term for a gun; "kick," argot for the weapon's recoil. Ottolengui's Kickley is rough-mannered and shoots from the hip. Her vocabulary overflows with slang ("spondulix," "shinney around"). Kickley underscores Ottolengui's malice by referring to herself as "I, Betsey Kickley, nigger." On the last page, she "signs" the book as an illiterate person would have endorsed a document, with an "X," next to which an official would have written, for example, "John Doe, his mark." Ottolengui's version of the stock attestation is "Betsey Kickley (Nigger), her mark."

Behind the Seams has facets of a dramatic piece, including unstated but obvious pauses for laughter and applause. Ottolengui augments his theatre allusions by writing dialogue as if for a playscript, with the spoken lines

preceded by the character's name; and by tossing in stage directions such as "exeunt." *Behind the Seams*, however, traverses a variegated space from literary/theatrical burlesque to blackface. Indeed, Katherine Adams in 2001 noted that its author "'tries on' [Keckley's] voice in a kind of black face performance.[. . .] rescript[ing] her life for Vaudeville [. . .]" (76). The characteristics Adams identified further evoke the transgender associations of music hall genres, in which men regularly played women's roles. An oral reading of *Behind the Seams* shows that it could function as a performance piece to be spoken by a white man, Ottolengui, in the character of a black woman, "Betsey Kickley." Ottolengui thus becomes a female impersonator, known in the world of 1860s blackface minstrelsy as a *prima donna* (Bean 248–49).

The proposition that Ottolengui insinuates blackface female impersonation in *Behind the Seams* is reinforced through a piece by Charleston correspondent Alfred Brockenbrough Williams. Ottolengui returned to Charleston by the summer of 1870 and would forge a reputation there for spinning out shows in which men played women. At the Owens Academy of Music he would manage "The Ottolengui Combination," to which troupe Williams made reference in his article. Williams was one of four white men aboard the bark *Azor* when it sailed in 1878 from Charleston on a mission to resettle members of the American "surplus colored population" in Monrovia and Liberia ("Sailing"; "New Liberia"). Williams reported on a play he attended in Sierra Leone, "a farce entitled 'John Dobbs,' [in which] the actors were all black, the female parts being assumed by men (shades of Manager Ottolengui!)" (22).

CONFEDERATE SEPHARDIM

Daniel Ottolengui was a proud Southerner. He served as a private in the Charleston Guard of the South Carolina Militia during 1863.²⁸ His older brother Jacob trafficked in slaves.²⁹ Their father was a slave owner.³⁰ In 1861, Jacob had designated Daniel as liaison in a plan to assist their sister Sarah and her husband, "fully southern in heart and soul," to return from New York, where they had been at the outbreak of the war (Ottolengui to Davega). Daniel's first documented creative work in print was *The Soldier's Grave*, an ode to a fallen Confederate.³¹ In 1865, in the *New York Sunday Mercury*, Ottolengui published "The Blackbird," a stab at the laziness of freedmen; he plucked the meter and the blackness metaphor from Poe's "The Raven."³² Ottolengui's impudence nearly got the better of him when he ran afoul of General Sickles, Commander of the Second Military District (the Carolinas). His offense: writing a story for the *Courier* about a fight between U. S. troops and freedmen and titling it "Dog Eats Dog."³³

Daniel Ottolengui was also a Jew, the youngest child of Abraham and Sarah Ottolengui, and descended from one of Charleston's first Sephardic Jewish families. Abraham's father, Mordecai, sponsored a cornerstone for Congregation Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim's synagogue in 1792. Abraham served as congregation president for ten years and steered K. K. B. E.'s members through the controversy surrounding installation of an organ. When he died, in 1850, he left K. K. B. E. (also called Beth Elohim) \$1,500 to be used to aid the poor.³⁴ Jacob, the slave auctioneer, was also a doer of good. Active in the Hebrew Benevolent Society, he took on a grueling charitable role during the yellow fever epidemic of 1858. We have no evidence as to whether he aimed to save black Charlestonians from the disease.³⁵ Indicators of the strength and nature of Daniel's adherence to Jewish tradition in his youth or young adulthood are also obscure. Daniel married Helen Rodrigues, adopted daughter of Charleston dentist B. A. Rodrigues, in 1860 (Elzas 31); the ceremony was performed by Henry S. Jacobs, minister of Shearith Israel, the traditionalist congregation that had split off from Beth Elohim in 1840. Daniel and his brother Israel resigned from Beth Elohim in January 1861 for reasons that remain indistinct.³⁶

Slave ownership among Charleston Jews was proportionally equivalent to that among non-Jews. Jews fought for the Confederacy because the South was their land and they were loyal to it.³⁷ As to the Southern Jew's view of slavery in Ottolengui's day, Bertram Wallace Korn advises, "Except for the teachings of a very few rabbis like David Einhorn of Baltimore, Judaism in America had not yet adopted a "social justice" view of the responsibilities of Jews towards society" (*American Jewry* liii). Korn also quotes Savannah civic leader Solomon Cohen, who wrote in 1866, "I believe that [. . .] slavery was [. . .] the only human institution that could elevate the Negro from barbarism [. . .]" (1). It is apparent that Daniel Ottolengui embraced Cohen's sentiments and that Ottolengui's family evidently saw little conflict between holding or selling slaves and serving God and community through Jewish organizations.

The question of what Daniel Ottolengui expected to accomplish by writing *Gnaw-wood* and *Behind the Seams* must be considered in light of whether it is significant that he was a Southerner and a Jew. It is hardly surprising that Ottolengui would fix on authors who contested the white South's cherished ways. Whether Ottolengui harbored ill feeling toward Beecher because Beecher was a Christian minister is trickier to ascertain. Jews had lived in Charleston since the late seventeenth century, enjoyed religious and civil freedoms, and participating in most aspects of Charleston's white, predominantly Protestant, society.³⁸ But Ottolengui was attuned to injustices toward Jews in the U.S. and abroad and surely dis-

cerned that Beecher's agenda did not emphasize the problem of anti-Semitism (Clark 138–39, 150–51, 154).

Ottolengui likely also subscribed to the logic that Rabbi Morris Raphall promoted in a widely-distributed, controversial 1861 challenge to Beecher. Raphall maintained that nothing in the Bible condemned slavery (26, 28, 29). By the time Beecher arrived at Fort Sumter in 1865 to deliver his speech, Ottolengui must have sealed his scorn for the Brooklyn clergyman. By 1868, Ottolengui surely reveled in joining like-minded New York wits in lampooning Beecher's attempt at a novel and in unmasking Beecher as a hypocrite. For it could not have escaped Ottolengui's notice that Beecher had rendered Pete Sawmill as the bumbling, grinning Negro.

Ottolengui's response to the Keckley book trends more toward his Southern roots, although it must be emphasized that race hatred was not unique to the South.³⁹ Whites had been a minority in Charleston for much of the antebellum period. Bernard Powers notes the "congenital suspicion [. . .], hostility and fear" that Charleston's white residents felt toward free blacks and persons of mixed race (62, 64). Keckley did not live in Charleston, but she was a free female mulatto business owner. It is easy to conclude that she represented to Ottolengui the same threat as did the so-called "brown elite" (51) of Charleston. Others, however, figure in the tale, and their putative participation in creating *Behind the Scenes* shifts the spotlight from Keckley as the sole source of Ottolengui's provocation.

BEHIND THE SCENES AT CARLETON & CO.

As interest in the literary and historical expression of African American women advanced through the twentieth century, *Behind the Scenes* became the subject of literary criticism. Scholars continue to seek the voice of Keckley as a formerly enslaved person and African American female author; some have allowed a ghostwriter to hover in the near distance. In a 2003 article, the second of two in which she assesses *Behind the Scenes*, Barbara Ryan sweeps aside earlier Keckley analyses by evaluating *Behind the Scenes* as a window into Keckley and as a work that could have been ghostwritten/edited to serve someone else's purposes. By refusing to attribute the *text* to Keckley, Ryan elicits a breakthrough in Keckley studies and opens the way to understanding the reactive qualities of Ottolengui's *Behind the Seams*.

In 1935, an Associated Press news story spread the false impression that Lincoln researcher David Rankin Barbee, aided by V. Valta Parma of the Library of Congress, had discovered that Keckley was not a real person and that the white journalist and abolitionist Jane Grey Swisshelm had fabricated both Keckley and *Behind the Scenes*.⁴⁰ Sylvia Hoffert, writing in

2001, finds “no direct evidence” that the two women knew one another (22). The journalist Smith Fry reported in a 1901 article, “Lincoln Liked Her,” that Keckley told him she had “told her story to two newspapermen,” though Fry did not state any names. Frances Smith Foster, a principal scholar in Keckley studies, believes Keckley to be the true author but also examines the ways in which others could have assisted—or interfered.⁴¹

One potential Keckley advisor is Hamilton Busbey, who had served the Union in the First Kentucky Infantry. He had been an editor of the *Louisville Journal* for about a year before going to New York in 1865 to begin his career with *Turf, Field and Farm*; that paper’s glib review of *Norwood* has already been noted. In letters to David Barbee in 1935 and 1936, Busbey’s nephew, Ralph C. Busbey, maintained that he had heard his late uncle speak not only of interviewing Keckley but also of preparing the text of *Behind the Scenes* and, moreover, collecting the royalties. Ralph Busbey wrote to Barbee that he owned a copy of *Behind the Scenes*, autographed by Hamilton Busbey. Ralph Busbey emphasized that he could not corroborate Hamilton Busbey’s assertion of having prepared the Keckley text for Carleton but that he could state that Uncle Hamilton had made such a claim.⁴² Hamilton Busbey had all but done so in 1911, in *The Forum*: “[Keckley] had taken advantage of her position [. . .] to preserve personal letters. [. . .] I saw the letters and know that they were genuine.” He added, evidently with tongue in cheek, “It is difficult to say what would have happened had they fallen into the hands of a modern muckraker” (290).

John Washington’s 1942 study of Keckley presses for James Redpath as editor/ghostwriter. Redpath, whom Foster, with reservations, deems “a likely suspect” (Keckley li) was an ardent abolitionist and, like Busbey, a journalist. Through Washington’s work, we again have plausible but hand-me-down evidence regarding a ghostwriter or recorder. Around the time the Barbee/Swisshelm article was circulating, Washington interviewed Hannah Brooks (1842–1936). Her aunt had rented rooms to a primarily African American clientele at 543 Broome Street, New York, where, according to Brooks, Keckley resided during the last quarter of 1867. Brooks was working there during that period, or so she recalled. In a June 1938 letter to John Washington, Brooks’s daughter Mamie restated the reminiscences her mother had given orally to Washington in Mamie’s presence. Hannah Brooks—posthumously, through Mamie’s letter—told Washington that “every morning, many white men,” but “no white women” (thus indicating that there were more than two men, the number Keckley reputedly gave Fry, and also ruling out Swisshelm, a woman)

would come to see [Keckley . . .] about the writings. One man by the

name of Redpath would spend several hours every evening with her. Everybody in the house knew that Mrs. Keckley was writing a book on Mrs. Lincoln and that Mr. Redpath was helping her compile it. [. . .] He would take down her story each evening. [. . .] I was constantly in and out of the room, taking ice water, etc. [. . .] (235–36).

Even if Ottolengui had never met Busbey or Redpath, idle talk at the “segar” counter, or at The Hall, about the upcoming “White House revelations” could easily have involved hearsay about Carleton’s methods in bringing about *Behind the Scenes*. Ottolengui, himself a newswriter, was probably aware of the Louisville *Journal*’s antislavery position. The idea that Busbey, late of the *Journal*, was involved in *Behind the Scenes* could have irritated Ottolengui, but more poisonous would have been the thought that Redpath could have been an operative.

Although Hamilton Busbey signaled that he was responsible for *Behind the Scenes*, and Redpath apparently did not, Redpath, who wrote for Horace Greeley’s abolitionist *New York Tribune*, published a compendium of slave narratives in 1859 titled *The Roving Editor: Talks with Slaves in the Southern States*.⁴³ Redpath had spent time in Charleston both while on his mission to record slaves’ stories and as a military correspondent, a capacity that allowed him to file the first report to the North of the capture of Charleston, according to biographer Charles Horner (112).

On top of this, Redpath was from February to September 1865 superintendent of public education in Charleston, where he ensured enrollment of African American students in the previously all-white schools. The *Freedmen’s Record* and the *New York Times* published his reports.⁴⁴ When he was honorably relieved of his duties, black citizens of Charleston prepared a testimonial, published in the *Courier* (Jackson 18–20; Taylor 325–27; “Testimonial”). As the racist father of three young children not yet of school age, Ottolengui would certainly have been concerned about, if not enraged by, Redpath’s rapid integration of the Charleston schools.

Robert Rosen observes that hatred of Lincoln in South Carolina was so intense that “Charleston book shops closed their accounts with *Harper’s Weekly* and *Harper’s Magazine* because these periodicals had published a portrait and a biography of Lincoln” (*Confederate Charleston* 38). Brandishing a South Carolinian’s intense negative feeling toward Redpath and Beecher as representative of abolitionist ideals was Sue Sparks Keitt. Her husband, South Carolina Congressman Laurence Massillon Keitt, had been an accessory to the 1856 caning of Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner.⁴⁵ Sue Keitt wrote to a Northern friend on March 4, 1861,

Hang all your [James] Redpaths, [William Lloyd] Garrisons, [Horace] Greelys and [Henry] Ward Beechers. Incarcerate your Gerrit Smiths.

Unite your [Charles] Sumners and [William] Stewards to Ebony spouses and send them . . . to Timbuctoo and Ashantee. . . [A]ttach the death penalty to all future agitation of the slavery question (Herd 87).⁴⁶

Although it follows that Ottolengui might bristle at the notion of Redpath or Busbey's involvement in the Keckley book, there is another possible take on Ottolengui's approach to his material. Depending on how sharply Ottolengui perceived the shadier workings of New York publishing, and on whether he knew or suspected that Busbey was the ghostwriter, Ottolengui might have imagined himself to be sharing a joke with Busbey and Carleton. He could have been expanding on a presupposition, or even direct knowledge, that Busbey judged Keckley a fool for having shown Carleton, or his underling, her letters from Mrs. Lincoln⁴⁷ and for having contracted with Carleton & Co. to publish *Behind the Scenes*.⁴⁸

Carleton had a dodgy reputation with authors. In an 1868 letter, Mark Twain, whose work Carleton had, admittedly, turned down, had called the publisher a "Son of a Bitch": Twain's initial capitals stress the point. Twain also implied that Carleton would soon enough "swindle" Bret Harte (*qtd. in* Rogers 18 and Nissen 83), who was already aghast over the "vulgar" drawings with which Carleton & Co. had illustrated Harte's *Condensed Novels* in 1867 (Nissen 83–84). If Carleton was using Keckley as a moneymaker in his mirth mill, why not, Ottolengui perhaps reasoned, join the fun by creating a work that rendered *Behind the Scenes* a consummate absurdity? Ottolengui's use of "Betsey Kickley (Nigger): Her Mark," not only suggests Keckley's illiteracy and ignorance. It plays on one of George Carleton's well-known insignias: a crest displaying the contrived archaic legend "CARLETON : hys Marke."⁴⁹

"A JEW"

Gnaw-wood and *Behind the Seams* settled into obscurity, the former to be cited in passing in later works on Beecher, the latter to surface via a knavish 1945 reprint, to be discussed presently, and through subsequent heightened interest in Keckley. Jennifer Fleischner, a Keckley scholar who describes *Behind the Seams* as "ugly and viciously racist," grants that even though "[g]enteel reviewers would not have been so crude," they "shared the parodist's sentiments" (317). That Ottolengui reflected the outlook of Southern whites, and probably of many Northerners as well, is apparent. The extent of Ottolengui's involvement in the Jewish community, and his speaking or writing from a Jewish perspective on matters not directly related to *Norwood* or *Behind the Scenes*, must now be contemplated.

Whether Ottolengui took part in Jewish religious life in New York

remains unknown. When he returned to Charleston in 1870, he did not rejoin Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim, whose membership had since 1866 included the dissidents who had left Shearith Israel. The organ at K. K. B. E. had been destroyed during the War, and a new one was needed. There is no record of Ottolengui's feelings on the controversy over organs in Jewish worship, but he did mount a production of the classic 1830s John Baldwin Buckstone comedy, *Married Life*, in 1871 to benefit the congregation's organ fund. For this effort he received a letter of thanks from the congregation for his "indefatigable and untiring exertions" (Levin to Ottolengui). His later repertoire at the Academy of Music included, in 1878, scenes from the 1862 Augustin Daly play, *Leah, the Forsaken*, based on the Biblical story of Deborah (Pagès 527). These theatrical endeavors represent indeterminate ties to Charleston's Jewish culture.

Of greater interest is an anonymous letter that appeared in the *Charleston Daily Courier*, after the 1856 expulsion from Switzerland of A. H. Gootman. In 1855, the United States had ratified a treaty with Switzerland, even though the U.S. recognized that certain Swiss cantons excluded Jews from living or doing business within their boundaries. Gootman, an American citizen, was required to leave Switzerland because he was Jewish. K. K. B. E.'s minister, Maurice Mayer, wrote to the *Courier* in the summer of 1857, calling for Jews and Christians to protest the conditions of the treaty. The *Courier* printed a reader's response, signed "A Jew." That person urged the American government to take a hands-off approach:

We will suppose that a Swiss citizen (a negro, a mulatto) comes to the port of Charleston in a foreign vessel, and [. . .] is not permitted to land at all. Can the Swiss Government [. . .] change this law [forbidding entry]? No. And why? Because our Federal Government has the [lawmaking] power in her own hands. So it is with the Cantons of Switzerland ("Treaty").⁵⁰

Also in 1857, a group calling itself "The Israelites of Charleston, S.C." published a memorial (a memorandum). Addressed to President Buchanan, the memorial, unlike the letter from "A Jew," expressed consternation with the treaty, "sanctioning as it does, and legalizing all disabilities and medieval annoyances to which the Federal as well as Cantonal Governments of Switzerland may, in accordance with *their* laws, subject the Israelites of the United States" (*Memorial 2*).

The following year, Charleston Jews joined their American coreligionists in expressing outrage over the kidnapping, by Papal authorities, of the Italian Jewish child Edgardo Mortara, who was taken from his family to be raised as a Roman Catholic. On this issue, twenty-two-year-old Daniel Ottolengui addressed the Hebrew Benevolent Society of Charleston in

December 1858. In *The American Reaction to the Mortara Case*, Korn notes that Charleston Jews' declarations

were different from others [made by Jewish groups] only in that they [. . .] asked for no official protest by the American government. That this was not a careless omission was indicated by Daniel Ottolengui's speech on the subject [. . .]. Ottolengui castigated the

[. . .] "Pontifical kidnapper"; but he spoke not a word on the desirability of official American action. [. . .] The Charleston Jews [. . .] were isolationist and cautious of any hint of interference with local institutions anywhere (44–45).

But the Charleston Jews who had endorsed the 1857 memorial had not been "isolationist and cautious." Ottolengui, in person, and "A Jew," in the *Courier*, set themselves apart from this group by sharing the careful posture of Southerners who feared that criticism of foreign powers' internal policies toward Jews would draw negative international attention to the institution of slavery and possibly also to Jews as slave owners and traders. Ottolengui referred to the Pope as "the bigot high priest" of the Vatican, but portrayed the Mortara case as an issue to be tried in the international court of public opinion: "We do not consider the question as a religious one. [. . .] Let Jew and gentile, and all sexes and creeds join in heart and voice, and cry out [. . .] against an act which degrades human nature and arrests the progress of civilization."⁵¹ Anyone, including a newspaper editor, can sign a letter "A Jew"; yet the similarity of tone and rationale to Ottolengui's 1858 exhortations warrants embracing the possibility that Ottolengui was "A Jew."

A document published a decade later, and also signed "A Jew," now comes into view. The National News Company, it will be recalled, produced, in addition to *Gnaw-wood* and *Behind the Seams*, one other publication in 1868. It is not witty. It lacks rascally bite. It is bitter. Its title is *General Grant and the Jews*, and the copyright was registered in the Southern District of New York on 17 June 1868 to "Ph. von Bort." In the form of a letter to Ulysses S. Grant, then a candidate for President of the United States, it is an outburst over Grant's General Orders No. 11, the 1862 document evicting Jews "as a class" from the war zone known as the Department of the Tennessee. *General Grant and the Jews* calls for American Jews to defeat Grant in the upcoming election. It finishes with a typeset signature that includes a sneering adverb: "Yours, obediently, A JEW."

In his treatment of Grant's orders in *American Jewry and the Civil War*, Korn briefly highlights *General Grant and the Jews*, arguing that sectional differences mitigated against a unified Jewish effort to thwart Grant

(134, 138).⁵² He concludes that von Bort did not speak for American Jewry when he vowed that Jews would remember Grant's 1862 decree and vote against Grant in a united bloc. But who was von Bort? Census and city directory searches have so far yielded no results. "Ph.," unlike "Jno." or "Jas.," is not a standard nineteenth-century abbreviation for a male first name.⁵³ But because copyright to two of the three demonstrable products of the National News Company was registered to Ottolengui, a Jew, and because the likelihood of Ottolengui's having published a letter as "A Jew" is under consideration here, at the risk of dismissing the possibility that Ph. von Bort was a real person, or another's persona, I propose that Ottolengui might have created the pen name Ph. von Bort and was the author of *General Grant and the Jews*.

Consistent with the pattern in "Henry W. B. Cher," "A Nigger Woman," and "Betsey Kickley," "Ph. von Bort" appears to play back into "A Jew," with an acid tang and a Confederate twist. It resembles Heros von Borcke, the name of the Prussian lieutenant who arrived in Charleston in 1862 and became an aide to Maj. Gen. J. E. B. Stuart. J. B. Lippincott in 1867 had published Von Borcke's *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence*.⁵⁴ This is a work that Ottolengui would have been eager to read, with von Borcke's mantle a fine complement to Ottolengui's pseudonym wardrobe. Further, "Ph." and "Bort" may derive from Hebrew letters: "Ph." from the common transliteration of Fe (ä): "mouth," and by extension, "word" or "voice"; and "Bort" from Bet (á: b), Resh (ø: r) Tav (ú: t), which consonants essentially form *brit*, (áþéú) or covenant; and which I take to connote the chosen people of the Mosaic Covenant at Sinai: the Jews. Retaining "von" (of) allows "word of the Covenant," or "voice of 'A Jew.'" The author's Hebrew code, if such it is, conceals his identity while confirming, to himself, his Jewishness.⁵⁵

General Grant and the Jews is rife with resentment not merely of Grant's perceived anti-Semitism. A sardonic passage, enhanced by exclamation points, hints further at a Southern author: "You became the great instrument in the hands of Providence, which overthrew the rebellion! It was you who conducted that fratricidal war to a glorious end! You are the hero whom history will know as the man who swept the accursed institution of slavery forever from the free and blessed soil of this continent!" (6). Von Bort goes on to disparage Grant for exhibiting "the stupefaction of an habitual profligate" and brands him a liar "who [uses] his language only to conceal his thoughts" (7).

Just as anyone could call himself or herself "A Jew," so could anyone call Grant a liar. But Ottolengui, in the early 1860s, was already at work on that task, reconfiguring the popular Scottish ballad/music hall song "The Cork Leg"⁵⁶ into a new work, "The Lying Machine." Ottolengui wrote that

it was “[c]omposed during the early portion of the war, when . . . the official dispatches of the Federal generals were often founded on falsehood.” The story-poem includes such lines as “Though Grant and Stanton can lie by the ream” and has Grant, and Lincoln’s Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, bellow, “We can each tell a thousand [lies] a minute at least.” Ottolengui’s doggerel informs us that he had at least once set pen to paper on the subject of Grant’s mendacity. The case for Ottolengui’s authorship of General Grant and the Jews may eventually be controverted, but there is sufficient evidence not to close it yet.⁵⁷

THE OTTOLENGUI LEGACY

Ottolengui returned from Charleston to New York in the 1880s. All three of his children were there as well. Rodrigues later pioneered advanced techniques in orthodontia and became a crime novelist of some renown, as well as an advocate for bicycle paths in Central Park (“Dr. Ottolengui”; “For Park”). Rodrigues was also librarian and curator of the entomology department of the Brooklyn Institute (“Saratoga”). He led a movement to found a society of free-thinkers, the aim of which was to develop “a doctrine of life devoid of tenet or creed” (“A Buddhist Society”). Rodrigues was married in an Episcopal church to May Cameron Hall in 1890 (“Saratoga”). Daniel Ottolengui is listed in the Brooklyn city directories of the late 1880s at Rodrigues’s address. His profession is given as “elocutionist,” as it had been in the federal census of 1880, when he was still living in Charleston with his children and brother Jacob.

Lee Ottolengui managed various theatres, including the Amphion in Brooklyn. He sometimes also used the initial of his first name, Israel. He married Lillian Rush, the daughter of Brooklyn educator Edward Rush. Lillian, who had been a church worker, died in 1914 (“Obituary Notes”). Lee was later married to Elise Bloch. Daniel’s daughter Helen took light ingénue roles in romantic comedies (“Notes of the Stage”; “Plays”). She married Arthur Hirsch, who became a buyer in the jewelry business; whether Helen and Arthur were members of a Jewish congregation is still to be discovered. Helen, active in Brooklyn civic projects, served on committees with Guilfoyles, Rooneys, Popes, and Schumanns, perhaps a reflection of her propensity to participate in a diverse (white) Brooklyn rather than identifying overtly with the burgeoning Jewish community.⁵⁸ Any strong Jewish, or Southern, identity in the family had probably diminished by the time Daniel’s children reached adulthood. When Daniel Ottolengui died, in 1918, his ashes were interred next to the remains of his wife, Helen, in Charleston’s Magnolia Cemetery. Why Helen and Daniel were not laid to rest in Coming Street Cemetery, the Jewish burial ground, is unclear.⁵⁹

Back in Charleston, Ottolengui kept a foot in the performance halls and was a regular in the chess scene. Later, as a Brooklynite, he continued to participate in tournaments (“Chess Intelligence”; “Over the Chess Board”). Chess is a quiet game. Perhaps his children were glad of that. What one would not give, though, for Ottolengui’s thoughts on the lecture bureau that James Redpath formed in 1868, with Henry Ward Beecher as a lead talent; on Grant’s 1870 appointment of Benjamin Peixotto, Grand Master of B’nai B’rith, as U. S. Consul to Bucharest to press for an end to the Romanian pogroms; on the Beecher adultery scandal, gearing up in 1874; on the arrival in Brooklyn in 1897 of the Rev. Edgardo Levi Mortara, now a Catholic priest, and the reports in the *New York Times* that December, attesting to Mortara’s having “left his home of his own free will at the age of seven years to adopt the Christian faith”; or on the selection of Keckley’s memoir to be displayed at the 1901 Paris Exposition among representative works of African American authors.⁶⁰

In the Ottolengui line, the racially-charged comic touch did not die with Daniel. His great-nephew was Octavus Roy Cohen (1892–1957), the creator of Florian Slappey, a “sepia gentleman” of Birmingham, Alabama and, though a stereotype, one of crime fiction’s first black detectives. In Cohen’s lifetime, Ottolengui’s work came to light in 1945, when Manhattan Americana dealer Charles P. Everitt issued a run of two hundred reprints of *Behind the Seams*. The new edition carried a preface by “A. Lincoln Fann,” who refers dryly to “Ottolengul” as a “gentleman of New York State literary circles.” The pseudonymous punster has more than a little in common with Everitt, demonstrating knowledge of the rare book trade and of defying copyright infringement, and makes recurrent use of parentheses (a habit of Everitt’s). The *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly*, announcing Everitt’s 1945 offering, observed, “The intriguing pseudonym of ‘D. Ottolengul’ remains as mysterious as ever” (“News and Comment”).⁶¹ The unsubtle alias “A. Lincoln Fann,” however, may no longer be so mysterious.

It may be that Ottolengui’s humor was more closely knotted into popular trends of the urban Northeast, as “Fann”/Everitt implies, than it was to the Southern comic traditions of, for example, George Washington Harris and his shambling “Nat’ral Born Durn’d Fool,” Sut Lovingood. If so, Ottolengui’s work still resists classification as Jewish humor and performance art, having come from the soul of a Southern Sephardi before the Yiddish theatre and press were cultural fixtures in New York and when Italian, German, and Irish immigrants presided in east coast thespian spheres. On the subject of classifying Jewish humor of any kind, Stephen J. Whitfield admonishes: “So numerous are the complications that anyone foolish enough to generalize on the topic of American Jewish humor must march past the bleached bones of earlier analysts who perished in the attempt”

(“Distinctiveness” 247).⁶² Ottolengui defies categorization as a Jewish humorist not only because such an effort poses the risk of tripping over the washed-out skeletons of which Whitfield has warned, but also because Ottolengui’s sense of what was funny, from a Jewish slant, derives from a period that offers limited data for control or comparison. But Whitfield strikes a hopeful note when he describes the joke books and show business autobiographies that function as “artifacts of mass culture” in the study of Jewish humor (“Distinctiveness” 248). Perhaps Ottolengui’s work will find a place in this gallery.

In “Jules Feiffer and the Comedy of Disenchantment,” Whitfield observes that “what helps make life bearable is the exposition of its incongruities in comic modes” (180). To Ottolengui, it must have seemed inconceivable that Henry Ward Beecher could sell a novel or that Elizabeth Keckley’s memoir could make it into bookstalls. The comic mode he chose in elucidating these absurdities was burlesque, a vernacular of mid-nineteenth-century popular culture. Perhaps for Ottolengui, writing *Gnaw-wood* and *Behind the Seams* was therapeutic and helped him through the miseries of war, the death of his young wife, and separation from his children, whom he had likely left with relatives in Charleston while he was in New York. When he stood before the Hebrew Benevolent Society to express himself on the Mortara Case in 1858, he was yet untouched by these adversities. When he wrote “The Lying Machine” early in the war, he put Grant and his military peers in the category of the incongruous. If he did write *General Grant and the Jews*, then by 1868 he had come to view Grant’s bid for the presidency not as an incongruity but as an affront, worthy of invective, not jest. And if *General Grant and the Jews* was indeed the product of his pen, then it is worth noting that he did not include his real name anywhere in the document.

The known extent of Ottolengui’s output is laced with hatred, anger, and racism. But by having crafted the harshly comic retellings of *Norwood* and *Behind the Scenes*, Ottolengui provides us insight into his aggrieved mindset. His burlesques can be viewed as marginal, uncouth exercises in imitating this already imitative form; or as potent elements in historical, literary, theatrical, social, and religious trends of the decades on either side of the Civil War, from the perspective of a Southern Jewish man whose worldview was bred both below and above the Mason-Dixon Line.⁶³

NOTES

1. For an early history of the firm, see Delaney.
2. The concluding installment in the *Ledger* was published November 11, 1867, and was announced in a classified advertisement that ran *in triplicate* that day on page 5 of the *New York Times* (“Miscellaneous”). The first (1867) U.S. reprinting of the story from the *Ledger* in book form appears to have been handled by Fords, Howard & Hulbert and in London by Sampson Low & Co.
3. Both reviews appear in the 1867 *Times* advertisement “Henry Ward Beecher’s Story.” Bonner was known for running full-page advertisements in other newspapers to promote the *Ledger*. See Admari 178.
4. According to Randolph Lewis in the Texas Historical Association’s *Handbook of Texas Online*, Flake was a Unionist living in Galveston. He was reputedly also a slaveholder.
5. Scholarly treatments include Henry Nash Smith’s “A Textbook of the Genteel Tradition” in his *Democracy and the Novel*, 56–74 and McLoughlin’s *The Meaning of Henry Ward Beecher* the central theme of which is the manner in which Beecher’s philosophy and theology are captured in *Norwood*. Also see Clark 182, 183, 188–89.
6. Dulany’s listing in the Buffalo City Directory for 1869: “Dulany, William. T., saloon, h[ome] 100 Exchange.” Dulany’s “comedy, already written from prologue to catastrophe,” is highlighted in “Minor Topics,” whose author opined that “as but a few of the chapters of *Norwood* have as yet been printed, and as the final disposition of the characters of the story is yet unknown, the present feat takes rank as a literary phenomenon of the first order.” I have yet to locate a script of or other documentation associated with Dulany’s work.
7. See “Amusements: New York Theatre—Norwood.” On Beecher’s public anti-theatre stance, in contrast to his willingness to have *Norwood* dramatized, see Felheim. For commentary on the upset the play caused at Beecher’s church, see “Plymouth Church.”
8. “An Immense Hit! The Triumph of the Season!” bawled Hooley’s front page ad in the December 20, 1867 *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. The *Eagle*’s review column predicted a “long and prosperous run,” and well it might: the paper’s city editor, Joseph Howard, Jr., who had served as agent between Beecher and Daly for the melodrama, had hijacked Daly’s script and worked up the comedic version himself. See “Amusements: Hooley’s Minstrels” and “Amusements: Hooley’s New Opera House” for December 6 and 16, 1867. Howard impenitently recorded this deed in his 1887 biography of Henry Ward Beecher (401–02).
9. Keckley is sometimes referred to as a mantua maker, which is

perhaps a more apt term in her case; it implies a high degree of design expertise. See Powers 106.

10. On the *Eagle's* Civil War-era political stance and attitude toward Beecher, secession, and slavery, see Schroth 59–68. The internal quotation is a reference to the Collect or Prayer for All Conditions of Men in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

11. In “The Sale of Mrs. Lincoln’s Wardrobe” the *Eagle* gives an inventory, with values, of articles to be sold and reprints some of Mary Todd Lincoln’s letters to Brady, justifying this on the basis of the fact that the letters had appeared in the *Tribune*, a paper sympathetic to Abraham Lincoln.

12. Blanchard was the proclaimed author of two of these: *The Art of Real Pleasure* (1864) and *A Crisis Chapter on Government* (1865), in which he appropriated, among others, the following designation: “Head Member of the Society for Abolishing Utopia, and Humbug, and Failure” (4). His office was located at 23 Ann Street at the time. The New York City directory for 1868 (probably prepared in 1867) lists Blanchard at 26 Ann Street. Blanchard died at age 60 in Greenville, S. C., in January 1868, before Ottolengui published his small books. (“Topics of To-Day.” Also see Sargent.)

13. See especially “New Books this Morning,” classified advertisement in the *New York Times* for May 30, 1868. Frances Smith Foster includes the *New York Commercial Advertiser's* “Literary Thunderbolt” advertisement for April 18, 1868 in her edition of Keckley’s book (lvi).

14. A letter of April 25, 1842 from “Lizzy” (Elizabeth Keckley) to Fanny Burwell in the Burwell-Catlett Papers, Department of Special Collections, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary, shows Keckley to have written in correct, straightforward prose, with only minor punctuation lapses. Fleischner (182) includes an image of this letter. Fleischner has concluded that Keckley commonly spelled her surname “Keckly.” I respect Fleischner’s observation, but I have elected to retain the “ey” ending when spelling Keckley’s name in this paper. Note also that the printed letters from Mary Todd Lincoln in the Keckley book are to “Lizzie.” Also see Keckley, “An Appeal” and “Anniversary”; the latter notes, “Received of Mrs. President Lincoln, 15 boxes of clothing and \$10 worth of groceries.” In connection with Mrs. Lincoln’s support of the Association, also see Keckley, *Behind the Scenes* 114.

15. On Keckley’s judgment in making the letters from Mrs. Lincoln available to her editor/ghostwriter, see Ryan, “Kitchen Testimony” 150–51. Also see “New Publications” [3].

16. In a similar vein is “Literary Notices.” See also [Review 1—No

Title], *The Old Guard* and “Table-Talk.” For a more favorable review, see “Books of the Month.”

17. Per a WorldCat search of July 22, 2016; uncatalogued National News Co. ephemera may exist, but I have discovered none. The National News, if such it was, was not listed in either the 1867 or 1868 New York City directories. It does appear in the 1869 edition (data likely compiled in 1868) at the Ann Street address, which also housed the American News Company, a major distributor of newspapers and periodicals. See “American News Company Up to Date” and Wadsworth 111–12. The National News, in 1868, may have functioned as a subsidiary of the American News Company, with a printing press on site or available for small jobs, and/or was perhaps a short-lived imprint thereof, possibly requested by Ottolengui for his express use. In any case, Ottolengui’s press/publisher may at some point have shared at least a corridor with the eccentric Calvin Blanchard, and the tenants and clients could have interacted with one another. If Ottolengui met Blanchard there, however, such a meeting would have taken place no later than December 1867.

18. The all-male College was precursor to the University of South Carolina. In the 1850s, according to Hollis, a typical graduate “shouted defiance at the Yankee”; many alumni embarked on a combined legal and political career in the state (259–60). For entry requirements, curriculum, and evidence of Ottolengui’s enrollment, see South Carolina College Catalogues for 1854 (14, 17–19) and 1855 (13, 18–20); for the social, religious, political, and intellectual environment in the 1850s, see Hollis 142–211.

19. It is not clear whether he was the house manager or the manager/director of a troupe and/or of one or more individual productions. An admission pass for guests, pre-printed with “D. Ottolengui, Manager,” is in the B. A. Rodrigues Ottolengui Scrapbook.

20. Ottolengui’s entry in the 1868 New York City Directory (796) reads, “Ottolengui, Daniel, segars, 860 B’wy,” and lists Ottolengui’s residence as “124 E. 52nd.”

21. Harte’s “*The Condensed Novels* [. . . was] immediately recognized in both the United States and England as the high point of the burlesque-novel movement” (Rogers 17).

22. Typesetting and spelling errors, and questions of authorship, are salient factors in this study. Copyright to *Gnaw-wood* was registered to D. Ottolengui in the Southern District of New York on March 25, 1868. Copyright to *Behind the Seams* was registered to D. Ottolengui in the Southern District of New York on April 22, 1868, but his name is given as Daniel *Ottolengul* on the verso of the title page of the published work (District Court Record Books, Rare Book and Special Collections Division,

Library of Congress). This substitution of “l” for “i” was carried along in cataloging records for *Behind the Seams* after 1912, when the book was first added to the Library of Congress catalog. The 1868 typesetting error has until recently interfered with scholars’ ability to trace the parodist (Young, 339 n70). Daniel Ottolengui is the only individual with the surname Ottolengui, and the first initial “D” I have found listed in any official record during Daniel Ottolengui’s lifetime. See notes 28 and 31.

23. Although there are many fine distinctions between parody and burlesque, mid-to-late Victorian humorists often used the terms interchangeably; I will therefore do the same in this paper. See Blair 236 n1 and Dentith 6.

24. The *Saturday Press* was the other “house organ.”

25. See Rogers, 23. Rogers here also mentions a slightly different humor technique, the “consciously inappropriate use of [. . .] foreign expressions.”

26. The horse Dexter was a celebrated trotter owned by Bonner. Fanny Fern was a regular contributor to Bonner’s *Ledger* and at one point was one of Bonner’s highest-paid authors. See Admari 178.

27. One possible reason scholars have paid more attention to *Behind the Seams* than to *Gnaw-wood* is that, unlike the circumstances associated with *Norwood*, there seem to have been no other period efforts (beyond the many dismissive press reviews) to hold *Behind the Scenes* up to calculated ridicule.

28. Common misspellings/variants of Ottolengui were “Ottolingui,” “Ottolingue,” “Ottolanghi,” and “Ottolenghi.” A Private “D. Ottolingui” served in the Charleston Guard of the South Carolina Militia from July 10, 1863 until his discharge by the Regimental Surgeon on September 26, 1863. The remarks of the copyist who completed the record of “D. Ottolingui” also misspelled “organization” (dropping the second “i”) (*Service Records* reel 147). Charleston came under siege in the spring of 1863, hence Daniel’s enlistment that year. I have located no other men of military service age in South Carolina during this period who had the surname of Ottolengui or its variants and a first name beginning with “D.” I thus conclude that “D. Ottolengui” was Daniel Ottolengui. See notes 22 and 31.

29. A classified advertisement of January 1, 1857 in the *Charleston Daily Courier* for an “Estate Sale” of “Valuable Negros” apparently ran at least once again, two days later (Hagy 98). We have no evidence that Daniel himself owned slaves. Census data show that as a young man he tended to board in rooming houses and, after his marriage to Helen Rodrigues, with his in-laws. He did not operate a household, a plantation, or a business in which it would be expected that he would own slaves.

30. Abraham Ottolengui's will states that his widow may select four of his slaves "in consideration of her relinquishing her dower."

31. See notes 22 and 28.

32. Ottolengui's was not the only *Raven* takeoff; further, Poe wrote his own share of comic pieces (Galloway 7–22). A holograph of "The Blackbird" is in the B. A. Rodrigues Ottolengui Scrapbook.

33. Sickles reportedly threatened Ottolengui with "time in Castle Pinckney (then popularly known as the Bastille)" if he did not write an apology (*Centennial Edition* 19). Sickles ensured that the so-called Black Codes, which would strip freedmen of their rights, would not be passed. He was a colorful character and a principal in the 1859 Sickles-Key case: Sickles shot his wife's lover, the son of Francis Scott Key, in Washington, D.C.

34. See Hagy 266 n96.

35. Jacob Ottolengui's efforts during the epidemic were acknowledged by S. Valentine, President, at the Hebrew Benevolent Society meeting of December 22, 1858. A transcription of the proceedings can be found in "Hebrew Benevolent"; Valentine's thanks to Jacob Ottolengui appear on pages 572 and 573.

36. Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim, Records, ledger 1848–1861, 319, mss. no. 1047-20-3. It is possible that Helen, although raised by a Jewish family, was not ethnically Jewish.

37. On "Jewish Johnny Rebs," see Rosen 112, 116, 121.

38. At least one Ottolengui had converted to Christianity before coming to America. Joseph Ottolengui or Ottolenghi, born in Italy, emigrated to London and became an Anglican "missionary to the negroes" in Savannah in the mid-eighteenth century. I have not yet discovered how this was viewed within Daniel Ottolengui's family (Hühner 10: 91, 93).

39. Beecher had not persuaded all potential Union soldiers that blacks and whites were equal. Beecher's half-brother warned him in 1862 "that the day you succeed in writing your magnificent principles on our national banner, . . . the men [of rural New York] will say, 'We ain't going to fight for the niggers'" (Thomas K. Beecher to H. W. Beecher, August 10, 1862; *qtd. in* Clark 154). On Southern Jews as "whites," see for example Rogoff.

40. See "Bizarre Lincoln Story is Traced." The Rev. James Henry Stansil of Buffalo had republished *Behind the Scenes* in 1931 in tribute to Keckley's memory, according to Brooks-Bertram, with whom I have corresponded extensively on the matter of Stansil and the Keckley book. The "evidence" of Swisshelm's authorship consisted mainly of the statement on the verso of the title page, indicating that copyright had been registered in the "Southern District of Pennsylvania." Swisshelm was from Pennsylvania. V. Valta Parma, Curator of the Rare Book Collection at the

Library of Congress, was quoted in the November 11th *Star* article as having hailed “the discovery of the Swisshelm connection as ‘a truly significant contribution to Lincolniana.’” (Parma’s name is incorrectly given in the article as “V. Vola Parma.”) In a letter that the *Star* edited heavily, and published on November 26, 1935, Barbee wrote that although he believed Swisshelm to have been the book’s author, he did not deny the existence of Keckley and thought it would be “a thrilling discovery” if it could be proved that a slave woman had been the author of “one of the most remarkable books in American literature” (“Writer Explains Error”). Barbee knew perfectly well that Elizabeth Keckley had existed. In his folder on the subject of the true authorship of *Behind the Scenes* is a transcription, with an annotation in his own hand, of an excerpt from an article in the April 23, 1862 *Ohio State Journal* praising the “artistic elegance” of the gowns fashioned by “Lizzie” for Mrs. Lincoln (Barbee Papers, Series 1, Box 1). Jennifer Fleischner dismisses Barbee as a “self-proclaimed ‘unreconstructed Southerner’ and Lincoln hater” (324). In an internal memorandum of January 6, 1936, Parma took credit for the revelation of Swisshelm’s supposed role: “The discussion in the Press regarding the authorship of *Behind the Scenes* was initiated by me,” he wrote to the Chief of the Secretary’s Office. “As yet,” he continued, “no direct evidence has been turned up that connects Mrs. Keckley with the book.” The Office of the Chief Assistant Librarian of Congress had on December 4, 1935, requested a search of records for the Court of the Southern District of Pennsylvania. The request met this reply: “Copyright office has no record of Southern Dist. of Penna., however no entry found in name of Elizabeth Keckley in and around year 1868 in the Eastern & Western Court records of Penna.” See the following memos: Valta Parma to Chief of the Secretary’s Office, Library of Congress, 6 Jan. 1936; Chief Assistant Librarian [of Congress] to Mr. Brown, 4 Dec. 1935; “J. M. M.” to Office of the Chief Assistant Librarian [of Congress], 5 Dec. 1935, all in David C. Mearns Papers, Box 83, Library of Congress. No entry was found for a Pennsylvania copyright registration because copyright to the title of *Behind the Scenes* was registered to Elizabeth Keckley in the Court of the Southern District of New York on March 15, 1868, by clerk George F. Betts, only a few weeks before Carleton & Co.’s April release of the “White House Revelations” (District Court Record Books). In his unpublished manuscript, “Read No Evil,” Clark Evans states that Parma himself did ultimately confirm the New York copyright process for *Behind the Scenes*. As is indicated in the book’s text, Keckley was residing in New York City at the time the narrative was completed. In the midst of the brief tumult over the authorship of *Behind the Scenes*, Parma called the reporter’s attention to Ottolengui’s *Behind the Seams*. According to the Library of Congress card

number, Ottolengui's burlesque of the Keckley memoir had been cataloged in the Library of Congress sometime before 1912. It probably languished in the general stacks before Parma chose it for his Rare Books collection (Clark Evans to author, April 17, 2006; Evans, "Librarian in Disguise").

41. See Hoffert; and Foster, *Written by Herself*, 128–30. Also see Foster's historical introduction to the 2001 University of Illinois reprint of Keckley's *Behind the Scenes*, 1–lvii.

42. Ralph Busbey to Barbee, December 3, 1935 and December 30, 1935; Barbee Papers, Series 1, Box 1. In 1936, Ralph Busbey related a comparable account to a popular Lincolniana newsletter, *Lincoln Lore*. I have not uncovered evidence that Hamilton Busbey ever recorded slave narratives or edited others' memoirs.

43. It is possible that Redpath could have collected the "slave narrative" portion of the book and turned over the rest of the job to Carleton, who might have then given it to Busbey for final plumping. Foster (in Keckley) raises the question of why Redpath would not have stood up for Keckley

44. Some appeared first in the Charleston press. See for example, by Redpath, "Public Education" and "Report." Black and white children attended the same schools but had separate classrooms.

45. For more on Keitt, especially his defense of slavery, see Merchant, 87–93.

46. Elmer Don Herd, "Sue Sparks Keitt to a Northern Friend, March 4, 1861," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 62 (1961), 87. I have retained Keitt's spelling.

47. "To Mrs. Eliza Williams, her most confidential friend, [Keckley] stated that Mrs. Lincoln's letters were never returned by *Redpath* [italics mine] and that the publishers printed them without her consent" (Washington 239). Scholars have consistently accepted Washington's statements as true. The salutation for most of the letters is "My dear Lizzie." Ottolengui does not specifically make sport of the letters, except indirectly by his use of the familiar form "Betsey."

48. The validity of this latter argument rests in part on whether Hamilton Busbey, not Keckley, reaped the available financial reward and whether, if Busbey did receive the royalties, Ottolengui knew that this was so.

49. See Stern, "The Need for Laughter in America: G. W. Carleton: His Mark," in her *Imprints on History*, 191–205. Images of this crest, of Carleton's other well-known insignia, and of one of his cartoons appear on page 205. Stern makes no reference to *Behind the Scenes* in her essay on Carleton's career. Evans, in "Read No Evil" (13), postulates that Carleton was not directly involved in receiving *Behind the Scenes* for publication, as he had sailed for North Africa in late January, with the intention of returning in May. Carleton could have contracted for the book before his

departure. See “Notes on Books and Booksellers” and “Passengers Sailed.” Carleton’s friend Morris Phillips, in a 1901 remembrance, states that Carleton told him that one of the Carleton insignias (possibly the best known) was meant to represent the Arabic word for books, *kutub*.

50. For a summary of the Gootman affair, and for the essence of this and related letters to the *Courier*, see Hagy 87–88.

51. A transcription of Ottolengui’s remarks appears in “The Hebrew Benevolent Society” 583–84. See also Hagy 88–89.

52. For an inspection of the larger response to General Orders No. 11, see Sarna.

53. George F. Betts, the clerk of the court of the Southern District of New York who processed the deposit, in that office, of a copy of *General Grant and the Jews* entered “he” in the blank requesting the third person subjective pronoun for the copyright registrant, Ph. von Bort. District Court Record Books.

54. The memoirs had been previously published in *Blackwood’s Magazine* (Von Borcke, preface, unpaginated).

55. I have not determined the extent of Ottolengui’s facility with Hebrew, but this “code” would have been fairly simple to put into place, even with only elementary knowledge of the language or understanding of the fact that Hebrew letters carry many nuances. K. K. B. E.’s Sunday School curriculum did not include Hebrew when Ottolengui was a child (Harlan Greene, Senior Manuscript and Reference Archivist, Department of Special Collections, Addlestone Library, College of Charleston, to author, December 6 2012; see also Richman 567, 571). Hebrew was not offered at South Carolina College during the period of Ottolengui’s enrollment (Hollis 79, 84).

56. Also see Ford 332–34. The holograph of “The Lying Machine,” on which appears Ottolengui’s statement of its history, is in the B. A. Rodrigues Ottolengui Scrapbook.

57. I have considered, and for now set aside, pursuing an author attribution study through text data mining and sentiment analysis. The corpus of Ottolengui’s work is small, and the *General Grant* pamphlet does not employ the same vocabulary and syntactical structure as the parodies. Such a study may be feasible, but is outside the scope of this article.

58. To one of these events, the April 1893 Brooklyn Teachers’ Aid Association Fair, a donor provided, as a fundraising device, the cast of the bronze statue of Henry Ward Beecher statue unveiled in 1891 in front of Brooklyn Borough Hall. See “Teachers’ Aid Association Fair.”

59. See *Records of Burials at Magnolia Cemetery*, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library. Helen was adopted; it is possible that her birth parents were not Jewish.

60. See “G. H. Hathaway”; “Benjamin F. Peixotto”; Korn, *American Jewry*, 146; “The Beecher Scandal”; “Strange Story”; and “Negroes as Authors.” A White House domestic employee memoir of the twentieth century that was heavily capitalized upon, and which received some negative press, was Lillian Rogers Parks’s 1961 *My Thirty Years Backstairs at the White House*. A miniseries based on the book was aired in 1979.

61. The spelling mix-up regarding Ottolengul/Ottolengui would not be resolved till more than sixty years later. Examples of Everitt’s use of parentheses, usually in the form of a conversational aside, appear on pages 4, 5, 11, 16, 27, 40, 41, 45, 60 and on throughout his *Adventures of a Treasure Hunter*. Note that “A. Lincoln Fann” dates his preface April 1, 1945: April Fools’ Day.

62. Ruth Wisse’s *No Joke* (Princeton, 2013) is a recent contribution; Wisse does not inquire into Sephardic Jewish or Southern American Jewish humor.

63. Although this paper does not venture into theories of neurological bases of racism and race hatred, research such as that conducted by Brosch, Bar-David, and Phelps (*q.v.*) might apply to studies of Ottolengui’s writings.

REFERENCES

- Adams, Katherine. “Freedom and Ballgowns: Elizabeth Keckley and the Work of Domesticity.” *Arizona Quarterly* 57 (Winter 2001): 45–87.
- Admari, Ralph. “Bonner and ‘The Ledger.’” *American Book Collector* 6 (May–June 1935): 176–93.
- “The American News Company Up to Date.” *American Newsman* 10 (Nov.1893): 4–5.
- “Amusements: Hooley’s Minstrels”[review of *Norwood burlesque*]. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 13 Dec. 1867: 2.
- “Amusements: Hooley’s New Opera House” [pre-opening advertisement for *Norwood burlesque*]. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 6 Dec. 1867: 1.
- “Amusements: Hooley’s New Opera House” [advertisement for *Norwood burlesque*]. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 16 Dec. 1867: 1.
- “Amusements: New York Theatre—“Norwood.” *New York Times* 12 Nov. 1867: 4.
- Barbee, David Rankin. “Writer Explains Error in Case of Mrs. Keckley.” Letter [edited] to *Washington Evening Star* 26 Nov. 1935.
- . Papers. Georgetown University Library Special Collections Research Center.
- Bean, Annemarie. “Transgressing the Gender Divide: The Female Impersonator in Nineteenth-Century Blackface Minstrelsy.” In Bean et al., eds. *Inside the Minstrel Mask: Readings in Nineteenth-Century Blackface Minstrelsy*. Hanover: U P New England, 1996: 245–56.

- Beecher, Henry Ward. *595 Pulpit Pungencies*. New York: Carleton, 1866.
- . *Norwood, or Village Life in New England*. New York: Scribner, 1868.
- “Beecher’s Novel.” *Flake’s Bulletin* 26 May 1867: 4.
- “The Beecher Scandal.” *New York Times* 26 Aug. 1874: 5.
- Bell, Henry Glassford. *The Cork Leg, A Celebrated Comic Song, Sung with Great Applause by Mr. Latham at Niblo’s Garden*. New York: Firth & Hall, n.d.
- “Benjamin F. Peixotto.” *New York Times* 19 Sept. 1890: 4.
- “Bizarre Lincoln Story is Traced; ‘Sob Sister’ Revealed as Writer of Tragic Tale of Widow.” *Washington Evening Star* 11 Nov. 1935: 10.
- Blair, Walter. “Burlesques in Nineteenth-Century American Humor.” *American Literature* 2 (Nov. 1930): 236–47.
- Blanchard, Calvin. *The Art of Real Pleasure*. New York: n.p., 1864.
- . *A Crisis Chapter on Government*. New York: n.p., 1865?
- “Blanchard, Calvin” [death notice]. *New York, Death Newspaper Extracts, 1801-1890 (Barber Collection)*. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2005.
- The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments*. London: W. Pickering, 1853.
- “Books of the Month.” *Hours at Home: A Popular Monthly of Instruction and Recreation* 7 (June 1868): 187.
- Brooks-Bertram, Peggy. “Uncrowned Community Builder: James Henry Stansil.” *Buffalo Rising*. 10 Aug. 2016. <<http://www.buffalorising.com/2015/02/uncrowned-community-builder-james-henry-stansil/>>
- Brosch, Tobias, Eyal Bar-David, and Elizabeth A. Phelps. “Implicit Race Bias Decreases the Similarity of Neural Representations of Black and White Faces.” *Psychological Science*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2013: 160-166.
- Buckstone, John Baldwin. *Married Life: A Comedy in Three Acts*. London: G. Cowie, 1834.
- “A Buddhist Society.” *New York Times* 16 Oct. 1891: 8. *Buffalo City Directory*, 1869.
- Busbey, Hamilton. “Recollections of Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War.” *Forum* 45 (1911): 282–90.
- Busbey, Ralph. Letter to David Rankin Barbee. MS. 3 Dec. 1935. David Rankin Barbee Papers, Series 1, Box 1. Georgetown U.
- . “Behind the Scenes.” *Lincoln Lore* 363 (Mar. 1936): 1.
- Centennial Edition, The News and Courier, Charleston, S.C.: The Record of 100 Years, 1803–1903*. Charleston: *News and Courier*, 1903.
- Cher, Henry W. B. [Daniel Ottolengui]. *Gnaw-wood, or New England Life in a Village*. New York: National News Co., 1868.
- “Chess Intelligence.” *Maryland Chess Review* 1 (1874): 333.
- Chief Assistant Librarian of Congress. Memo to Mr. Brown. 4 Dec. 1935. TS. David C. Mearns Papers. Box 83. Library of Congress.
- Clark, Clifford E., Jr. *Henry Ward Beecher: Spokesman for A Middle-Class America*. Urbana: U Illinois P, 1978.
- Daly, Augustin. *Leah, the Forsaken*. New York: Samuel French, 1862.

- . *A Legend of "Norwood," or Village Life in New England, an Original Dramatic Comedy of American Life, in Four Acts, Founded on a Novel by Henry Ward Beecher*. New York: [Stated] Printed for the Author, 1867.
- Delaney, John. *Archives of Charles Scribner's Sons: A Guide*. Princeton: Dept. of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton U, 2000–2003.
- Dentith, Simon. *Parody, the New Critical Idiom*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- "Dr. Ottolengui, 76, Dentist 50 Years." *New York Times* 13 July 1937: 19. District Court Record Books. Rare Book and Special Collections Division. Library of Congress.
- Ellison, Betty Boles. *The True Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography*. Jefferson: McFarland, 2014.
- Elzas, Barnett A., Comp. *Jewish Marriage Notices from the Newspaper Presses of Charleston, South Carolina, 1775–1906*. New York: Bloch, 1917.
- "Eminent Berlin; Bismarck; King William; Mrs. Elizabeth Keckley." *Flake's Bulletin* 17 (July 1868): 5.
- "Estate Sale: Valuable Negros; by Jacob Ottolengui." Classified advertisement. *Charleston Daily Courier* 1 Jan. 1857.
- Evans, Clark. "Read No Evil: Sanitizing Contemporary Historical Figures in Nineteenth-Century Mass Market Publications." Unpublished TS. n.d.
- . "Librarian in Disguise: V. Valta Parma and the Development of PopularCulture Collections at the Library of Congress." Co-published simultaneously in New York, in 1996, by Haworth, in Larry Sullivan and Lydia Cushman Schurman., eds., *Pioneers, Passionate Ladies, and Private Eyes: Dime Novels, Series Books, and Paperbacks*. 23–38; and *Primary Sources & Original Works* 4: 23–38.
- . Message to the author. 17 Apr. 2006. E-mail.
- Everitt, Charles P. *Adventures of A Treasure Hunter: A Rare Bookman in Search of American History*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951.
- Felheim, Marvin. "Two Views of the Stage; Or, The Theory and Practice of Henry Ward Beecher." *New England Quarterly* 25 (Sept. 1952): 314–26.
- Fern, Fanny [Grata (later Sara) Payson Willis Parton]. *Folly as It Flies*. New York: Carleton, 1868.
- Fleischner, Jennifer. *Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Keckly: The Remarkable Story of the Friendship Between a First Lady and a Former Slave*. New York: Broadway, 2003.
- "For Park Cycle Paths: Ottolengui's Plan for the Wheelmen in Central Park." *New York Times* 10 May 1896: 12.
- Ford, Robert, ed. *Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland, With Many Old & Familiar Melodies*. New and Improved ed. Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1904.
- "Fort Sumter. The Raising of the 'Old Flag' by Maj. Gen. Anderson. Salutes by the Army and Navy. An Address by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. . . ." *Charleston Courier* 15 April 1865: 1. [Includes Henry Ward Beecher's oration.]
- "Fort Sumter: Restoration of the Stars and Stripes. . . . Eloquent and Impressive Address by Rev. H. W. Beecher." *New York Times* 18 April 1865: 8.

- Foster, Frances Smith. *Written by Herself: Literary Production by African American Women, 1756–1892*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1993.
- Fox, Stanley. “Mrs. Lincoln’s Wardrobe on Exhibition in New York.” Engraving. *Harper’s Weekly* 26 Oct. 1867: 684.
- Freelance, Radical, Esq. [George W. Carleton]. *The Philosophers of Fougouville*. New York: G. W. Carleton, 1868.
- Fry, Smith. “Lincoln Liked Her: Story of Elizabeth Keckly, A White House Factotum.” *Minneapolis Register* 6 July 1901: 3.
- “G. H. Hathaway Dies; A Lyceum Director.” *New York Times* 8 Apr. 1931:23.
- Galloway, David, ed. *The Other Poe: Comedies and Satires*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983.
- Greene, Harlan. Message to the author. 6 Dec. 2012. E-mail.
- Hagy, James William. *This Happy Land: The Jews of Colonial and Antebellum Charleston*. Tuscaloosa: U Alabama P, 1993.
- Harte, Bret. *Condensed Novels and Other Papers*. New York: G. W. Carleton, 1867.
- “The Hebrew Benevolent Society of Charleston, South Carolina.” [Proceedings of the Meeting of 22 Dec. 1858.] *The Occident and American Jewish Advocate* 16 (March 1859): 571–89.
- “Henry Ward Beecher’s Story, Now Ready in the *New-York Ledger*.” [Advertisement] *New York Times* 9 May 1867: 5.
- Herd, Elmer Don, Jr. “Sue Sparks Keitt to a Northern Friend, March 4, 1861.” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 62 (Apr.1961): 82–87.
- Hoffert, Sylvia D. “Jane Grey Swisshelm, Elizabeth Keckley, and the Significance of Race Consciousness in American Women’s History.” *Journal of Women’s History* 13 (Autumn 2001): 8–33.
- Hollis, Daniel Walker. *University of South Carolina*. Vol. 1: *South Carolina College*. Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1951.
- Hoole, W. Stanley. *The Ante-Bellum Charleston Theatre*. Tuscaloosa: U Alabama P, 1946.
- . “Charleston Theatricals During the Tragic Decade, 1860–1869.” *Journal of Southern History* 11 (Nov. 1945): 538–47.
- Horner, Charles F. *The Life of James Redpath*. New York: Barse and Hopkins, 1926.
- Howard, Joseph, Jr. *Life of Henry Ward Beecher*. Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1887.
- Hühner, Leon. *The Jews of Georgia in Colonia Times*. Baltimore: Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, 1902.
- Jackson, Luther P. “The Educational Efforts of the Freedmen’s Bureau and Freedman’s Aid Societies in South Carolina, 1862–1872.” *Journal of Negro History* 8 (Jan. 1923): 1–40.
- Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim. Records. Jewish Heritage Collection. Special Collections. Addlestone Library, College of Charleston.
- Keckley, Elizabeth. “An Appeal in Behalf of Our People” [letter]. *ChristianRecorder* 14 Mar. 1863.

- . “Anniversary of the Association for the Relief of Contrabands in the District of Columbia.” *Christian Recorder* 22 Aug. 1863.
- . *Behind the Scenes, by Elizabeth Keckley, Formerly a Slave, but More Recently Modiste, and a Friend to Mrs. Lincoln; or, Thirty Years a Slave, and Four Years in the White House*. 1868. Ed. Frances Smith Foster. Champaign: U of Illinois P, 2001.
- Kickley, Betsey {Daniel Ottolengui [Ottolengui]}. *Behind the Seams, Formerly a Slave, but More Recently Modiste, and a Friend to Mrs. Lincoln, by a Nigger Woman who Took in Work from Mrs. Lincoln and Mrs. Davis*. New York: National News Co., 1868. Preface by “A. Lincoln Fann.” New York: [Charles P. Everitt], 1945.
- Korn, Bertram W. *American Jewry and the Civil War*. 1951. New York: Athenaeum, 1970.
- . *The American Reaction to the Mortara Case*. Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1957.
- Levin, Nathaniel. Letter to Daniel Ottolengui. 28 Mar. 1871. MS. B. A. Rodrigues Ottolengui Scrapbook. Jewish Heritage Collection. Special Collections. Addlestone Library, College of Charleston.
- Lewis, Randolph. “Flake, Ferdinand.” *Handbook of Texas Online*. Texas State Historical Association.
- “Literary Notices.” *Godey’s Lady’s Book and Magazine* 87 (July 1868): 85.
- “J. M. M.” Memo to Office of the Chief Assistant Librarian of Congress. 5 Dec. 1935. TS. David C. Mearns Papers. Box 83. Library of Congress.
- McLoughlin, William G. *The Meaning of Henry Ward Beecher: An Essay on the Shifting Values of Mid-Victorian America*. New York: Knopf, 1970.
- Memorial Addressed to His Excellency The President of the United States by the Israelites of Charleston, S.C., in Relation to The Swiss Treaty*. Charleston: James and Williams, 1857.
- Merchant, Holt. *South Carolina Fire-Eater: The Life of Laurence Massillon Keitt, 1824–1864*. Columbia: U South Carolina P, 2014.
- “Minor Topics.” *New York Times* 28 Aug. 1867: 4. [Dulany’s comedy.]
- “Miscellaneous; The Marriage Under the Elm.” Advertisement for *Ledger’s* final installment of *Norwood*. *New York Times* 11 Nov. 1867: 5.
- “Mrs. Lincoln’s Property.” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 12 Oct. 1867: 2.
- “Mrs. Lincoln’s Wardrobe.” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 12 Oct. 1867: 2.
- “Negroes as Authors; Their Books to be a Feature of the Paris Exposition.” *New York Times* 22 Jan. 1900: 9.
- “New Books This Morning.” Advertisement for G. W. Carl[e]ton & Co. *New York Times* 30 May 1868: 5.
- “The New Liberia Movement.” *New York Times* 22 Apr. 1878: 2.
- “New Publications.” [1] *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 26 Oct. 1867: 4.
- “New Publications.” [2] *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 13 May 1868: 4.
- “New Publications.” [3] *New York Times* 19 Apr. 1868: 10
- New York City Directory, 1868.

- “News and Comment: Reprints.” *Abraham Lincoln Quarterly* 3 (1945): 413.
- Nissen, Axel. *Bret Harte: Prince and Pauper*. Jackson: U P of Mississippi, 2000.
- “Notes of the Stage.” *New York Times* 9 Sept. 1886: 4. [Helen Ottolengui will recite Bob-o-link at Wallack’s.]
- “Notes on Books and Booksellers.” *American Literary Gazette and Publishers’ Circular* 1 Feb. 1868: 195.
- “Obituary Notes: Mrs. Lillian Rush Ottolengui.” *New York Times* 29 Sept. 1914: 11.
- Odell, George C. D. *Annals of the New York Stage* VIII. 1936. New York: AMS Press, 1970.
- Ottolengui, Abraham. Last Will and Testament of Abraham Ottolengui. Box 63, No. 20, 796–797. Microfilm. South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.
- Ottolengui, B. A. [Benjamin Adolph] Rodrigues. Scrapbook. Jewish Heritage Collection. Special Collections. Addlestone Library. College of Charleston
- Ottolengui, D[aniel]. *The Soldier’s Grave: As Sung with Unbounded Applause by Miss Laura, of the “Queen Sisters!”* arr. Herman L. Schreiner. Macon: John C. Schreiner & Son, 1861.
- Ottolengui, Daniel. *The Lying Machine*. MS. B. A. Rodrigues Ottolengui Scrapbook. Jewish Heritage Collection. Special Collections. Addlestone Library, College of Charleston.
- . *The Blackbird*. MS. B. A. Rodrigues Ottolengui Scrapbook. Jewish Heritage Collection. Special Collections. Addlestone Library, College of Charleston.
- . Letter to Sarah Davega. 18 December 1861. Photocopy no. 30-4 Ottolengui. Ottolengui vertical file, South Carolina Historical Society. Location of original unknown.
- “Over the Chess Board.” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 10 Mar. 1893: 7.
- Pagès, Christina Margaret. “Sixty-seven Years of Drama in Charleston, South Carolina, 1869–1930: A History of the Academy of Music.” Diss. U of South Carolina, 1993.
- Parks, Lillian Rogers, and Frances Spatz Leighton. *My Thirty Years Back stairs at the White House*. New York: Fleet, 1961.
- Parma, V. Valta. Memo to Chief, Secretary’s Office, Library of Congress. 6 Jan. 1936. David C. Mearns Papers, Box 83, Library of Congress.
- “Passengers Sailed.” *New York Times* 26 Jan. 1868: 8.
- Phillips, Morris. “The Late George Carleton.” *New York Times* 19 Oct. 1901: BR11.
- Plays and Actors.” *New York Times* 24 Apr. 1881: 9. [Helen Ottolengui plays Flora Fitzgiggle at the Bijou.]
- “Plymouth Church: Norwood on the Stage—The Pastor, the People, and the Players.” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 7 Dec. 1867: 2.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. “The Raven.” In *Edgar Allan Poe: Selected Poetry and Tales*. Ed. James M. Hutchisson. Toronto: Broadview, 2014: 60–64.

- Powers, Bernard E., Jr. *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822–1885*. Fayetteville: U Arkansas P, 1994.
- Raphall, Morris J. *The Bible View of Slavery*. New York: Rudd & Carleton, 1861. *Records of Burials at Magnolia Cemetery*. South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.
- Redpath, James. “Public Education.” From *Charleston Courier*, 30 Apr. 1865. *Freedmen’s Record* 1 (1865): 110–11.
- . Report to Col. Gurney, 31 March 1865. “The Public Schools of Charleston.” *New York Times* 16 Apr. 1865: 9.
- . *The Roving Editor, or Talks with Slaves in the Southern States*. 1859. University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1996.
- “[Review 1—No Title].” *The Old Guard* June 1868: 6.
- Richman, Julia. “The Jewish Sunday School Movement in the United States.” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 12 (1900): 563–601.
- Rogers, Franklin R. *Mark Twain’s Burlesque Patterns as Seen in the Novels and Narratives, 1855–1885*. Dallas: Southern Methodist UP, 1960.
- Rogoff, Leonard. “Is the Jew White?: The Racial Place of the Southern Jew.” *American Jewish History* 85 (1997): 195–230.
- Rosen, Robert N. *Confederate Charleston*. U of South Carolina P, 1994.
- . “Jewish Confederates.” *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History*. Ed. Marcie Ferris and Mark I. Greenberg. Brandeis Series in American Jewish History, Culture, and Life. Waltham: Brandeis UP, 2006: 109–33.
- Ryan, Barbara. “Behind the Scenes: A Case of Cross-Purpose Editing?” *American Studies in Scandinavia* 35 (2003): 38–50.
- . “Kitchen Testimony: Ex-Slaves’ Narratives in New Company.” *Callaloo* 22 (1999): 141–56.
- “Sailing of Negroes for Liberia.” *New York Times* 22 Apr. 1878: 1.
- “The Sale of Mrs. Lincoln’s Wardrobe.” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 3 Oct. 1867: 2.
- “Saratoga People.” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 2 July 1893: 2.
- Sargent, Lyman Tower. “Calvin Blanchard and *The Art of Real Pleasure*.” *Utopian Studies* 24 (2013): 312–23.
- Sarna, Jonathan. *When General Grant Expelled the Jews*. New York: Schocken, 2012.
- Schroth, Raymond A. *The Eagle and Brooklyn: A Community Newspaper 1841–1955*. Westport: Greenwood, 1974.
- Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of South Carolina*. Microcopy 267. Washington: National Archives, 1958.
- Shepperson, Archibald Bolling. *The Novel in Motley: A History of the Burlesque Novel in English*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1983.
- Smith, Henry Nash. *Democracy and the Novel: Popular Resistance to Classic American Writers*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1978.
- Somers, Robert. *The Southern States Since the War: 1870–1871*. 1871. Tuscaloosa: U of Alabama P, 2004.

- South Carolina College. *Catalogue of the Trustees, Faculty, and Students*. Columbia: R. W. Gibbes, 1854.
- . *Treasurer's Report to the Honorable Board of Trustees of the South Carolina College, November 1, 1855*. Columbia: R. W. Gibbes, 1855.
- Stern, Madeleine. *Imprints on History: Book Publishers and American Frontiers*. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1956.
- “Strange Story of a Priest: Father Mortara, Whose Conversion to Rome Caused Much Talk Forty Years Ago, Is Here.” *New York Times* 13 Dec. 1897: 7.
- “Table Talk.” *The Round-Table: A Saturday Review of Politics, Finance, Literature, Society*. 11 April 1868: 168.
- Taylor, A. A. “Educational Forces at Work.” *Journal of Negro History* 9 (Jul. 1924): 322–45.
- “Teachers’ Aid Association Fair.” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 28 Mar. 1893: 4.
- “Testimonial to Mr. Redpath.” *Charleston Courier*, 17 June 1865.
- “Topics of To-Day.” [Death notice, Calvin Blanchard.] *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 6 Jan. 1868: 2.
- “The Treaty with Switzerland and the Jews.” *Charleston Daily Courier* 19 Aug. 1857.
- Von Borcke, Heros. *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1867.
- Von Bort, Ph. [Daniel Ottolengui?] *General Grant and the Jews*. New York: National News Co., 1868.
- Wadsworth, Sarah. *In the Company of Books: Literature and its “Classes” in Nineteenth-Century America*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 2006.
- Washington, John. *They Knew Lincoln*. New York: Dutton, 1942.
- Whitfield, Stephen J. “The Distinctiveness of Jewish American Humor.” *Modern Judaism* 6 (October 1986): 245–60.
- . “Jules Feiffer and the Comedy of Disenchantment.” *From Hester Street to Hollywood: The Jewish-American Stage and Screen*. Ed. Sarah Blacher Cohen. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1983: 167–182.
- Williams, Alfred Brockenbrough. *The Liberian Exodus: An Account of Voyage of the First Emigrants in the Bark “Azor,” and Their Reception at Monrovia, with a Description of Liberia—Its Customs and Civilization, Romances and Prospects*. Charleston: News and Courier Book Presses, 1878.
- Wisse, Ruth. *No Joke*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2013.
- Young, Elizabeth. *Disarming the Nation: Women’s Writing and the American Civil War*. Chicago: U Chicago P, 1999.
- Zellers, Parker. *Tony Pastor: Dean of the Vaudeville Stage*. Ypsilanti: Eastern Michigan UP, 1971.

