The Transformation of Kate Sanborn 
(1838–1917) — Humor as a Prescription 
to Face a Vanishing America

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Introduction

Around 1911, toward the end of her career, Kate Sanborn published the book entitled Hunting Indians in a Taxi−Cab \(^{(1)}\). The book was an effort by Sanborn to preserve images of vanishing Native Americans through photographs of the wooden statues of Native Americans commonly found in front of tobacco shops. I must note that the statues were not made by Native Americans. To be precise, Sanborn wanted to preserve statues that portrayed Native Americans in the western images held by white Americans. Sanborn wrote nostalgically and with well−intentioned commentary expressing support for the Native Americans. She was critical of a proposal to erect an enormous statue of a Native American on Staten Island overlooking Manhattan Bay, proposed by the Wanamaker Department Store.

What a sarcasm of Destiny it is that when we have driven out and killed off all the Indians who were so happy here, we write poetry praising them, novels about the good looking, brave, and almost too saintly Red Man. And now it is seriously urged that a suitable Memorial be erected in New York Harbor to the Memory of the North
American Indian whose ranks are thinning so rapidly that within a comparatively few years more, the race will be obliterated by the advance of the white man’s civilization. That was rather a rosy way of describing the treatment the Indian has received.\(^{(2)}\)

Her way of paying homage, instead, was to “rescue these statues from oblivion,” in her words,\(^{(3)}\) and to place them where she thought they belonged: on her farm beside a constructed fake teepee. (Picture1)

Neither a statue on Staten Island nor a fake teepee and statues on Sanborn’s farm could justify “the treatment” Native Americans received but they do give us a starting point. They illustrate the confusion of white Americans in their attempts to understand a vanishing America. Few would argue against the observation that the years between the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition and World War I were a period of dramatic change in the United States. Suddenly, the world seemed much larger. The United States had conquered the West and extended its territory to overseas. Strangers from Eastern Europe and from Asia were pouring in, bringing totally new cultures to the “New World.” In Michel Kammen’s words, the United States needed an instant tradition to unite culturally. Museums and historic societies burgeoned to meet that need.\(^{(4)}\) World fairs were another example of instant cultural unification.\(^{(5)}\)

To understand the need for cultural unity, Alan Trachtenberg focused on the
popularity of Native American themes during this period. He argued that the Native American was presented as a uniquely American figure, as the noble savage of the past, and as a reminder of justifiable violence that was reusable as a rationale for overseas expansion. These writers referred to the “makers” of the new “tradition”. The “makers” were all members of the dominant social groups and all were male entrepreneurs.

I focus on the role and the efforts of a female itinerant lecturer, Kate Sanborn, to respond to this urgent need for a new cultural unity. Long before there were radio and television audiences, Sanborn was able to fill lecture halls presenting information about “current” subjects, and just as importantly to her audiences, her own interpretation of these subjects. Not only through her lectures, but through other communication tools, such as photo books, calendars, and travel books, she offered information people wanted and advice on how to cope with the changing world. My focus on these events is organized in three parts. I. First, I will show the transformation of a woman from a New England school teacher to an itinerant lecturer as a humorist. Initially poorly equipped to cope with the rapid social changes of the new era, Sanborn found strength in the values of self-help and self-realization. These values, I believe, are a core component of American cultural traditions. II. Next, I will argue that Sanborn’s personal transformation led to greater recognition and appreciation by her audiences of local cultures. Her lecture topics moved from the orthodox English literary subjects to the eastern authors of the United States and to the humorous stories of the Western territories. The geographical move to the West as the center of cultural attention was crucial. III. In the third section, I will underline the subsequent change in topics from highbrow themes to everyday life and the variety of means Sanborn used to reach her audience. This vari-
ety was also crucial when she helped to define the new tradition. I hope to show that as a humorist she was reaffirming the tradition of self-help and self-realization on the one hand and preparing for the dawn of the commercial age, on the other.

Before we go into Sanborn’s career, let us return to the book on Native Americans. Most of the photographs in the book show respect for the subjects. They can be seen as an effort to restore pride to the existence of Native Americans. (Picture 2) The book became an essential guide for collectors of these statues. America needed proof that Native Americans who had survived their conquest were not threatening. The public seemed to find comfort in the book, *Hunting Indians in a Taxi-Cab*. Hunting them in a taxi cab, with a camera instead of a gun, would seem to underline the defeat of the Native Americans, and so reassure the dominant group of its power and security. Moreover, the information provided in the book, such as how to assess the value of a statue, how to fix and decorate it, and how to negotiate its price was sought out eagerly by
most readers of the book. The author’s homage to a vanishing America and her call to rescue its symbols from decay and vandalism were transformed by unforeseen consequences. The interesting anecdotes and stories of each statue inspired the readers to purchase and collect these vanishing treasures. The result was a truly ironic gap between the intentions of the author and the way the book’s message was received by its readers. Significantly, however, recognition and analysis of this unintended consequence was crucial to understanding the era and the transformation of the culture of America in the late nineteenth century. Now, let us look first, at the transformation of Sanborn (the woman) herself.

Kate Sanborn was born in 1839 and died in 1917. Her father, Edwin David Sanborn, was professor at Dartmouth College. He came from a successful New England family and was proud of being a self-made man. Sanborn’s mother’s great-grandfather was Ebenezer Webster, the father of Daniel Webster. So Kate Sanborn was a grand-niece of Daniel Webster.\(^{(7)}\)

She was self taught under her father’s tutelage. Visitors to his parlor included Franklin Pierce, Salmon P. Chase, Wendell Phillips, Walt Whitman and Horace Greely. Greely’s famous advice was “Go West, young Man!” But for a young woman, there was no such practical advice available. Sanborn studied hard and wrote remarkably; at the age of 11, she sold her work for publication. She was self-supporting from the age of 17, when she began teaching at nearby Tilden Seminary.\(^{(8)}\)

Her first book, published in 1868 and entitled *Home Picture of English Poets for Fireside and Schoolrooms* shows characteristics of her later work. Its style was informal and colloquial. She included comments by American authors. For example, Shakespeare was introduced
by Emerson and Irving. Consequently, readers became more familiar with American authors by reading their comments, as quoted, in the book, than with the work of the English poets themselves.

With this success she made up her mind to go to New York, where a position was offered her at the Packer Institute in Brooklyn. Her lectures and book reviews for Scribner’s were so successful that they propelled her to a position at Smith College teaching English Literature in 1880. "I am deeply interested in my work at the college and shall not leave unless requested to. I have received now $150.00 to spend on books," wrote Sanborn. Her lecture notes were remarkable in their style because information was written and drawn in the form of visual aid. (Picture 3) One former student gave testimony to its effectiveness in a letter to Sanborn: "You did more for me than my [other] teachers I had at Smith. For you kindled my imagination and knocked out of me some New England conventionalities." Certainly it was an inno-

# 3 Kate Sanborn, KateSanborn’s Literature Lessons: Round Table Series. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., c. 1882.
ative presentation of the subjects.

At Smith, Sanborn also edited many poems for students and community members. The poems were printed with impressively beautiful illustrations of flowers and Victorian satin ribbons to suit the taste of the Smith community. Sanborn worked very hard to meet the demands of the school both academically and socially. Despite her efforts, she was asked to leave. Sanborn wrote these words to Nina E. Browne, class of 1882 to show her bewilderment. “I would quietly /? / sic. love to know the real reason that Pres. (President) Seelye dismissed me. How long Miss Ellis was engaged before he told me. Sic. What do you hear? I know my influence (underline, original) was good on the girls, never bad --- In fact I scarcely ever saw them but at recitation. Write me a long letter and tell me every mite sic. gossip you have heard.”

Unfortunately, the long letters concerning the reasons for Sanborn’s abrupt dismissal were not saved, if they had ever existed. We have to speculate why she was not able to hold a permanent position. From what she wrote, she did not teach orthodox English literature in an orthodox method. Hers was an emphasis on a social study of English authors. She was more inclined to introduce American authors and she chose themes to teach poems and prose instead of the typical presentation which introduced authors in chronological order. Furthermore, to begin with, a teaching position even in English literature was unusual, not to mention a position teaching American literature.

Illustrating this, Sanborn’s father was a living example of how literature was taught in the United States in the nineteenth century. He was first appointed as an associate professor of Latin and Greek in 1835, and then as a professor of Latin. In 1880 he was appointed Professor of Anglo–Saxon and English Language and Literature, the position he held until the end of his career. At that time it was still considered
unusual to include English Literature in the American College Curriculum. Kate Sanborn must have been proud of being given the opportunity to teach English Literature, following the example set by her much-honored father. We come across her frequent assertions that she wanted recognition in that field.

Around this time, however, in 1883, the Modern Language Association was founded and rapid professionalization of the field was under way. Young male professors holding degrees were to fill the positions, when there were any openings. Yale University was very much against this new trend. Against these developments and the battles taking place between universities and colleges, Sanborn’s self education most likely was not good enough to keep her position at Smith College.

Another possible reason for her dismissal, as was mentioned in her letter, was her “influence” on girls. The small body of her correspondence that survives indicates Sanborn was loved by her students. Smith President Seelye was very protective of his institution as a newly-established female college and was opposed to women’s suffrage. His issues in a newspaper reflected his concerns: “The president of Smith College recently said that too great an interest in politics was unladylike.” He was afraid that a female institution like Smith would be considered a breeding ground for suffrage efforts and for producing “unladylike” women. Sanborn, who was encouraging students to speak before the public, was an easy target. Seelye’s speech at Abbot Academy in 1879 provides another expression of what he expected from his female institution. He said: “What society wants of woman is the utmost development of the positive feminine moral force in her spirit and her life. Conscientiousness for example. She has that in a far greater extent than man naturally, usually.” Later it was reported that “Miss Sanborn said she was almost a pioneer among women, in speaking on literary mat-
ters, ‘I remember once that I was invited to address the students at a college where the President was such a fossil that he advised the professors not to encourage such an unwomanly performance by attending. But they all came, I had not only the satisfaction of speaking to a crowded house, but had I felt malicious, the gratification of seeing the fossil President address an audience of 30 at his own lecture the following week.”

A great disappointment to her father, after leaving Smith College, Sanborn never returned to academia.

II.

It was a turning point and the beginning of the personal transformation that sealed her departure from academia to become a traveling lecturer. Soon she became much sought after in that role. She had received instruction in elocution at home. The elocution young girls were so diligently taught then was meant solely to develop their ability to bring pleasures and entertainment to their family and friends. Sanborn changed that carefully-honed ability to a profession.

Let us take a look at her lecture topics from her book, The Wit of Women written in 1885, and particularly at one of her favorite topics from her earlier days. It was entitled, “Spinster Authors of England.” Later it was published in My Favorite Lectures. She repeated this topic again and again. The title was striking. It was responding to the rigidly separate sphere of women and men of that time. It was one of the favorite topics requested by club women. We can imagine what happened in those lecture halls as she introduced her audiences to gallant independent women. One of her most popular lectures was about Harriet Martineau, an English woman who wrote about her trip to America. I believe that the broader trans-Atlantic perspective that Martineau’s com-
parison between America and England gave, was a key factor in giving importance to Sanborn’s lecture. The worthy careers of women who were astronomers and newspaper editors were also Sanborn’s subjects. Her seeming emphasis on female characteristics such as warmth and understanding was always a disguise for praising and encouraging women to pursue non-traditional roles. “The world is more tolerant, enlightened and kindly and the old maid is now allowed to do what she can to make others happy and no position of usefulness or distinction is closed to her if she has the power to fill it.”

In *The Wit of Women*, which is considered the first anthology of American women’s humor, the seeming female focus was again a disguise. Its narrative begins with quotation from English authors and then moves to American soil beginning with Anne Bradstreet and on to Mrs. Stowe. She introduces famous female authors while adding funny comments. The following conversation between Horace Greely and Elizabeth Cady Stanton provides the best example. “What would you do in time of war if you had the suffrage” said Horace Greely to Mrs. Stanton. “Just what you have done, Mr. Greely,” replied ...the lady; “Stay at home and urge others to go and fight!”

But the most striking examples of women’s wit she quotes were in her chapters on Western sketches and her introduction of ethnic humor such as that revealed in “Aunt Anniky’s Teeth” and “The Indian Agent.” Clearly Sanborn was moving out from her familiar terrain of English literature to an American context of humor. She gave high praise to the unknown women who produced such humorous stories. This introduction and acknowledgement of local humor was a crucial element in the attention she brought to the emerging American terrain.

Elsewhere, she said women’s wit was “higher” in its subtlety than male wit. We should not, however, consider her discussion of humor
and wit in only a gendered context, even though the title of the book suggests that and her collection was exclusively from women writers. It is essential to recognize that she found the most powerful humor in local and ethnic contexts and that her lectures in many parts of the country popularized them. With winning humor, Sanborn portrayed the powerless juxtaposed against the stupidity of the powerful and the religious.

For example, in “Indian Agent,” a Native American from “the Laughing Dog Nation” is brought into the church to show the success of missionary work. His father, “Snarling Bear,” had been civilized to understand that polygamy was unlawful. Consequently, he separated from his oldest wife. In front of a wide audience he speaks: “O hoo bree gutchee, gumme maw choo kibbe showain nemeshin.” Then the interpreter preacher translates that he is grateful and wants to be a lesser burden for the taxpayers in the near future. At the end of the message, the preacher declares the success of his ministry. “The gradual decrease of crime in the West has convinced the most skeptical that a great work can be done among these people. The number of murders committed in this country last year was one hundred and twenty-five; this year only one hundred and twenty-three.” And then the preacher asks his listeners to leave a check for him at the door, or at his hotel.(29) From stories like this, Sanborn intended the audience and readers question the meaning of missionary work and its consequences and fate for Native Americans.

After her enthusiastic lecture tours, Sanborn decided to make her permanent home on a farm in Metcalf, New Hampshire, when she bought a dilapidated farm in 1888. Characteristically calling herself, “Farmer, Henwoman, and ex−Litterateur”(30), she declared, “I realize that my happiest hours are now those devoted to outdoor sports and agricultural enterprises—−no longer a blue−stocking, but a full fledged−
farmer!” She produced best-selling books about how she managed to run the farm such as *Adopting an Abandoned Farm*. Her second book on the farm, *Abandoning an Adopted Farm*, tells why and how she came to sell that farm.

The most striking feature about these books was that she was making fun of herself in order to entertain her readers. She did not only write interesting stories for readers to laugh at about horses and pigs and peacocks, for example, but she included herself as a target of laughter in these stories. Her everyday life at the farm, which was a survival story indeed, and her periodic attempts to teach experienced farmers how to run a farm were the central themes of these two books. Her own intellectual background was the target of her ridicule. This focus indeed is the secret of her success as a writer and humorist. It is not the usual success story of a male writer describing his own journey in life. By making herself the target of laughter, Sanborn was able to produce her own narrative for the first time. It was a long way from being a student of orthodox literature, craving for recognition, to becoming a humorist working on her own soil. Being old, fat, female, and inexperienced and yet over-educated, old-fashioned and unskilled was targeted.

The reader, by laughing at Sanborn’s struggle to survive, came to know that times had changed. Readers would also realize that knowledge of farming, the heart of American character, was not the shared wisdom of Americans any more. Yet at the same time they could still believe and learn how to retain what was lost by reading her books. They could have both of these elements: nostalgia for the disappearing past and the feeling that it was not too late to retain the goodness of the past. In her presentations, humor is not the demonstration of cleverness. Nor is it challenging the dominant power structure, the most important attribute of humor. Sanborn’s humor functions more as a means
of communication to share the experience of a vanishing America. Her message about self-help and self-realization was embedded in the wealth of information and practical tips on raising crops and feeding chickens that filled her narratives on farming. However, I must add that these narratives omitted mention of the Japanese-American gardener who helped her run her farm successfully and the Irish-American coachman who provided the means of getting around the farm. (34) (Picture 4)

Nevertheless, the theme of achievement through an individual’s persevering efforts and labor was the secrets of the popularity of the books about her farm. This theme in turn helped to meet the nation’s need for cultural unity by nurturing core social tenets that affirmed the power of self-help and the opportunities for self-realization. The wide readership that Sanborn reached so successfully illustrates the important role played by white women like Sanborn in meeting the need for cultural unity.

III.

The third area examining Sanborn’s contribution to defining that unity affirms the new subjects treated in literature and lectures and considers other ways Sanborn used to capture the public’s attention. For example, her optimism, her encouragement of women in the new age and her unshakable faith in self-help and self-realization were appar-
ent in the calendars she created. For young readers, she published *A Year of Sunshine Calendar* and *The Rainbow Calendar*. For the middle aged and the elderly, she published *Indian Summer Calendar* and *Starlight Calendar*. They were published from 1879 until 1921, four years after her death. They were originally published as a note pad so that one could tear off one day at a time after reading its message of wisdom.

Sanborn’s attention to a vanishing way of life was also present in her illustrated book about old wall papers. *Old Time Wall Papers: An Account of the Pictorial Papers on Our Forefathers’ Walls with a Story of the Historical Development of Wall Paper Making and Decoration* was published in 1905. She searched for old wall papers in old houses on the east coast. She gave an historical account of the wall papers and of the origin of their motifs, which were mostly very patriotic. Here again, because the book contained reproductions of wall paper patterns in color, and detailed their authenticity it became a collector’s item. Like the book on Native American statues, homage to the colonial past became a guide book for future investment. This phenomenon is again ironic and characteristic of the dissonance between what she intended to do and how her intended message was received by her readers. Unintentionally, Sanborn was bridging the gap between nostalgic yearning for a vanishing America and the urgently felt need for knowledge about how to purchase these objects.

Conclusion

The life of Kate Sanborn and particularly her literary itinerancy illustrate the dynamic cultural change that marked the 19th-century America. It was only after her rejection by the world of academia that she achieved the literary recognition she had long sought. She accomplished this through her subsequent popular series of books of humor in
which she ridiculed herself in descriptions of her own mistakes and misjudgments. Yet they were the key elements in presenting herself as heroically attempting to preserve a vanishing American and they led to her creating her own very native style of literature.

Her books were received, however, as handy guides on how to survive in a rapidly changing society, rather than on how to preserve old ways. Or, in the case of *Hunting Indians in a Taxi−Cab*—the book became a collectors’ guide for purchasing and preservation. Her readers saw the artifacts of a vanishing 19th−century America as a means for acquiring wealth. Their response was indeed an illustration of the cultural transformation that was occurring in a period of dramatic change, as Sanborn’s own personal journey illustrates.

The enormous effort it took for her to change her persona to the extent of presenting herself as a target of laughter was not recognized by her contemporaries. She helped bring people from the nineteenth to the twentieth−century world by portraying herself as an old female, old−
fashioned, while at the same time reassuring audience that it was permissible for them to be like that. She was reaffirming the tradition of self-help and self-realization of a white, and in her case, female farmer, on the one hand and preparing for the dawn of the commercial age, on the other. In so doing she liberated herself from her New England tradition to become a female humorist, drawing on a much wider American experience. Contrasting the young woman applying for a teaching post at Smith College with the “farmer” she became, reveals a woman who transformed herself and survived in a rapidly changing society. (Picture 5)

Notes

(2) Ibid. p. 49.
(3) Ibid. p. 17.


(10) Edwin Sanborn, *Kate Sanborn*, p. 46.

(11) Kate Sanborn to Nina E. Browne, class of 1882, Feb. 13, 1883. Kate Sanborn Papers. Series II. Correspondence, Box #1004, Smith College Archives.


(13) Quoted in *Kate Sanborn*, p. 53.


(15) Kate Sanborn to Nina E. Browne, class of 1882, n. d. 1883?, Kate Sanborn Papers. Series II. Correspondence, Box #1004, Smith College Archives.


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(18) A newspaper clipping sent by Elizabeth Lawrence in 1883 about Garfield election, Laurenus Clark Seelye Papers, 1820–1995. Box #1, Folder 15, Smith College Archives.

(19) Speech at Abbot Academy, June 13, 1879, Laurenus Clark Seelye Papers, Box #13, Folder1, Smith College Archives.

(20) “What She is Like and What She Has Done,” Boston Journal, Feb. 4, 1984, Kate Sanborn Papers, Series I. Biographical Materials, Box #1004, Smith College Archives.

(21) Jerold Wikoff, “Kate Sanborn: During a Successful Career as a Lecturer, She Developed Elocution into a Special Art,” Valley News, Tuesday February 16, 1982, p. 13, Kate Sanborn Papers, Rauner Special Collection Library, Dartmouth College.

(22) Kate Sanborn, Wit of Women. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1885.

(23) Kate Sanborn, My Favorite Lectures.


(28) Kate Sanborn, “Are Women Witty?” in My Favorite Lectures. On women’s humor see for example, Redressing the Balance: American Women’s Literary Humor from Colonial Times to the Present, Ed. by Nancy Walker and Zita Dresner, Jackson: University Press

(29) “Indian Agent” in Wit of Women, pp. 103–107.

(30) Kate Sanborn, “Across the Years,” in My Favorite Lectures, p. 5, underlined by the present writer.

(31) My Favorite Lectures, p. 3.


(34) Photograph File, Kate Sanborn Papers, Rauner Special Collection Library, Dartmouth College.
