E Pluribus Barnum

The Great Showman and the Making of U.S. Popular Culture

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The Jenny Lind Tour: "Where's Barnum?"

Have you no poor people in your country? Every one here appears to be well dressed.

—Jenny Lind to Barnum upon viewing the crowd gathered to witness her arrival in the United States (*New York Tribune* 1850)

Even as they celebrate the extension of Barnum's celebrity to an ever broader public, the showman's autobiographies consistently conclude with an inward, domestic turn. In *Life* the narrator winds up "at home, in the bosom of my family," noting contentedly that "'home' and 'family' are the highest and most expressive symbols of the kingdom of heaven" (404). *Life* demonstrates that for much of Barnum's career, incessant travel would have prevented him from experiencing his family on any level other than the symbolic. But as symbols of the cult of domesticity—that emotional and moral nexus central to middle-class formation—home and family figure prominently in many of Barnum's productions, including his own celebrity. For the last forty years of his life Barnum could (and did) tap into this powerful ideological complex by reminding his public of his role in bringing Jenny Lind to America. As the foremost domestic "angel" in the United States before Harriet Beecher Stowe's Little Eva, Lind stood for everything that, in the minds of many Americans, Barnum was not: privacy, artlessness, sensibility, charity, innocence, and piety.

Lind's near-universal reception as the embodiment of sentimental womanhood was the result of a successful collaboration among the singer, Barnum, and the press. Yet, despite a consen-

sus as to who Lind was, there was substantial debate over what her remarkable success meant for U.S. culture. Barnum may have marketed the tour as an escape into the woman's sphere, but he failed to isolate the singer from a host of supposedly "male" concerns. Some of the failure is traceable to Lind's little-recognized success at controlling her public image: as a woman of wealth, fame, and moral authority, the singer had the power to resist male appropriations of her celebrity and to manipulate to her own ends the values she embodied. Although Lind frequently asserted her rights as a woman, she was generally willing to collaborate in Barnum's effort to elevate the tour above its conflicted social context. That they failed to do so speaks to the zeal with which feminists, abolitionists, and their opponents appropriated her celebrity. It also speaks to the way the tour's reception broke down along class lines. Lind and Barnum's effort to position the tour in the middle of the U.S. cultural hierarchy was challenged from above and below: elite critics complained that the singer's repertoire pandered to the tasteless masses, and the lower classes violently protested their exclusion from the concerts. The conflicts sparked by Lindomania undermine commentators—both past and present—who celebrate it as a unique example of "un-commercial, un-political, and un-sectarian excitement";[1] the tour is better understood as a crucial moment in the ongoing struggle over the politics of U.S. commercial amusements.

Given the scale and fervor of Lindomania, it is not surprising that the singer and her manager were sometimes unable to control it. Whether one measures by ticket prices, press coverage, or the "Jenny Lind crowds" that dogged her every move, the singer was a phenomenon unprecedented in the annals of U.S. culture.[2] To be sure, her popularity had waned noticeably before she sailed from New York on 29 May 1852. This was largely a result of her decision to break with Barnum a year before. When she ended their engagement after the ninety-third for-profit concert (they had contracted for 150), she shut down the publicity campaign he had kicked off six months before her arrival.[3] She turned her back on his puff writers, publicity stunts, and orchestrated scenes of public adulation—the machinery that had helped make her "[t]he most popular woman in the world."[4] It was not a role that Lind relished, though it was one she would continue to fill long after her break with Barnum. For the next decade she would remain for many Americans the standard for measuring not just sopranos, or even women artists, but women.

"Barnum Is Nowhere!"

The Lind tour's symbolic importance to U.S. gender politics was no accident. From the first, Barnum framed Lind, and his relation to her, in terms of the middle class's ideology of separate gendered spheres. At a time when the class's nascent sense of itself depended largely on its gender conventions, the mapping of the spheres was a major preoccupation of midcentury novels, sermons, magazines, advice books, and song sheets.[5] Historians have documented the poor fit between the neatly divided world those works described and the more complicated lives of their authors and readers, but as social theory, the spheres were clearly distinct.[6] They were based on sweeping assumptions about the intellectual, moral, and physiological differences between the sexes. The middle-class female was heralded as the True Woman, a figure of superior morality, sensibility, and piety.[7] She reigned (or was confined, according to early feminists) in the home, where she wielded moral authority, but little legal or economic power. By midcentury, middle-class women had succeeded in stretching the boundaries of the domestic sphere, but when they left their homes to work, petition politicians, or pay charity visits to the poor, they were treading dangerously close to the male sphere. Most Americans still saw the workplace, the hustings, and the street as the rightful domain of "male" rationality and enterprise.

By the time of Lind's arrival in the United States, Barnum was well aware of his own symbolic importance to middle-class masculinity. For many people, the showman's name was shorthand for the American entrepreneur's relentless energy and acquisitiveness: the phrase "Where's Barnum?" had become a standard joke to be cracked upon the appearance of any marketable novelty. In the late 1840s, New York's Burton's Theatre used it as the title of a farce, and newspapers kept it alive in squibs by the score.[8] The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* even imported the phrase into its weather reports: "Where's Barnum?—There was a white frost on Saturday morning, on the plank road between Bath and West Sandlake

in this State."[9] If the real-life showman bargained for Shakespeare's house and Peale's Museum, the *Eagle*'s Barnum was prepared to buy and exhibit the very frost off the ground.

For much of the Lind tour, Barnum offered his reputation for enterprise, energy, and publicity as a foil to the singer's True Womanhood. He framed the tour as an unprecedented moment in American culture when the male sphere was eclipsed by the female. As he declared in a speech after the first concert, Jenny Lind had the power not simply to overshadow him, but to make him disappear:

> LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—I have but one favor to ask of you—and that is, that in the presence of that angel (pointing to the door where Jenny had just passed out) I may be allowed to sink where I really belong—into utter insignificance. If there has ever been a moment when I aspired to have the question generally asked, "Where is Barnum?" that time has passed by forever. I acknowledge frankly, that after such a display as we have had to night, Barnum is nowhere!

But if Barnum was nowhere, it was only because Jenny Lind was so palpably *there*. The showman clarified this point when he proceeded to tell his audience "where Jenny Lind is." This turned out to be not a place, but her resolution to devote all of her earnings from the concert to local charities: Barnum passed on this news despite the fact that "she begged me not to do it."[10]

Barnum's spatial metaphors chime with other instances, both before and after this speech, when he reflects on his celebrity. We recall from *Life* that, at this point in his career, the showman typically invited his audience to join with him in celebrating the ubiquity of the public Barnums: his success at getting people to ask "Where's Barnum?" meant that his name walked around with a life of its own, attaching itself to other people and their work. But in this speech Barnum invokes a perspective from which his purchased, publicized, and endlessly replicated celebrity is "utterly insignificant." That perspective is represented by Lind, who not only plans to give her celebrity-making capital away, but also tries to keep him from talking about it. As if to demonstrate Lind's effect on him, the usually expansive Barnum mimics her humility by refusing this golden opportunity to aggrandize himself with a longer speech.

Barnum would echo his New York remarks after Lind's first concerts in other cities. In Boston he told the crowd, "You can hardly expect a speech from so common an individual as myself, on an occasion like this"; in Philadelphia he insisted, "Barnum's nowhere—nowhere!"[11] The showman was taking some pains to construct the tour as a turning point in the history of his celebrity: the old Barnum of humbug and printer's ink had been annihilated "forever."[12] He had already test-marketed his new persona back in February in a widely reprinted letter to the press announcing his signing of Lind. It depicts her as virtually unmotivated by financial concerns: "Miss Lind has numerous better offers than the one she has accepted from me; but she has a great anxiety to visit America." Having introduced the selfless Lind, Barnum proceeds to mimic her virtues:

> Perhaps I may not make any money by this enterprise, but I assure you that if I knew I should not realize a farthing profit, I would yet ratify the engagement, so anxious am I that the United States shall be visited by a lady whose vocal powers have never been approached by any other human being, and whose character is charity, simplicity, and goodness personified.[13]

As the showman soon discovered, however, his most effective guise would be as Lind's selfish foil, rather than her selfless disciple. The new Barnum thus spent much of the tour playing second fiddle to the old one. This was evident in a conundrum that summed up many Americans' perceptions of Lind and her manager: "'Why is it that Jenny Lind and Barnum will never fall out?' Answer: 'Because he is always for-getting, and she is always forgiving'" (*ST* 338). Whether or not the showman actually originated this saying (as his legal adviser, Sol Smith, suspected), he certainly worked to validate it, particularly in his management of Lind's charity concerts. *Struggles* would document that Barnum inflated the receipts of those concerts by silently paying all their expenses (342–43). When the press responded by contrasting his apparent greed with Lind's altruism, he remained silent—this despite his usual eagerness to defend himself in print.[14] By exaggerating the singer's giving, Barnum encouraged people to overlook the wealthy, powerful woman she was and focus on the poor girl she had been. Like Barnum—but with more validity in her case—Lind was famous for having begun her life in humble

circumstances.[15] But whereas a mythologized impoverished childhood accentuated Barnum's dazzling rise to wealth, it surrounded Lind with a sentimental aura of humility and simplicity that she never lost in the eyes of many Americans. They saw every dollar Lind gave away as confirming her identity with the "poor and plain little girl" of her youth.[16]

Barnum and his collaborators took some pains to ensure that Lind's charities were interpreted as the innocent gifts of an unworldly girl, but it is at least as plausible to read her U.S. donations as a wealthy philanthropist's endorsement of the public work of her bourgeois sisters. Although the singer undertook the tour to fund her Swedish charities, she also gave more than fifty thousand dollars to U.S. charities.[17] Many of Lind's gifts were targeted to powerful, well-established women's charities, such as the New York Colored Orphan Society and Society for the Relief of Poor Widows and the Boston Female Asylum.[18] Other major recipients, such as New York's Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor and Boston's Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, were also staffed largely by bourgeois women volunteers. Through these groups, Lind's gifts financed the efforts of middle- and upper-class women to stretch their sphere beyond the home while bringing relief, Christianity, and moral surveillance to the poor. At a time when the True Woman was idealized for her private acts of kindness, the charities united bourgeois women in a host of new public roles. They also offered a limited degree of cross-class female solidarity. Although never shedding their moralizing view of the poor, the charity ladies were inspired by their experiences to critique male reformers' insensitivity to the specific hardships of lower-class women (Stansell 69–72).

But the Lind tour, as far as Barnum and his collaborators were concerned, was not about female power. It was therefore inevitable that the charity ladies make almost no appearance in press coverage of Lind's philanthropy; when they are depicted, it is as pesky "lady-beggars" whom N. P. Willis skewers for nagging the singer.[19] Lind encouraged the press to ignore her support for women's associational life by delegating the selection of her beneficiaries to committees of male philanthropists and politicians. She appears, however, to have charged those committees with

finding what she considered to be worthy recipients: Boston committee member Edward Everett noted her preference for organizations "whose object is to relieve those crying natural wants,—food for the hungry & clothing for the naked."[20] She also kept the donations at a substantial size by restricting the number of recipients.[21] Her informed, pragmatic approach to philanthropy was generally ignored by the press, however. Although the bulk of Lind's donations went to large organizations, reporters chose to focus on the singer's spontaneous gifts to deferent, isolated individuals. Those sentimental stories better suited the middle class's notion of the worthy poor, as well as its notion of Jenny Lind.[22]

"She Sings Herself"

Among the most vocal celebrators of the sentimental Lind were those fixtures of the middle-class parlor, the *Home Journal* and *Godey's Lady's Book*. Praising Lind for remaining "true to the moral instincts of her woman's nature," *Godey's* enlisted her in its ongoing celebration of separate spheres.[23] Its "Editor's Table" spelled out (in terms Barnum would certainly have approved) Lind's significance for U.S. gender relations:

> We thank her for the lesson she reads to all gifted women, that virtue is their highest glory; we thank her for the example she gives to our daughters, that the highest genius can be simple and natural as a village school-girl; we thank her for the sweet pleasure, without meretricious arts, which she confers on the guardians of our country's weal, and on the youth who are our country's hope.[24]

A source of pleasure for U.S. males, Lind is a model for the country's females. Her importance for both hinges on a single set of overlapping terms, all of which mark her otherness to the masculine sphere: girlishness, simplicity, naturalness, and artlessness.[25] These hallmarks of the True Woman dominate contemporary responses to Lind. They appear in descriptions of her appearance and behavior onstage as well as off. They are used to describe not only her character, but also her deportment, voice, clothing, and face. Commentators read her spotless morality in the whiteness of her dress, and her honesty in the "naturalness" of her

manners.[26] As Karen Halttunen has demonstrated, the axiomatic transparency of the True Woman was calculated to encourage such "typological" readings: at a time when the middle class valued sincerity above all else, Lind's celebrators could assume an absolute correspondence between her outer life and inner purity.[27]

Perhaps the most striking typological readings of Lind occur in her concert reviews. Many U.S. commentators confidently extrapolated full character studies from the smallest details of her performances. To make this leap they were sometimes forced to ignore what they knew to be the facts of her career. As she sang pieces she had diligently practiced and performed for more than a decade, they found her artless, spontaneous, and unconscious.[28] One reviewer set the tone for such commentary with a description of the singer's first notes in the United States:

> As a bird just alighted upon a spray begins to sing, he knows not why, and pours forth the increasing volume of his voice from an instinct planted within him by that Power which made him vocal,—as flowers unfold their petals to the air, as zephyrs breathe, as rivulets leave their founts, as thoughts flow, as affections rise, as feelings develope [*sic*],—so this wondrous creature sang. It was not Art. It was a manifestation of Nature. Its involuntariness was its charm, its fascination.

Although he proceeded to acknowledge the "cultivation" that lay behind Lind's performance, he still manages to see it as somehow instinctive and untrained.[29]

Lind did her part to encourage such responses through her onstage appearance and repertoire. She typically performed in the unornamented white gowns and head-hugging hairstyles that sentimentalists favored for their supposed accentuation of the body's natural lines (Halttunen 83–88). At a time when *Godey's* advised its readers, "[Y]our dress is a sort of index to your character," the "chastely dressed" Lind wore her virginity on her sleeve.[30] Her clothing and hairstyles set the fashion for her U.S. fans.[31] Like the sincere heroines of sentimental fiction, she was rumored to shun the artificiality of tight lacing.[32] Whether or not that was the case, some of Lind's followers turned to artifice in their efforts to mimic her "natural" look: one barber promised to "furnish hair to customers of the same color as that with which Nature furnished Jenny Lind."[33]

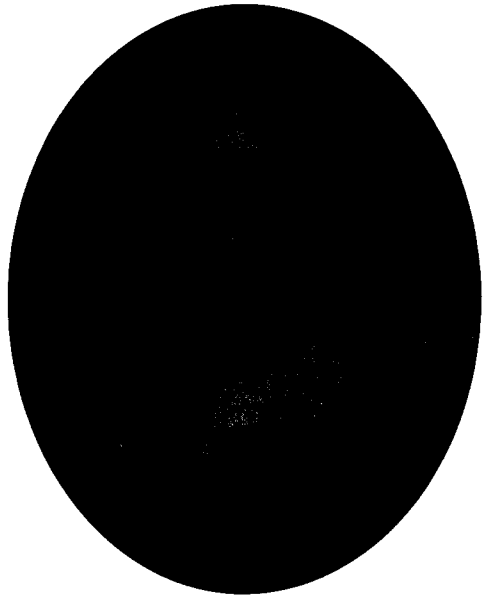

Figure 2. Daguerreotype of Jenny Lind, circa 1850. (Collection of the New-York Historical Society)

Lind's onstage appearance was complemented by concert programs calculated to leave audiences with an impression of her at her most natural: after opening with morceaux from the Italian and German operas on which she had built her European reputation, she typically concluded with folk songs and pastoral ballads such as "Home, Sweet Home," "The Herdsman's Song," and "The Bird's Song." It was apparently these melodies that convinced some U.S. commentators that Lind—who had spent most of her life in European cities—was a former peasant.[34]

But whether she sang the works of Bellini or Henry Bishop, Lind's fabled transparency ensured that reviewers heard in her voice only what they knew about her life. Even when her performances could not be reconciled with her image, her fans persisted in their typological readings. After listening to her sing "Casta Diva" from *Norma,* N. P. Willis complained that the piece was ill suited for "a voice that had formed itself upon her life and character."[35] In her operatic career, Lind had successfully reinterpreted Norma as a figure of love rather than jealousy and revenge, but Willis found it too much to swallow.[36] He insisted

that the piece, "to be sung truly, must be sung passionately, and with the cadences of love and sin," and this Lind was simply incapable of doing. It was, in short, "Jenny Lind, and not Norma," whom he had heard.[37] Other reviewers echoed Willis's belief in the identity of Lind's singing and what they knew of her offstage life. The *New York Tribune* observed:

> In JENNY LIND, we still feel that it is not easy to separate the singer from the person. She sings herself. She does not, like many skillful vocalists, merely recite her musical studies, and dazzle you with splendid feats unnaturally acquired; her singing, through all her versatile range of parts and styles, is her own proper and spontaneous activity—integral and whole.[38]

Lind encouraged U.S. audiences to distinguish her from other classical singers by retiring from opera with great fanfare the year before she came to this country. Because many Americans retained a Calvinist prejudice against theatrical performers, and especially against women opera singers, Lind's retirement was interpreted as a casting off of pretension and disguise, a return to the core self.[39] Furthering this impression was the fact that she sang pieces that were often advertised as having been written with her character and vocal talents in mind (e.g., Taubert's "The Bird Song" and Meyerbeer's "Trio for Voice and Two Flutes"). Barnum gave Americans the opportunity to join in the construction of the authentic Lind with his much-publicized contest for a prize song commemorating her coming to the United States.

There were dissenters who attempted to isolate the singer's performances from her offstage reputation. A Boston reviewer complained that many of Lind's enthusiasts had "omitted to *separate* her reputed, and we doubt not her *well-deserved* moral and praiseworthy reputation for benevolence of character—her simple, childlike, unostentatious and bewitching manner and appearance, from the subject of her musical performances, abstractly considered."[40] But Barnum found numerous ways of ensuring that audiences heard the life of Jenny Lind, not Norma, when she sang "Casta Diva." One means of bringing Lind's offstage life into the concert hall was the biographical sketch of the singer (along with sketches of conductor Julius Benedict, baritone Giovanni Belletti, and Barnum) included in the program. But many patrons who refused to pay for a program were already familiar

with Lind's biography, as it was available in cheap, well-advertised volumes by George G. Foster and Charles Rosenberg.[41] Shorter versions of her biography appeared in magazines and newspapers across the country.

If the biographies encouraged audiences to agree that Lind "sings herself," many of them also implicitly asked whether, in the dawn of press-constructed celebrity, "Jenny Lind" was not itself a performance. That possibility arises in the biographers' shared quest for a moment in Lind's past when she was at her most girlish, artless, and unknown. Lind's countrywoman Fredrika Bremer focused on the singer's debut as Agatha in Weber's *Der Freischütz*: "We saw not an actress, but a young girl full of natural geniality and grace. She seemed to move, speak, and sing without effort or art. All was nature and harmony."[42] Although other writers dramatize different primal moments, they share Bremer's fascination with the precelebrity Lind. One commemorated the night Lind electrified her audience as an obscure second soprano: "The public had found it out. No previous puffery had brought the girl with a great name to reap a large harvest of scarcely genuine laurels. She had stood amongst them comparatively unknown."[43] By harking to a version of Lind predating the puffery, commentators sought a time when it would have been impossible to conceive of a split between singer and performance, private person and celebrity. In the process, they indicate that as early as 1850 publicists had already saturated the space between famous artists and their audiences. After the journalists, daguerreotypists, poets, merchants, and biographers had done their work, no one could seek the girlish singer without encountering the Barnumized celebrity. But while the fact of Lind's celebrity was undeniable, there was considerable controversy over who controlled its production and circulation. And implicit in that controversy was a debate over the meaning of her success for U.S. gender hierarchy.

Lind's fans went to great lengths to bypass her celebrity. Some attempted to experience her art vicariously through surrogates who were ignorant of her reputation. Biographer Charles Rosenberg, for example, recounted the singer's impromptu performance for a poor English cottage woman who did not recognize her (*Jenny Lind: Her Life* 52). Others were confident that they could distinguish the "real" Lind from her public image. In the *Home*

Journal, Willis told of escorting the singer through streets crowded by New Yorkers who did not recognize their idol. "So, do not be sure," he concluded, "that you know how Jenny Lind looks, even when you have seen her Daguerreotypes and heard her sing!"[44] But even Willis's journal acknowledged the difficulties of recovering the undaguerreotyped Lind. In a review titled "Jenny Lind's Impression on a Plain Man's Common Sense," a *Home Journal* critic writing under the Shakespearean pseudonym of "Kent" describes his unsuccessful effort to separate the singer from her press image. So thorough is this mediation that it spoils the concert except for a few brief moments: "Now and then, she produced an effect for which no newspaper had prepared me, and the pleasure, though brief, was intense and thrilling." The pleasure is so brief, in fact, that Kent begins to question the existence of the spontaneous, natural "girl." Even Lind's most nonchalant moves look rehearsed. After delighting in her nervous, hurried entrance, Kent "could not help thinking, that she having entered concert rooms, in exactly the same way, some thousand times, it could not be quite the unconscious, unstudied grace it seemed. No matter, it is very pleasing."[45] He finally abandons all hope of uncovering the "real" singer beneath the performance and resigns himself to the enjoyment of the newspapers' Jenny.

Whereas Kent held Lind partly responsible for her celebrity, many of her supporters strongly disagreed. Central to their celebration of Lind's True Womanhood was the conviction that she lacked both the desire and the ability to control her own public image. Barnum encouraged this view by remarking on numerous occasions that the singer never read the newspapers that were full of her.[46] From the beginning of the tour, Lind's fans credited her with maintaining an aura of informality and familiarity that belied her status as a public figure. In their eyes she had even managed to domesticate that most public of spaces, the concert hall. Musing on her rendition of "Home, Sweet Home," a Cincinnati listener insisted that the song "was breathed forth in notes so sweet, that wherever heard that place is the desired 'Home' forever."[47]

The apparent ease with which Lind's fans reconciled her international fame with her domestic mystique is at least partly attributable to the precedent set by two generations of U.S. women

novelists.[48] In the decades bracketing the singer's tour, middle-class authors such as Catherine Sedgwick, Fanny Fern, Grace Greenwood, and Harriet Beecher Stowe achieved fame and financial success by producing the literary equivalents of "Home, Sweet Home."[49] As Mary Kelley and Richard Brodhead have demonstrated, those writers' enormously popular idealizations of domesticity had the paradoxical effect of earning them a public stature enjoyed by few nineteenth-century women. But that fame was contingent upon their privileging the private life of the wife and mother over their own careers as literary celebrities.[50] In her travelogue *Haps and Mishaps of a Tour in Europe* (1854), Grace Greenwood recognized Lind as another woman caught between domesticity and celebrity. Her book recounts a June 1852 voyage from New York to Liverpool that she shared with the newlyweds Otto and Jenny Lind Goldschmidt. The Goldschmidts were returning to Europe after having married in Boston the previous February. Struck by Jenny Goldschmidt's habit of sitting alone, staring out at sea, Greenwood speculated on her thoughts:

> Was it of those perishable wreaths, placed on her brow amid the glare and tumult of the great world, she mused—or of that later crowning of her womanhood, when softly and silently her brow received from God's own hand the chrism of a holy and enduring love? Was it that happy, loving wife, or the great, world renowned artiste, who dreamed there alone, looking out over the sea? (3)

Judging from the U.S. commentary on Jenny Goldschmidt's personal life, there were plenty of people ready to answer these questions. Even before she married, many Americans interpreted her ambivalence about her fame as an affirmation of traditional gender hierarchy. Believing her "more fitted to grace . . . the domestic circle than to shine on the public arena," they insisted that she really wanted not a career, but a husband.[51] Speculation on Lind's marital prospects was rampant—much of it fueled by a palpable anxiety about her status as a single woman in an era when feminists had begun exposing the oppression structured into marriage.[52] The *Boston Herald* groused: "JENNY LIND was 30 years of age on the 6th of October. Why don't she marry?"[53] Worried that a generation of females was being encouraged to reject the institution altogether, the *Pittsburgh Gazette* interrupted its coverage of the Lind tour for a detailed analysis of six types

of "old maids," one consisting of those "tempted into public life as writers, actresses, singers, &c.... Such women, if they feel that they can make their love of fame take a place below their love of husband and home, may marry; but on no other conditions."[54] Clearly the lure of female celebrity had the potential of wreaking havoc on American domestic life.

Everyone fearing a rebellion of young women leaped for joy upon the news of Lind's marriage on 5 February 1852. The *Home Journal* saw in Lind's decision a lesson for the country's women:

> [T]here is more than a sisterly well wishing, in the general excitement among her own sex on the subject. The power, in one person, of trying, purely and to such completeness, the two experiments for happiness—love and fame—were interesting enough; but it is strange and exciting to see the usual order reversed—fame first, and love afterwards. To turn unsatisfied from love to fame, has been a common transit in the history of gifted women. To turn unsatisfied from fame to love—and that, too, with no volatile caprice of disappointment, but with fame's most brimming cup fairly won and fully tasted—is a novelty indeed.[55]

The rush to sound the death knell of Lind's celebrity suggests the transgressive potential of the unmarried female performer. A Boston newspaper reported the widespread glee over the annihilation of Lind's name: "The Nightingale is mated; the bird is caged; there's no Jenny Lind now—she's a goner."[56] By no means a radical feminist, Lind did her part to kill off her own celebrity by breaking with the standard practice of famous female singers and performing under her husband's name (Ware and Lockard 127).

As her decision to sing as Madame Goldschmidt suggests, Lind was familiar with the conventions of sentimental womanhood and could deploy them to her advantage. The tears that sprang to her eyes on numerous public occasions may have been spontaneous, but "[s]weet, tearful Jenny" clearly made little effort to stifle them.[57] One newspaper summed up her first days in the United States: "She wept when she saw the American flag—she wept when they serenaded her—she wept nearly all the time, if some of the paper [*sic*] be true, and doubtless fell asleep crying."[58] The London *Atheneum* saw calculation behind Lind's almost too-perfect embodiment of sentimentalism: "Mdlle. Lind seems to

do her simplicities with a somewhat suspicious consciousness, and to lend herself designedly to the American sentiment—accepting the altar which they have dressed for her even while she appears modestly to decline it." The writer then proceeded to cite several instances that suggested Lind's complicity in her deification.[59] But skepticism about her persona was not just a British import. The *Richmond Enquirer* speculated that the singer might "be that artless, unsophisticated creature as represented by some. It may be too that she is just *artful* enough to be *artless*."[60]

Lind's behavior certainly justified a certain degree of cynicism about her public image. As has been amply documented, the singer's personality was particularly ill suited to her sentimental persona. Her combination of ambition and willpower made her more closely resemble Barnum than her wispy, submissive persona.[61] Before and during her tour with Barnum, Lind fought tenaciously to maintain control over her professional life.[62] In patriarchy, however, it was—and is—inevitable that those wise to the real Lind attack her for the same qualities they admire in the showman.[63] The singer encouraged skeptics to read through her sentimental persona by dropping it at strategic moments. When New York City's Mayor Woodhull asked her to sing at a party he was giving in her honor, Lind, according to one observer, "drew herself up to the height of her dignity" and replied, "I would be most happy to sing for you, and I would, perhaps, be offended if you had not asked me, but I have made a contract with Mr. Barnum which prohibits me, and you know, as a man of business, that I must toe the mark as a woman of business in America."[64] Here Lind displays her usual circumspection by simultaneously asserting and surrendering her power over her own voice: as a woman of business she can stand up to one powerful man, but only by reminding him of her professional obligations to another. Lind's quiet insistence upon her rights convinced even the *Home Journal* to soften its strict adherance to separate spheres: Willis at one point interrupted his celebration of Lind the naive girl to praise the singer's "unbending independence and tact at business."[65]

In New York the most striking proof of the fine line Lind was successfully walking was her popularity with both the rabidly antifeminist *Herald* and the feminist *Tribune*. October 1850 saw

the *Herald* alternate its praises for that "glorious woman," Jenny Lind, with misogynistic attacks on the women's rights convention taking place in Worcester.[66] The *Tribune,* in contrast, celebrated Lind's success as the promise of a future when women would have the same professional opportunities as men:

> The ovations to the Artist may then, be regarded as in some sort the apotheosis of her sex; and in them we see an emblem of a coming age when society will no longer need, nor seek to be wiser than Nature, and when those spheres of action for which the impulses and powers of soul have been adapted by its Divine Author will be freely opened to every being.[67]

The *Tribune* was not alone in recognizing Lind's value for feminism. The singer figured in the literary criticism of Margaret Fuller and—as Judith Pascoe has argued—the poetry of Emily Dickinson as a powerful symbol of female autonomy and fame.[68] Feminists attempted to put Lind's nonthreatening celebrity to work for her more radical sisters. This was the case on 6 September 1853, when antifeminists shouted down minister Antoinette Brown at a temperance convention being held at New York's Metropolitan Hall. That evening, at a women's rights convention also taking place in New York, William Henry Channing recalled Jenny Lind's markedly different reception in Metropolitan Hall: "[T]he same crowds that greeted Jenny Lind with shouts of applause, when she sings 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' hiss a strong minded woman who dares to say what the actress sings."[69] Here Channing is out to legitimate the controversial Brown by linking her to the universally popular Lind; to make the connection, however, he must ignore the facts and rescript Lind as a militant feminist.

The *New York Herald* saw nothing similar in Antoinette Brown and Jenny Lind. Angered by Brown's support for feminism and antislavery, the paper chuckled at her suppression. But when it rhapsodized on Lind's value for the northern "races," even the *Herald* could sound feminist. In an elaborate editorial celebrating Lind's first days in the country, *Herald* editor James Gordon Bennett cited her as proof of the inevitable global triumph of the northern Europeans (and their descendants in the United States) over the "races" to the south of them: "[T]he wand of civilization has fallen from the hands of the southern nations, and passed to the hardy northern races."[70] He praised the "power" of

a woman who could assume the phallic wand borne by Italian heroes like Raphael and Dante. It is a portrait of Lind that scarcely resembles the shrinking, passive girl of the *Herald*'s own concert reviews.[71]

After circumventing his own gender politics in his meditation on Lind's race, Bennett concludes by affirming his allegiance to male supremacy. His final paragraphs compare Lind not to heroes but to the prophetess Miriam, who pointed the Hebrews "to their future empire." Likewise, Lind heralds the future of the United States, which will be won by men like Barnum: "He is one of our men for the future. He feels it, sees it rushing up to us, and with him the quicker it comes the better."[72] The ease with which the antifeminist Bennett is able to shift his symbolic focus from Lind to Barnum suggests the way True Womanhood could function as a cover for male power. Lind's public image could be appropriated in this manner because she (like the fair heroines of contemporary fiction) occupied a position between white men and their dark female Others. In a society where white manhood depended upon the construction of *some* women as irrational, sexual, earthy, and passionate, the True Woman partook of those characteristics in only the most diluted form (e.g., her sexuality was represented as an innocent flirtatiousness, her passion took the form of silent weeping). This was clear in male reviewers' frequent comparisons of Lind to Italian opera singers. The *Herald* spoke for many in contrasting the styles of the Italians and the Swede: "Theirs was voluptuous and earthly—hers is intellectual and divine."[73] Lind often functions as a surrogate for the male commentator in such comparisons. Despite the pretense to intragender analysis, the relationship driving such commentary is that of the male reviewer and a mythicized dark femininity that both fascinates and repulses him.

Lind's public image mediated white men's fears and fantasies about not only dark women but also other white men. Like their contemporary Nathaniel Hawthorne, Lind's male commentators often appropriated her famous transparency as a vehicle for male power and homosocial desire. Hawthorne employs his fair heroines, especially Phoebe Pyncheon of *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) and Priscilla of *The Blithedale Romance* (1852), to mediate the relations between his male characters. One might

compare Priscilla's role in the erotically charged relationship of Coverdale and Hollingsworth with Lind's position between male audience members and reviewers.[74] The most striking male homoerotic appropriation of Lind was the work of N. P. Willis, who narrated a charged encounter among himself, Lind, and the concertgoing Daniel Webster. Willis eagerly watches as Lind—in the guise of the "herdsman" whose song she sings—stimulates Webster:

> The tone sped and lessened, and Webster's broad chest grew erect and expanded. Still on went the entrancing sound... and forward leaned the aroused statesman, with his hand clasped over the balustrade, his head raised to its fullest lift above his shoulders, and the luminous caverns of his eyes opened wide upon the still lips of the singer.

Willis concludes the scene by revealing the female singer behind the "herdsman" persona, but he persists in seeing her performance as somehow phallic. He credits her with "the sounding of America's deepest mind with her plummet of enchantment."[75]

Blowing the Bellows

Of all the people most interested in turning the tour into a celebration of male power and pleasure, the post-Lind Barnum was the most blatant. Barnum clearly deserved the lion's share of the credit for Lindomania. Throughout the tour he made ingenious use of standard publicity devices such as the song contest, press puff, street serenade, and ticket auction. His campaign substantially increased Lind's celebrity, though not to the extent that he would claim in his autobiographies. There he depicts the singer as "comparatively unknown" in the United States when he signed her (*ST* 281), although before Barnum thought of bringing her to America, she was already front-page news in New York and the subject of popular farces and burlettas there and in New Orleans.[76] The *Yankee Doodle* took for granted its U.S. audience's familiarity with Lind in the summer of 1847, when an ambitious New York theater manager, George H. Barrett, tried to lure her to America.[77] The humor sheet parodied Barrett's offer:

> Perhaps you may modestly tell me you don't think you will be able to please the Americans, who, you have heard are a very nice and refined people. No such thing. Dem it! (excuse me Madam, a way I have,) they're a set of noodles—green noodles.... they take any body that comes along. If you had no voice at all we'd blow the bellowses so for you in advance, that you might go through your part in dumb show, and they'd all swear you were the finest singer of the age.[78]

What "Barrett" has in mind clearly has less to do with music than with audience manipulation. The piece is remarkable for its anticipation of Barnum's account of Lindomania. In Barnum's autobiographies, Lind's audience would appear fully as green as "Barrett" had predicted.

The autobiographies epitomize Barnum's manipulation of Lind's audience in a series of episodes, each of which depicts him standing before an adoring crowd with a woman it takes to be Lind. The first of these occurs as Lind disembarks at a packed Canal Street wharf in New York City. Barnum escorts her to his waiting carriage, but instead of following her inside, he climbs up beside the driver. He explains his action in *Struggles*: "I took that seat as a legitimate advertisement, and my presence on the outside of the carriage aided those who filled the windows and side-walks along the whole route, in coming to the conclusion that Jenny Lind had arrived" (288–89). In what is clearly a pleasant irony for a man trying to shed his reputation for humbug, it is Barnum's presence that authenticates the True Woman's identity. As if to mark the distance he has come since the tour, the showman implies that without him Lind would be nowhere.[79] Moreover, in the narrative of the tour that follows, Barnum has the power to make Lind appear or disappear before her audiences' eyes. He recounts the occasions—several of them confirmed by the tour diary of his daughter Caroline—on which he fooled crowds demanding the singer by appearing with Lind's companion Josephine Åhmansson or Caroline. In Cincinnati, he dupes a crowd gathered at the docks (many members of which had read press accounts of his substitution of Caroline for Lind) by passing off the real Jenny Lind as his daughter.[80] Lest one dismiss these incidents as irrelevant to Lind's relationship with her

Figure 3. Jenny Lind's Mocking-Bird Song. *Humbug's American Museum.* (Collection of the New-York Historical Society)

musical public, Barnum recalls his daughter's guest appearance in the choir of a Baltimore church:

> A number of the congregation, who had seen Caroline with me the day previous, and supposed her to be Jenny Lind, were yet laboring under the same mistake, and it was soon whispered through the church that Jenny Lind was in the choir! The excitement was worked to its highest pitch when my daughter rose as one of the musical group.... Not a note was lost upon the ears of the attentive congregation. "What an exquisite singer!" "Heavenly sounds!" "I never heard the like!" and similar expressions were whispered through the church. (*ST* 309)[81]

Barnum's claim that "we have never discovered that my daughter has any extraordinary claims as a vocalist" further underscores the tenuous relationship between Lind and the tour taking place in her name (*ST* 309). What "Lind's" audience mistakes for heavenly sounds is merely the expectation that the showman has planted in them. And the fact that those sounds are made by a woman the congregation has seen with Barnum means that the determining relationship is between him, not Lind, and the singer's audience.

Barnum's claims to the contrary, Lind's audience was anything but a congregation of suckers. From the moment of her arrival in the United States, segments of the press and concertgoing public contested the showman's efforts to manage her reception. In *Struggles* Barnum presents the tour as a textbook example of press relations: "'[P]rinter's ink' was invoked in every possible form, to put and keep Jenny Lind before the people. I am happy to say that the press generally echoed the voice of her praise from first to last" (302). To prove his point, he includes an "unbought, unsolicited editorial" from his longtime nemesis, the *New York Herald* (*ST* 302). Although much of the commentary on the tour (namely, that which was solicited, if not bought, by Barnum) was devoted to passive puffery, a substantial portion of it was not. Many journalists were skeptical about not only Barnum's machinations, but also their own role in Lindomania. During the singer's first days in the United States, the *Herald* was already insisting that the "one little secret of her success yet untold" was the press.[82] And by the time of Lind and Barnum's split, that paper blamed the break on Barnum's effort "to manage the press, and to stifle criticism."[83]

In an age when critics commonly accepted money, gifts, and tickets in exchange for positive reviews, the Lind concerts sparked numerous attacks on such practices.[84] The tour unfolded as a series of battles between Barnum and the press, with each accusing the other of attempting to control it. The most heated

such skirmish occurred during the tour's first swing through Boston: letters reprinted in the local press implied that an unnamed newspaperman was trying to blackmail Barnum. As the story unfolded, the Boston and New York papers printed charges and countercharges regarding the identity of the alleged blackmailer and the authenticity of the letters.[85] Soon after that scandal petered out, the issues it had raised were revived by Walt Whitman (writing as "Paumanok") in the *National Era.* A longtime opponent of puffery, Whitman boldly asserted that "A very large portion of the printed enthusiasm about Jenny Lind's singing is no doubt paid for."[86] When the *New York Evening Post* challenged him to name names, Paumanok replied, "All can be bought, if you make the price high enough."[87] But he added, somewhat contradictorily, that "mere money" could never swerve the editors of the *Evening Post* and *New York Tribune* "one inch from a course they determined on, and considered right, in morals or politics."[88] Whitman may have found it prudent to qualify his claims, but he was far from alone in raising a cry over the showman's misadventures with the press: by the time of Paumanok's letters, even children had begun to taunt Barnum about the alleged blackmailers.[89]

It was not only the press that fought Barnum's effort to manage Lind's reception. Throughout the tour, the showman struggled with those eager to enlist the singer in their social and political causes. Her celebrity was especially coveted by the abolitionists and their foes. Given her famous, if somewhat vague, affiliations with freedom and republicanism (prominently displayed in her apostrophe to the U.S. flag upon her arrival in America), her endorsement was symbolically important for both groups.[90] The *New York Herald* moved quickly after Lind's arrival to put her to work against abolitionism. In its story on Lind's quarters at New York's Irving House Hotel, the paper remarked: "She seemed greatly pleased with the negro servants; they looked so neat and happy, and so different from the miserable objects she had expected to see."[91] But abolitionists were not about to allow the *Herald* to co-opt Lind's celebrity. The *National Anti-Slavery Standard* attempted to call the bluff of the flag-hugging Nightingale. Observing that "Jenny Lind forgot, in the distribution of her charitable donations, the American Anti-Slavery Society," the paper sarcastically wondered "if anybody has told her that 'the flag of the free' is flapping over three million slaves."[92] Other abolitionists didn't wait for Lind's permission to enlist her in their cause. The internationally famous Hutchinson Family Singers entertained audiences at antislavery conventions with their "Welcome to Jenny Lind," which included the verse:

> While the great and honored hear you,
> Let the poor oppressed be near you;
> Then will every heart revere you—
> Jenny sing for liberty. (Hutchinson 267)

While Barnum and Lind apparently approved of the Hutchinsons' song (the group performed it for her in her hotel suite), they were careful to remain on the sidelines of the struggle over slavery.[93] When rumors began to circulate that Lind had donated a thousand dollars to an abolitionist organization, the showman and singer acted swiftly to refute the charges through a conciliatory visit and letter to editor Thomas Ritchie of the antiabolitionist Washington newspaper the *Daily Union.*[94] Armed with Ritchie's approval, Lind and Barnum took the tour into the deep South free of any hint of abolition. They thus avoided the controversy that dogged Scandinavian artists Ole Bull and Fredrika Bremer, who were attacked for their antislavery politics in the United States.[95]

That Lind kept out of the fray over slavery is all the more impressive in light of her obvious sympathy for the abolitionists. She apparently acted on that sympathy only after breaking with Barnum. A week before leaving the United States, she wrote Harriet Beecher Stowe to praise *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as an important contribution to "the welfare of our black *brethren.*"[96] The singer also donated one hundred dollars to Stowe's campaign to free Milly Edmondson and her two enslaved children.[97] More directly involved than Lind in the struggle over slavery was one of her attorneys, John Jay, a man "somewhat known as an abolitionist."[98] During the singer's last days in America, Jay made the papers by orchestrating the hairbreadth escape of fugitive slave Nicholas Dudley.[99] Lind seems to have been more reticent about her antislavery feelings, however. The ineffectuality of the singer's stance was documented by Harriet Jacobs in her 1861 slave narrative. She recalls her life as a fugitive (and an employee of N. P. Willis) in New York City in 1850:

> The great city rushed on in its whirl of excitement, taking no note of the "short and simple annals of the poor." But while fashionables were listening to the thrilling voice of Jenny Lind in Metropolitan Hall, the thrilling voices of poor hunted colored people went up, in an agony of supplication, to the Lord, from Zion's church. (191)

The press may have celebrated Lind's "deep and heartfelt sympathies for the distressed of every clime," but those sympathies were apparently not felt in Zion's Chapel, where African Americans gathered to protest the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law.[100]

The Outsiders

If Barnum and Lind largely succeeded at keeping the struggle over slavery at arm's length, they found class conflict more difficult to evade. Throughout the tour, they struggled valiantly to extend Lind's appeal across class lines. In his autobiographies, Barnum recalls his efforts to prevent "the 'fashionables' from monopolizing her altogether, and thus . . . cutting her off from the warm sympathies she had awakened among the masses" (*ST* 290). Those sympathies produced the enormous crowds that swarmed around Lind in most of the cities she visited—crowds composed, to a large extent, of lower-class people. In New York, as Buckley has shown, strategic donations to the Fire Department Fund and Musical Fund Society won Lind the support of the workers who had led the charge on the Astor Place Opera House the previous year (532–35). Twenty fire companies escorted the Musical Fund Society to the Irving House for a serenade on Lind's first night in the country. Later in the tour, she was welcomed by the firemen of New Orleans and Philadelphia, whom she rewarded with donations. In Philadelphia she shook hands with many in a crowd consisting largely of firemen, who climbed up to her hotel balcony during a boisterous rally of approval.[101] If male workers dominated those demonstrations, Lindomania among lower-class women transformed the shops: *Godey's* noted that in the plebeian environs of New York's Bowery and Canal Streets and Philadelphia's Eighth and Second Streets, "Jenny Lind plaids, combs, silks, ear-rings, work baskets, bonnets, and even hair-pins were advertised and recommended."[102] The proliferation of this cheap

merchandise suggests that lower-class women were as eager to buy into the craze as their moneyed sisters who shopped for Jenny Lind Riding Hats and Pianos on Broadway or Chestnut Street.[103]

Despite the numerous wishful claims to the contrary, plebeian Americans were far more likely to experience Jenny Lind through a hairpin than through a concert ticket. Lind's audiences varied to some degree between cities (depending upon the presence of a fickle upper class), but the one constant throughout the tour was a dearth of lower-class people in her paying audiences. Although everyone agreed that the "desire to see her and listen to her singing seems to pervade all classes," Barnum priced most—though by no means all—of the tickets beyond the means of the lower classes.[104] When the cheapest tickets for the second set of Philadelphia concerts were announced at four dollars, the Harrisburg *Democratic Union* complained: "Miss Lind may express a desire to sing for the people, but if she demands a week's wages to hear her, the *people* will be denied the pleasure."[105] As Kent noted in the *Home Journal*, a Lind concert would exhaust many families' amusement budgets for an entire year.[106] Despite constant protests over the high prices of the tickets, Barnum relented only partly as the tour proceeded.[107] One result of the unprecedented prices was the exclusion from the concert hall of an urban working class famous for asserting its aesthetic tastes in vocal and sometimes violent fashion. So complete was this exclusion that Barnum could assure theater managers Sol Smith and Noah Ludlow:

> I do most heartily detest seeing a set of ragged dirty chaps located right under the eyes & noses of respectable ladies & gents, as is generally the case where there is a *pit*; but as none but decent people generally attend the Lind concerts, it may be best perhaps to still keep the *pit*. (*SL* 53)

In most cities Barnum's ticket pricing created two Lind audiences, segregated along class lines: as the middle- and upper-class ticket holders enjoyed the Nightingale inside the concert hall, huge crowds drawn mainly from the lower classes filled the streets outside, hoping to catch the singer's voice through an open window.[108] If the outside crowd only occasionally surpassed the indoor one in size, the "outside barbarians" almost always sur-

passed the insiders in enthusiasm.[109] Reporters in several cities noted the effects of the outsiders on the performances: in Philadelphia they "occasionally assisted the [inside] audience in calling for an encore"; in Richmond "a beautiful smile wreathed [Lind's] face, as she heard the applause caught up and re-echoed by the large crowd *outside.*"[110] Some commentators heard an affirmation of bourgeois hegemony in the outsiders' re-echoed applause. A St. Louis reviewer described an outside crowd composed of "the roughest samples of mortality," which amused itself before the concert by "shouting and yelling in a fearful manner." But at the sound of Lind's voice, the outsiders fell silent, listening breathlessly to her every note, "until catching the signal from the audience within the Hall," whereupon they added their "roar" to the applause of the insiders.[111]

Yet at many concerts it was hard to find any deference in the response of the outsiders. The crowd outside the singer's first Tripler Hall performance in New York was so loud that it "tended to agitate the great cantatrice, and to interfere with the enjoyment of the audience."[112] On other occasions, violence erupted during the concerts. At Lind's first U.S. performance (at Castle Garden), a crowd composed of the "hardest kind of looking customers" numbering about five hundred "absolutely besieged the Castle, and made several attacks to force themselves into the garden," only to be repelled by the police.[113] During one of Lind's Boston concerts, rowdies standing on roofs outside Tremont Temple threw pebbles and dirt through the open windows.[114] The situation grew more serious in Cincinnati, where, according to a local reporter, a large crowd gathered in front of the hall before the concert in order "to have a sight at the woman who had gained all hearts. She had, however, arrived two hours before, and the crowd disappointed, actually proceeded to commit acts . . . that would disgrace the greatest blackguards of any community."[115] They scaled adjacent buildings, attempted to force open the blinds on the hall's windows, and fought with the police. The brawl climaxed when Barnum's complaints about the noise prompted the police to clear the area with warning shots.[116] In the chaos that followed, the outsiders traded gunfire with the police, leaving a watchman slightly wounded by buckshot—and in the process contradicting Emerson's claim that "Jenny Lind needs no police."[117]

In Pittsburgh Lind had one of her most frightening encounters with those marginalized by Lindomania. Her first concert in the city coincided with payday for the local factory hands. When Lind took the stage, the hall was surrounded by a crowd of boisterous, drunken workers whose shouts overwhelmed the music being performed within.[118] What happened next remains a bit hazy. As one of the more sensationalistic press accounts has it, Lind

> was most grossly insulted by a ruffian crowd, who, while the concert was going on, dashed in stones at the window of her dressing room, and applied to her, that she might hear them, the most shocking and degrading epithets. And when the concert was over, the crowd, which was immense, who had assembled in front of the building, appeared determined not to leave until they would see her.[119]

Other local papers denied that any windows were broken, and insisted that "most of the noise and uproar . . . were really the manifestations of a rude admonition [*sic*] for the Swedish Nightingale."[120] Whatever the precise details, there can be no doubt that Lind heard admonition, not admiration, in the crowd's disorder. After the concert had ended, she "was too fatigued and too terrified to think of attempting to face the multitude" that remained outside the hall hoping to gaze at her; she vainly waited in the darkened building for the outsiders to disperse, and was finally forced to make her escape through the back door of the hall and down a maze of alleys to her hotel.[121] In what looks like an attempt to offset the outsiders' working-class belligerence, the local press circulated a melodramatic tale of Lind's "rescue" by a loyal drayman who supposedly led her to safety.[122] By the time this story had appeared, however, Lind had already passed judgment on the Pittsburgh outsiders. She left the city on the morning after the debacle, canceling an already advertised second concert. But the victory of the "Pittsburg b'hoys" was short-lived.[123] In the days after Lind's flight, the Pittsburgh *Daily Commercial Journal* labeled her decision to cut short her stay an overreaction that "stains the reputation of Pittsburg [*sic*]." The paper confidently promised: "When Jenny comes again, order will be inforced [*sic*], and ruffianism rebuked and punished."[124] That order was in evidence when Lind returned to the city later that year

for a well-received concert without Barnum. On this visit she was presented with diamond bracelets from Pittsburghers apparently wishing to compensate for her earlier scare (Ware and Lockard 114).[125]

"The Nightingale Uncaged"

The outsiders who disrupted Lind's performances gave the lie to those who hailed the tour as an unprecedented union of "all orders... varied with all colors and ages."[126] But even though few Americans from the lower orders (and even fewer people of color) made it into the concert hall, the Lind tour did stand as a milestone of another sort.[127] The tour marked the emergence of the U.S. middle class as a cultural and commercial force. At a time when the class was still in the process of naming itself, various observers remarked on the prominence in Lind's audiences of the "middle classes," "those of moderate fortunes," and even "the mediocrity."[128] The *New York Herald* dissected the class identities of the patrons at the first Tripler Hall concert:

> The audience consisted for the most part of the middle classes, who are the support of concerts and theatres, and public amusements of every kind. There was also a fair sprinkling of the upper ten, but few or none of the hard-handed working classes. There were a few seats vacant, which doubtless would have been filled by them had the prices of admission been lower.[129]

Other commentators also situated the tour in a broad middle-class cultural landscape of "public amusements of every kind." Among the ablest cartographers of that terrain was N. P. Willis, who charted the social contours of the tour in a *Home Journal* homage "TO THE AMERICAN ARISTOCRACY." He credited Lind with recognizing the country's real center of cultural and economic power:

> The *first* recognition of the fact that THE MANY were the aristocracy of this country—not THE FEW—was made by Jenny Lind. Though a political economist would have long ago told us, that, in a land where every body is tolerably well off, the bulk of the money must be in the pockets of The People—and that The People, therefore, must have the best of everything—no business seemed to be done upon the idea, except in the supply

> of *the first wants*—that is to say, by hotels, public conveyances, oyster-cellars, tailors and hatters. Opera-singers persisted in blindly offering their luxuries to the same class as in Europe—to The Few.[130]

Here as elsewhere in his Lind commentary, Willis's populist rhetoric partly disguises his more specific class politics; that he is equating "The People" with the middle class appears, however, in his listing of their "first wants," most of which lay beyond the means of workers. Willis dubs his middle-class constituency "the FIVE-DOLLAR-BILLERS" in honor of their willingness to spend that amount on "the costliest givers of public pleasure." In contrast to the liberality of this class stands the stinginess of its superiors, the nabobs who resent the $1.50 they spend on an Astor Place Opera House ticket.[131] To prove his point about the Five-Dollar-Billers, Willis turned, as he had so often over the past months, to Jenny Lind: her first New York concerts were a milestone because they marked the initial offering "of the highest pleasure of Luxury to its true American market—the first collecting together of the reliable Five-dollar-Billers."[132]

Other commentators agreed that the tour spoke not only to the middle class's cultural dominance, but also to its financial clout. That, according to the *New York Herald,* was the lesson of Barnum's first ticket auction, where hatter John Genin won the first seat with a $225 bid. The paper partly attributed the cheers that met Genin's success to the fact that "the first choice was taken from the upper ten by a tradesman. And here was a capital idea of Barnum's in pitting the people against the aristocracy in a rivalry of dollars."[133] But Genin's bid was soon surpassed by men like Boston singer/composer Ossian Dodge and Philadelphia daguerreotypist Marcus Root, who also made a living selling consumer and cultural goods (many of them bearing the name "Jenny Lind") to urban respectables.[134] Although, as we have seen, cheap Jenny Lind goods were widely available in working-class shops, Genin and his peers won what *Godey's* called a "more legitimate claim to the title" by presenting their wares directly to the singer.[135] In each city, Lind's hotel suites were transformed into showrooms for furniture and piano sellers, florists, and art dealers, with each merchant's contribution to the Nightingale's nest duly noted by local newspapers.[136] Lind's value as a trademark was demonstrated

by an apparent surge in piano sales, as well as the persistence to this day of "Jenny Lind" as the name for a style of furniture.[137] The rush to cash in on Lind sparked rumors that she and Barnum were being paid by the hoteliers with whom she lodged, and that the hoteliers had not—as they claimed—purchased the furnishings of her suites, but had merely borrowed them from publicity-hungry merchants.[138] Whatever the truth to those charges, their widespread currency attests to the public's insight into the commodification of Lind: many of those who bought Jenny Lind cigars and handkerchiefs clearly understood what they were purchasing.

More than one critic noticed the obvious contradiction between Lind's lavish surroundings and her reputation for self-sacrifice and modesty. A correspondent for the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* mused on Lind's luxurious suite at Boston's Revere House Hotel:

> Among other circumstances of magnificence, the handle of the lock of her door had the rather equivocally complimentary text engraved upon it, "he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord!" As much to say, if you will give money to the poor the Lord will raise up fools enough to make it worth your while![139]

Equivocal though it was, Lind's reputation for high-living humility made her especially useful to merchants targeting middle-class females. By midcentury those women were becoming increasingly responsible for shopping for their households, a development that prompted some middle-class ideologists to worry about female extravagance.[140] As early as 1844, the *New York Atlas* was warning men of "limited but respectable means" about the lavish tastes of their wives and daughters.[141] During the Lind tour, *Godey's* spelled out the threat more fully in Alice Neal's didactic story: "Furnishing; or, Two Ways of Commencing Life." "Furnishing" centers on two young women, both on the verge of marriage and both charged with purchasing their trousseaux and the furnishings for their first homes. Anne is a country girl of modest means who enjoys stretching her budget at bargain-rate stores. In contrast, her fashionable city cousin, Adelaide, runs up tremendous bills at the toniest shops in town. Although Adelaide is little more than a spoiled child, her profligacy has serious consequences, as it eventually helps bankrupt her merchant father. Adelaide finally learns her lesson, however: she is last pictured nestled in Anne's cozy cottage, having resolved to master the art of good housekeeping and smart consumption under her cousin's tutelage. In the same issue that featured "Furnishing," *Godey's* assured readers that Jenny Lind was no Adelaide. The Editors' Table praised the singer for remaining "[s]imple in her tastes, and true to the moral instinctions of her woman's nature," in the face of enormous temptation:

> Prosperity corrupts; success dazzles; the false is magnified by glitter and tumult, and those who are thus surrounded soon cease to search in the shade for humble merit, or listen for the still small voice of truth. But Jenny Lind has never suffered the love of the false to enter into her heart.[142]

In a society grown increasingly anxious of middle-class women's seduction by the marketplace, Jenny Lind showed how consumption could be both conspicuous and self-effacing.

Lind's aura of humility also helped middle-class enthusiasts rationalize their enjoyment of operatic music. By 1850 grand opera was well established as the property of U.S. elites.[143] This was most obvious in New York, where, even before its 1847 opening, the Astor Place Opera House was widely attacked for its exclusionary dress code, elite backers, and high-priced seats (Buckley 264–66). In 1849 plebeian New Yorkers lashed out against the Opera House in the Astor Place riot, an affray that pitted working-class demonstrators against the supporters of actor William Charles Macready, the police, and the state militia. The riot climaxed on May 10, when the militia fired into a crowd outside the Opera House, killing twenty-two people. In the wake of those shootings, the press largely blamed the predominantly working-class victims, but some papers also charged the Opera House "nabobs" with fomenting class resentment.[144] For many Americans, white kid gloves and opera cloaks had become symbols of a dangerous class pretension—this at the very moment when Lind's middle-class supporters were trying them on for the first time. As they made their way to the dress circle, those fans needed to be reassured that they were not trying to ape the Astor Place nabobs. N. P. Willis told them what they wanted to hear:

> [W]hile the Astor Place Opera-house will hold all who constitute "The Fashion," it would take the Park and all the Squares of the city to hold those who constitute the rage for Jenny Lind. No! let the city be as wicked as the reports of crime make it to be—let the vicious be as thick and the taste for the meretricious and artificial be as apparently uppermost—the lovers of goodness are the Many, the supporters and seekers of what is pure and disinterested are the substantial bulk of the People.[145]

Willis believed he was watching his Five-Dollar-Billers bring their sincerity to the high cultural ground formerly occupied by the nabobs. The Lind tour was a final stroke in a quiet revolution by which opera, that "luxury of the exclusives," had "become a popular taste." It was a cultural transformation with profound social implications, for it demonstrated "the slightness of separation between the upper and middle classes in our country."[146]

Other commentators agreed that Lind had democratized U.S. musical culture. Emboldened by her success, they called for the staging of opera for the masses. Boston critic John Sullivan Dwight contrasted Lind's success with Max Maretzek's failure to establish a permanent company at the Astor Place Opera House: "[T]he fault seems to be that nearly all the operatic experiments in this country have appealed to fashionable rather than to popular support. Music in America is to be supported by *the people.*"[147] But Lind's impact on U.S. cultural hierarchy was more ambiguous than the singer's fans admitted. Rather than commending her for broadening the audience for classical music, some attacked her for tainting it with folk songs and popular ballads. Visiting European performers such as Ole Bull and the Germania Orchestra had accustomed U.S. concertgoers to such hybrid programs, but some people demanded more from Jenny Lind (Hamm 219–20). A few even regretted her performance of Italian arias in lieu of the "really great music" of Germany.[148] Complaining that "the programmes have been arranged with a too timid and exclusive eye to gratifying public taste," the *New York Tribune* pleaded for the works of Mozart, Handel, and Mendelssohn.[149] Lind eventually satisfied the *Tribune,* but many reviewers continued to see the tour as a squandered opportunity. *Holden's Dollar Magazine* pointedly asked: "Is the cause of opera advanced a jot among us? Are the real prospects of American

music bettered?"[150] By the time Lind left the country, a surprising number of critics were ready to answer no. For them, the tour was the worst of all possible worlds: duping the masses with claptrap they mistook for art, it denied connoisseurs the opportunity to hear one of the world's greatest singers at her best.[151]

If Lind's effort to stake out a middle ground in the U.S. cultural hierarchy met with mixed reviews, so did Barnum's. On the one hand, the tour served to boost the showman's reputation dramatically among elitists. The most spectacular evidence of this came in 1853, when the gentry at *Putnam's Monthly* nominated Barnum as the manager of the new opera house (soon to be named the Academy of Music) being built in New York City. Of Barnum, the magazine insisted, "He comprehends that, with us, the opera need not necessarily be the luxury of the few, but the recreation of the many."[152] But the showman remained under siege by highbrows who accused him of exploiting Lind and degrading music. Dwight, for one, celebrated Lind's rupture with Barnum as the "joyful telegraphic whispers of 'the Nightingale uncaged.'"[153] Perhaps the best illustration of the showman's frustrations at seeking a middle-brow cultural space for the tour came in the contradictory criticism of the *North American Miscellany.* The magazine lauded the lack of musical sophistication in Lind's audiences, gushing over the "[b]looming country lasses" and aged villagers who encored Lind's ballads while ignoring her arias. In their applause, it heard "a more honest compliment than the bravest plaudits of the singing-masters."[154] But there was a line in the U.S. cultural hierarchy below which even the *Miscellany* was unwilling to go. Barnum crossed it when he began using Lind to promote his Great Asiatic Caravan, Museum, and Menagerie. Appalled that he had "introduced the name of the modest, yet wonderful singer, in most shameless contact with his wax imagery, and men without arms," the *Miscellany* was relieved by the news that Barnum and Lind had parted ways.[155] In the end, Barnum's "instincts" had proved "of too *level* a make for consort with the Nightingale of the North."[156]

By the time of Barnum's rupture with Lind, the complaints of highbrows had combined with lower-class violence to explode the fiction of the singer's "universal" patronage. Within a few years, even Barnum would acknowledge the tour's class-segre-

gated audience (*Life* 400). But even as he acknowledged the social politics of the Lind tour, Barnum was disguising those of his American Museum. As we shall see in the following chapters, his strategy of privileging an audience within, and in some cases antagonistic to, his larger ostensible public was only one of the lessons he gleaned from the Lind tour. Equally important was the necessity of transcending social and political struggle through the rhetoric of patriotism, Christianity, and domesticity. But if Barnum's evasions were frequently exposed during the Lind tour, they were even more vulnerable during his tenure as museum proprietor.

3

Barnum's Long Arms: The American Museum

The seaserpent may have an instinct to retire into the depths of the sea when about to die, & so leave no bones on the shores for naturalists. The seaserpent is afraid of Mr. Owen; but his heart sunk within him when, at last, he heard that Barnum was born.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals* (1853)

[N]ow I've seen the babies, and been standing for an hour, I want to see BARNUM, and then I'm ready to go back to old Kentuck.

—overheard from a spectator at the American Museum's baby show, *New York Times* (1855)

Even as he priced the lower classes out of the Lind concerts, Barnum could legitimately claim a popular patronage—bigender, cross-class, multiethnic, and variously aged—at his American Museum, which admitted the million at twenty-five cents the ticket, children half price.[1] In *Life* Barnum distinguished between the audiences of the Lind tour and his museums: whereas the former entertained "the cultivated and wealthy as well as . . . the middling classes," the latter educated "the masses" (400).[2] Lind could have corroborated her manager's point. When she took an afternoon off from rehearsal to visit the American Museum (doubtless at Barnum's urgent request), she was besieged by the plebeian New Yorkers who were largely absent from her paying audiences.[3] Such cross-class encounters were common both at the Broadway and Ann Street Museum, which Lind visited, and at Barnum's second Museum at 539 and 541 Broadway.[4] In decades that saw New York's neighborhoods—and the amusements

105. In 1864, Barnum's American Museum held a benefit for the U.S. Sanitary Commission (*NYH* 9 Apr. 1864, 7).

106. On the gentry's alignment with Arnold, see Bernstein 153 and Bender 172.

107. For attacks on Arnold's elitism during his 1883–84 U.S. tour, see Raleigh 58–67.

108. *NYTrib* 21 Mar. 1886, 7.

109. *P. T. Barnum's Roman Hippodrome Advance Courier* 4 (CWM).

110. Saxon summarizes the complex publication history of *Struggles* in *PTB* 19–23, 417–18.

111. When Barnum spoke, suffrage in Connecticut was limited to literate white males (E. Foner *Reconstruction* 447).

112. He depicts blacks as uniquely unvengeful among the world's races (*ST* 623).

113. *NYT* 16 Dec. 1854, 4.

114. Barnum affirms the potential for social mobility in the United States at the beginning of his reprinted speech "The Art of Money Getting" (*ST* 457).

115. See my discussion of the anecdote featuring Barnum and a boisterous Independence Day crowd outside the American Museum in chapter 3.

116. In a later article titled "The First Jenny Lind Ticket," Barnum notes that this episode occurred in Dubuque, Iowa (*The Cosmopolitan* Oct. 1887, 109).

117. *Cincinnati Gazette* 9 Sept. 1879; reprinted in Presbrey 223. Buffalo Bill Cody similarly advertised his Wild West Show with lithographs featuring his famous visage and the legend, "I Am Coming."

118. For a speech in which Barnum promises to stand behind his name, see *ST* 1875, 772.

119. Lawrence Buell discusses a different sort of decentering in Barnum's *Life* (59).

120. For the anecdotes, see *Life* 374–76 and *ST* 374–76.

2. The Jenny Lind Tour: "Where's Barnum?"

1. *HJ* 21 Sept. 1850.

2. For the most recent accounts of Lind's U.S. tour, see *PTB* chap. 8; Buckley chap. 6; N. Harris chap. 5; Ware and Lockard.

3. In addition to the for-profit concerts, Lind performed in at least ten charity and benefit concerts during her tour with Barnum.

4. *NYH* 6 Sept. 1850.

5. On the importance of the ideology of separate spheres to middle-class formation, see Ryan chap. 5.

6. See Ryan's discussion of the substantial number of middle-class Utica women who worked for pay outside the home (172, 203–10).

7. On True Womanhood, see Welter; Ryan 189–91; Halttunen 57–59. Lind is described as a "true woman," in *Cummings' Evening Bulletin* [Philadelphia] 19 Oct. 1850 and *Holden's Dollar Magazine* Nov. 1850, 699.

8. *New York Evening Post* 2 Jan. 1849.

9. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 27 Aug. 1850.

10. *NYH* 12 Sept. 1850.

11. *NYH* 2 Oct. 1850; *Cummings' Evening Bulletin* [Philadelphia] 18 Oct. 1850.

12. *NYH* 12 Sept. 1850. In *Life,* Barnum would imply that one of his primary motives in signing Lind was to clear his "name," which had "long been associated with 'humbug'" (297).

13. *NYH* 20 Feb. 1850.

14. The *New York Herald* led the attack on Barnum for his alleged stinginess. See *NYH* 14, 15 Oct. 1850 for editorials with the refrain: "Where's Barnum?" The *New York Morning Express* came to Barnum's defense by suggesting that the showman had silently paid the expenses of Lind's charity concert in Boston: "This fact he has kept from the world, notwithstanding the hypocritical cry in a certain quarter for him to 'give'" (1 Nov. 1850).

15. For contemporary commentary on Lind's humble beginnings, see *Godey's Lady's Book* Dec. 1850, 353 and *HJ* 14 Sept. 1850. On the actual straitened conditions of Lind's childhood, see Bulman chap. 1 and Holland and Rockstro chap. 2.

16. *HJ* 14 Sept. 1850. The *National Police Gazette* concluded a summary of Lind's U.S. charities by praising "the lone girl who unassisted has done all this" (9 Nov. 1850).

17. On Lind's plans for a children's hospital and schools in Sweden, see Holland and Rockstro 408–9.

18. See Rosenberg for the recipients of the $53,210 that Lind dispersed to U.S. charities (*Jenny Lind in America*). The rest of her earnings ended up in a fund that the singer willed to Swedish universities and the Children's Hospital of Stockholm (Holland and Rockstro 408–9).

19. *HJ* 7 Dec. 1850.

20. Edward Everett to Benjamin Seaver, 8 Oct. 1850, Edward Everett Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

21. For Lind's involvement in the distribution of the receipts from a Boston charity concert, see the letters from Edward Everett to Benjamin Seaver for 8, 11 Oct. 1850 in the Edward Everett Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

22. On the middle-class charities' notion of the worthy poor, see Stansell 72–73.

23. *Godey's Lady's Book* Nov. 1850, 312. For this magazine's support for separate spheres, in an issue that also includes "A Reminiscence of Jenny Lind," see Dec. 1850, 380.

24. *Godey's Lady's Book* Nov. 1850, 312.

25. The *Daily Globe* [Washington] likewise observed that the singer was "adorned with every virtue that crowns the female character—piety, charity, modesty, gentleness, humbleness, kindness" (19 Dec. 1850).

26. One reviewer observed that Lind's "white and simple costume . . . well became the beautiful sincerity of her face and the angelic purity of her character" (*Boston Herald* 28 Sept. 1850).

27. On middle-class sincerity, see Halttunen 34. See also her discussion of the "sentimental typology of conduct" (40–42, 60, 159).

28. See, for example, *Cummings' Evening Bulletin* [Philadelphia] 19 Oct. 1850 and *Boston Courier* 28 Sept. 1850.

29. *New York Morning Express* 11 Sept. 1850.

30. *Godey's* is quoted in Halttunen 80; *NYH* 12 Sept. 1850. A critic at Lind's second Cincinnati concert complained that she "appeared in a much more brilliant gay dress than on Monday, and in that respect appeared to less advantage—for nothing could be more unpretending than her simple, unaffected dress, in her first appearance" (*Pittsburgh Gazette* 22 Apr. 1851).

31. According to Lois Banner, coiffeur William Dibbee built his career on his reputation as Lind's hairstylist (37).

32. *Richmond Enquirer* (20 Dec. 1850). On the sentimentalists' critique of corsets, see Halttunen 82–83.

33. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* 10 Sept. 1850. For a story on the New York women who imitated Lind's hairstyle, see *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 1 May 1851.

34. On Lind as a former peasant, see *Godey's Lady's Book* Dec. 1850, 353 and *NYSun* 9 Apr. 1891, 5.

35. *HJ* 21 Sept. 1850.

36. On Lind's Norma, see Bulman 30, 82–84.

37. *HJ* 21 Sept. 1850.

38. *NYTrib* 14 Sept. 1850, 1.

39. Willis lamented the prejudice against female opera singers among the religious classes in "Are Operas Moral, and Are Prima-Donnas Ladies?" (*Hurry* 351–55).

40. *Boston Courier* 14 Oct. 1850. For an argument against separating Lind's performance and persona, see *Albion* [New York] 2 Nov. 1850, 523.

41. Foster *Memoir of Jenny Lind*; Rosenberg *Jenny Lind: Her Life.*

42. *HJ* 14 Sept. 1850. Bremer's sketch also appeared in the antislavery *National Era* 26 Sept. 1850, 1.

43. *HJ* 13 Apr. 1850.

44. *HJ* 16 Nov. 1850.

45. *HJ* 9 Nov. 1850.

46. For one such occasion, see *Republican and Daily Argus* [Baltimore] 29 Apr. 1851. Willis undermined Barnum's claim with an anecdote in which the singer "wept bitterly" while reading press speculation about the motives behind her philanthropy (*HJ* 28 Sept. 1850).

47. *Cincinnati Gazette*; reprinted in *Pittsburgh Gazette* 19 Apr. 1851. A Charleston reviewer similarly remarked of Lind's "Home, Sweet Home," "[S]he seemed the impersonation of all that was requisite to make Home a paradise" (*Charleston Mercury* 28 Dec. 1850).

48. My sense of the relation between Lind's fame and that of the female novelists is based on the acute discussion in Brodhead chap. 2.

49. Fanny Fern was the pseudonym of Sara Parton, who was N. P. Willis's sister; Grace Greenwood was the pseudonym of Sara Jane Lippincott.

50. Kelley 29–31, 315; Brodhead 52–57.

51. *Daily Union* [Washington] 19 Dec. 1850.

52. For speculation on Lind's marital prospects, see *Daily Republic* [Washington] 21 Dec. 1850 and *HJ* 28 Sept. 1850.

53. *Boston Herald* 14 Oct. 1850.

54. *Pittsburgh Gazette* 11 Apr. 1851.

55. *HJ* 14 Feb. 1852; quoted in Ware and Lockard 124.

56. *Boston Daily Evening Transcript* 6 Feb. 1852; quoted in Ware and Lockard 122.

57. *HJ* 28 Sept. 1850. Lind publicly wept upon glimpsing the Swedish flag in Alexandria, Virginia (*Richmond Enquirer* 20 Dec. 1850), after making a sentimental speech at a New Year's celebration (*ST* 316–17), and while being presented with a special railroad car (*Boston Courier* 15 Oct. 1850).

58. *Mobile Advertiser*; quoted in *Boston Daily Advertiser* 27 Sept. 1850.

59. *London Atheneum* 28 Sept. 1850; quoted in *NYH* 22 Oct. 1850.

60. *Richmond Enquirer* 20 Dec. 1850.

61. At her most Barnumesque, Lind was reported to have wished that the Swedish people "might have the same energy of character and enterprizing [*sic*] spirit as Americans, who have the courage to expend money in order to make money" (*NYH* 17 Oct. 1850).

62. Lind's refusal to cede to Claudius Harris control over her earnings was largely responsible for ending her 1849 engagement to him (Holland and Rockstro 391; Bulman 215). Despite Barnum's frequent claims to the contrary, Lind seems to have been an active, informed participant in managing the tour's finances. Saxon offers compelling evidence that it was the singer—not, as Barnum claims, himself—who insisted on altering in her favor the terms of their initial contract (*PTB* 173–74).

63. Saxon's effort to debunk the Lind myth is marred by this sexist double standard. While crediting Barnum for his determination, he ridicules Lind for her "obstinacy" (*PTB* 171).

64. *NYH* 24 Sept. 1850.

65. *HJ* 5 Oct. 1850.

66. *NYH* 7 Oct. 1850. For the attacks, see *NYH* 25, 26 Oct. 1850.

67. *NYTrib* 3 June 1851, 4.

68. See Fuller's comparison of Lind with a George Sand heroine in "Jenny Lind, the 'Consuelo' of George Sand" (Ossoli 241–49). Pascoe argues convincingly for the importance of Lind to Dickinson's "performance poems."

69. *NYH* 7 Sept. 1853. See the reports of Brown's experiences at the ironically titled World's Temperance Convention in E. Stanton 152–63, 506–12.

70. *NYH* 17 Sept. 1850.

71. A similar masculinization of the fair heroine occurs in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, when Stowe contrasts the "Saxon" Eva (whose race makes her "prince-like") with the "Afric" Topsy (247).

72. *NYH* 17 Sept. 1850.

73. *NYH* 12 Sept. 1850. Neil Harris quotes more such comparisons (134–36). For a nongendered discussion of Lind's relation to "northern" European intellect and "southern" passion, see *New York Evening Post* 31 Oct. 1850. Sentimental novelist Caroline Lee Hentz may have drawn on the opposition of Lind and the Italians in *The Planter's Northern Bride* (1854). Her fair heroine Eulalia (who sings like a "nightingale" [99]) triumphs over the raven-haired, passionate Claudia, who was raised by her Italian parents as a street singer.

74. My reading of the Webster/Willis/Lind encounter is obviously indebted to Eve Sedgwick's discussion of homosocial desire in *Between Men.*

75. *HJ* 30 Nov. 1850. Compare Hawthorne's use of the same metaphor to express the triangle binding Holgrave, Clifford, and Phoebe in *The House of the Seven Gables.* Speaking of his desire to probe her cousin, Holgrave tells Phoebe, "Had I your opportunities, no scruples would prevent me from fathoming Clifford to the full depth of my plummet line!" (158).

76. For evidence of Lind's pre-Barnum celebrity, see the story on her London concert in *NYH* 13 May 1849 and the ad for "the burletta of JENNY LIND" at Burton's Theatre (*NYSun* 20 Aug. 1849). Joseph Roppolo lists productions of the "operatic burletta" *Jenny Lind Is [Has] Come* in New Orleans theaters beginning in March 1849 (103, 119–20).

77. Barrett was in England scouting for talent for the new Broadway Theatre, which would open in September 1847.

78. *Yankee Doodle* 14 Aug. 1847, 188.

79. In support of Barnum's claim, the *New York Herald* reported that the crowd at the wharf whispered, "'There is Barnum; watch him; she will be with him'" (2 Sept. 1850). The London *Times* later mocked this scene as "the instant when Jenny Lind was revealed to the 'cute gaze of the American world by her proximity to Barnum on the deck of the steamer"; reprinted in *NYH* 10 Oct. 1850.

80. Caroline Barnum writes of passing for Lind in New Orleans and Cincinnati in diary entries for 6 February and 11 April 1850. She mentions being mistaken for Lind on numerous other instances. The diary is in two parts: 4 December 1850 through 5 April 1851 is in the Bridgeport Public Library; 8–20 April 1851 is in the Manuscripts and Archives Collection of the Indiana Historical Society Library.

81. In her diary entry for 8 December 1850, Caroline Barnum writes of being mistaken for Jenny Lind at each of the three Baltimore churches she had visited that day. She does not mention singing at any of them.

82. *NYH* 6 Sept. 1850.

83. *NYH* 4 June 1851.

84. On the bribery of midcentury reviewers, see Grimsted *Melodrama* 42–44.

85. The blackmail letter was part of an exchange between Barnum and an anonymous writer that appeared on 11 Oct. 1850 in the Boston *Bee* and *Chronotype*. The alleged blackmailer was identified by the *Chronotype* as John M'Clenahan of the *New York Herald*. For the controversial letters and M'Clenahan's denial of the charges, see *NYH* 15 Oct. 1850; for an affidavit from Barnum on the scandal, see *NYH* 26 Oct. 1850. For stories that describe the letters as Barnum-created fakes, see *Boston Herald* 11, 12 Oct. 1850.

86. *National Era* 31 Oct. 1850, 175. For a discussion of Whitman's writings on the Lind tour and the identification of his pseudonym, see Rubin 256–57 and Silver. For Whitman's opposition to theatrical puffery, see Reynolds *Walt* 344.

87. *New York Evening Post* 1 Nov. 1850; *National Era* 21 Nov. 1850, 187.

88. *National Era* 21 Nov. 1850, 187.

89. For a report of Barnum being taunted by a crowd of children at the Princeton train station, see *NYH* 17 Oct. 1850. A postscript to the same story claims that some of the Philadelphia papers were downplaying their city's Lind-omania "lest they should be charged with taking black mail."

90. Seeing the U.S. flag in the New York harbor, Lind reportedly declaimed, "There is the beautiful standard of Freedom, the oppressed of all nations worship it" (*NYTrib* 2 Sept. 1850, 1). *Punch* ironically credited Lind's effusion to "a sly sense of humor, no doubt, and a general recollection of all she had heard about the slave-trade, and the treatment of Mr. Frederic Douglas [*sic*]" (reprinted in *NYH* 22 Oct. 1850).

91. *NYH* 2 Sept. 1850.

92. *National Anti-Slavery Standard* 31 Oct. 1850, 90.

93. *NYTrib* 23 Sept. 1850.

94. The exchange between Thomas Ritchie and Barnum appears in the *Daily Union* [Washington] 18 Dec. 1850. For a witty parody of that exchange, see *National Anti-Slavery Standard* 16 Jan. 1851, 135.

95. For evidence of the antiabolitionist attacks on Bremer and Bull, see *National Anti-Slavery Standard* 26 Dec. 1850, 122 and *New York Clipper* 16 Aug. 1856, 134.

96. Stowe reprinted Jenny Goldschmidt's letter of 23 May 1852 in her 1878 introduction to *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (xxii).

97. Wilson documents Lind's contribution and Stowe's role in the Edmondson campaign (291–93).

98. *NYH* 18 May 1852. In *Struggles* Barnum blames Jay's "interference" for his own premature break with Lind (304).

99. For the details of the flight of Dudley (alias James P. Snowden), see *NYH* 18, 25 May 1852 and *NYTrib* 17 May 1852, 6. For an account of these events from an acquaintance of Jay, see Bright 81–85. Jay's involvement in an earlier New York City fugitive slave case is described in *NYTrib* 12 July 1847.

100. *Boston Times*; quoted in *NYH* 26 Sept. 1850. Yellin documents the 1 October 1850 protest meeting at Zion Chapel Street Church in her edition of *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Jacobs 289–90 n. 5).

101. *Daily Picayune* [New Orleans] 11 Feb. 1851; *NYH* 20 Oct. 1850.

102. *Godey's Lady's Book* Dec. 1850, 388.

103. The egalitarian *New York Sun* claimed that the Jenny Lind Bonnets manufactured by East Side milliner Mrs. L. Isaacs were fully comparable to those available on Broadway. Yet, the paper observed, "Our aristocratic lady readers may, perhaps, turn up their noses at the thought of purchasing bonnets and hats in Division street" (12 Oct. 1850).

104. *Daily Union* [Washington] 8 Dec. 1850.

105. *Democratic Union* [Harrisburg] 27 Nov. 1850; quoted in Ware and Lockard 49.

106. *HJ* 9 Nov. 1850.

107. The cheapest promenade tickets were set at three dollars for Lind's first concerts, but later dropped to one dollar. There were exceptions to this, however. Just before the Providence concert, Barnum unloaded his remaining tickets for as little as twenty-five cents (*Boston Herald* 11 Oct. 1850).

108. In the days leading up to Lind's first concert, the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* facetiously protested Barnum's prices by offering "tickets . . . at a price better suited to the means of the people. Our tickets will admit the bearers to the best places on the *Battery* (gates open at all hours,) and may be obtained for the moderate charge of fifty cents" (7 Sept. 1850).

109. *NYH* 21 Oct. 1850.

110. *NYH* 21 Oct. 1850; *Richmond Enquirer* 24 Dec. 1850.

111. *Missouri Republican* [St. Louis] 23 Mar. 1851.

112. *NYH* 25 Oct. 1850.

113. *NYH* 12 Sept. 1850. During this siege, a crowd of boys in boats tried to disrupt the concert by yelling and playing on drums and fifes (*NYTrib* 12 Sept. 1850, 1).

114. *Boston Herald* 9 Oct. 1850.

115. *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 16 Apr. 1851.

116. Rosenberg *Jenny Lind in America* 206.

117. For the violence at the Cincinnati concert, see *Daily Cincinnati Commercial* 15 Apr. 1851 and *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 16 Apr. 1851. Emerson is quoted in N. Harris 138. Charles Rosenberg recorded a Cincinnati policeman's prediction of what would have happened had the crowd not fled the warning shots: "We should have blazed away again, and, probably, a trifle lower" (*Jenny Lind in America* 210).

118. Rosenberg *Jenny Lind in America* 217.

119. *Post* [Pittsburgh], reprinted in *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 2 May 1851.

120. *Daily Commercial Journal* [Pittsburgh] 29 Apr. 1851. For refutation of the accounts of the crowd's disorder, see *Daily Commercial Journal* 2 May 1851 and *Pittsburgh Gazette* for 28 Apr. and 2, 3, 6 May 1851.

121. Rosenberg *Jenny Lind in America* 218.

122. *Pittsburgh Gazette* 28 Apr. 1851; *Post* [Pittsburgh], reprinted in *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* 2 May 1851.

123. *Daily Commercial Journal* [Pittsburgh] 2 May 1851.

124. *Daily Commercial Journal* [Pittsburgh] 29 Apr. 1851.

125. Tensions between insiders and outsiders continued after Lind broke with Barnum: in Hartford, ill will over ticket speculation flared into a melee that prompted Lind to cut short her performance (Ware and Lockard 105–6).

126. *North American Miscellany* 31 May 1851, 236. I am indebted to Martha Dennis Burns for my references to this magazine.

127. The usual racial cast of Lind's audience was reversed in Natchez, where she sang for an audience that Julius Benedict later described as "a small number of planters and their families, the great bulk being colored people" (*Scribner's Monthly* May 1881, 132).

128. *NYH* 12, 25 Sept. and 2 Oct. 1850; *NYTrib* 18 Sept. 1850, 1; *Cummings' Evening Bulletin* [Philadelphia] 28 Nov. 1850; *Knickerbocker* Dec. 1850, 560; *New York Picayune* 31 Aug. 1850.

129. *NYH* 25 Oct. 1850.

130. *HJ* 12 Oct. 1850.

131. Max Maretzek, the manager of the Astor Place Opera House during the Lind tour, corroborated Willis's attack on the stinginess of the Upper Ten (6, 96–98).

132. *HJ* 12 Oct. 1850.

133. *NYH* 9 Sept. 1850.

134. For Ossian Dodge's rise from an artisanal temperance singer in the Washingtonian tradition to an entertainer of the middle class, see Tyrrell 178–79.

135. *Godey's Lady's Book* Dec. 1850, 388.

136. For press descriptions of Lind's hotel suites in New York and Boston, see Ware and Lockard 8–9, 35–36.

137. *HJ* 14 Sept. 1850.

138. The *Journal of Commerce* [New York] claimed that D. D. Howard paid Lind one thousand dollars to stay at his Irving House Hotel (5 Sept. 1850). For a letter from Howard denying this, see *NYTrib* 6 Sept. 1850, 1. The *New York Herald* repeated this charge as well as the rumor about the loaned furniture (*NYH* 7 Oct. 1850). For a satirical pamphlet that repeats these and other rumors about Barnum's intrigues during the tour, see *The Jenny Lind Mania in Boston* 14–17.

139. *National Anti-Slavery Standard* 3 Oct. 1850, 75.

140. For the anxieties raised by the middle-class female consumer, see Blumin 185–86.

141. *NYAtlas* 24 Nov. 1844.

142. *Godey's Lady's Book* Nov. 1850, 312.

143. On the elite affiliations of midcentury opera, see Buckley 249–50, 262 and McConachie "New York Operagoing."

144. For the press response to the Astor Place riot, see Buckley 19–20; on 23 May 1849, the *New York Herald* distributed blame for the riot between the socialists and the "exclusives."

145. *HJ* 14 Sept. 1850.

146. Ibid.

147. *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art* Mar. 1851, 215. Maretzek generally agreed with this assessment, depicting New York's elite as "a meagre and lazy mare who would not go ahead, in spite of corn and spurs" (6).

148. *NYTrib* 23 Sept. 1850, 1.

149. Ibid. For similar complaints, see *NYTrib* 14, 20 Sept. 1850.

150. *Holden's Dollar Magazine* Aug. 1851, 64. I am indebted to Martha Dennis Burns for this reference.

151. For attacks on "claptrap" in the concerts, see *NYH* 29 May 1852; *American Whig Review* Aug. 1852, 191; *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* 23 Sept. 1850.

152. *Putnam's Monthly* May 1853, 591. For an earlier endorsement, see *Putnam's Monthly* Jan. 1853, 119.

153. *Sartain's Union Magazine of Literature and Art* Sept. 1851, 231.

154. *North American Miscellany* 31 May 1851, 237.

155. *North American Miscellany* 14 June 1851, 335.

156. *North American Miscellany* 21 June 1851, 383.

3. Barnum's Long Arms: The American Museum

1. Prices went up to thirty cents for adults, fifteen for children, in 1864.

2. In addition to his American Museum, by 1855 Barnum had owned museums in Baltimore (1845–46) and Philadelphia (1849–51). In 1850 he also purchased the Chinese Museum in New York, which he soon folded into the collection of his American Museum.

3. For an account of Lind's visit to the Museum in the company of Giovanni Belletti and Julius Benedict, see *NYSun* 21 Nov. 1850. The reporter implies that the plebeian "sovereigns" in the crowd have not had the chance to hear her sing. Barnum had apparently hoped for a much earlier visit from Lind: one American Museum puff hinted at a visit in *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* 4 Sept. 1850.

4. In the following discussion, I use the term *American Museum* to signify collectively both of Barnum's New York halls.

5. Reprinted in *NYSun* 14 July 1865.

6. On Barnum's purchase of the Museum, see *Life* 215–22.

7. One sign of that continuity is Pintard's service as a trustee of Scudder's American Museum in the 1820s and early 1830s (Haberly 282–85).

8. On the origins of Tammany's American Museum, see Bender 47 and McClung and McClung 144–56.

9. On the Western Museum, see Dunlop and Tucker.

10. See, for example, Sellers and N. Harris 56.

11. On the Central Park Zoo, see Rosenzweig and Blackmar 341–49.

12. For an ad mentioning the Museum's original configuration, see *NYAtlas* 18 Apr. 1841.

13. For a floor-by-floor description of the Museum's contents, see *NYT* 14 July 1865, 1.

14. *The Nation* 27 July 1865, 113–14. For a sample of attacks on antebellum U.S. museums, see Bell 21–22.

15. *The Nation* 27 July 1865, 113.