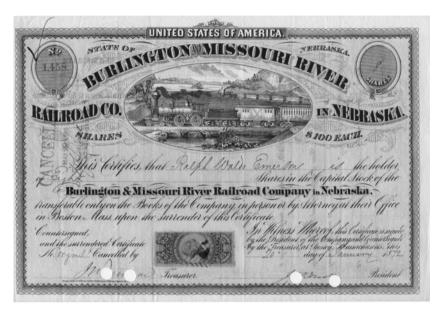


#### RALPH WALDO EMERSON IN CONTEXT

This collection of newly commissioned essays maps the vital contextual backgrounds to Ralph Waldo Emerson's life and work. The volume begins with a detailed chronology of Emerson's life and publishing history, setting the stage for a wide-ranging discussion of the geographical and environmental contexts of his early and later life, including his travels and intellectual encounters with the United States, Europe, and Asia. It goes on to survey the intellectual terrain of the nineteenth century, exploring Emerson's relationship with key philosophical, aesthetic, theological, scientific, familial, social, and political contexts and issues. Finally, it assesses the popular and critical receptions that have solidified Emerson's legacy as a towering figure in American literature, criticism, and culture today. Fans, students, and scholars will turn to this reference time and again for a fuller understanding of this seminal American writer.

Wesley T. Mott is a professor of English at Worcester Polytechnic Institute. He organized the Ralph Waldo Emerson Society in 1989 and served as president for two terms. Author of "The Strains of Eloquence": Emerson and His Sermons (1989), he also edited volume four of The Complete Sermons of Ralph Waldo Emerson (1992) as well as several reference works, including Biographical Dictionary of Transcendentalism (1996) and Encyclopedia of Transcendentalism (1996), and the three-volume American Renaissance in New England (2000–2001). He is the recipient of the Ralph Waldo Emerson Society Distinguished Achievement Award.





Certificate showing Emerson owned stock in the Burlington and Missouri Railroad. By kind permission of the Joel Myerson Collection of Nineteenth-Century American Literature, University of South Carolina.



# RALPH WALDO EMERSON IN CONTEXT

Edited by

WESLEY T. MOTT

Worcester Polytechnic Institute





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For Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson

Celebrating the completion of

The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson





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#### Picture Acknowledgments

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#### Notes on Contributors

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#### Notes on Contributors

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# Preface

The voice in Ralph Waldo Emerson's great essay "Circles" memorably defines itself as *beyond* context. "There are no fixtures to men, if we appeal to consciousness" (CW 2:182). History and influence seem nothing in an eternal present of fluctuating moods, impulses, and events: "I unsettle all things. No facts are to me sacred; none are profane; I simply experiment, an endless seeker, with no Past at my back" (188). Selective quoters of Emerson (and who is not?) usually ignore the paragraph that follows this declaration of freedom, of unmoored self:

Yet this incessant movement and progression, which all things partake, could never become sensible to us, but by contrast to some principle of fixture or stability in the soul. Whilst the eternal generation of circles proceeds, the eternal generator abides. (p. 188)

That "central life" is what braces us for incessant "life, transition, the energizing spirit." "People wish to be settled: only as far as they are unsettled, is there any hope for them" (p. 189).

In the early twenty-first century, we can assess Emerson in his own dynamic terms. An enduring stance – stubbornly maintained by his admirers and detractors alike – depicts Emerson as a wise, "representative" American removed from the din of the messy world. Seeking to overturn this static sense of Emerson, some critics have portrayed him as a protomodernist unhinging all established truths. The inadequacy of both concepts has been exposed in recent decades by a richly diverse outpouring of scholarship, fueled by a massive body of newly edited works and previously unpublished journals, correspondence, sermons, and lectures – all revealing Emerson as a man and writer living a life not only of the mind but also very much in the world.

This book seeks to capture Emerson's active engagement with significant contexts of his life and times. The book is divided into four parts, dealing with Emerson's sense of place (as actual and as trope), his immersion



xx Preface

in the life of ideas (he titled his first journal, at age sixteen, "The Wide World" [JMN 1:3]), and his daily engagements with society (the "hodiernal" realm [CW 2:185] that radiated from domestic to professional to political), as well as the critical and popular reception that transformed him into a national and global icon.

Many people were indispensable in producing this book. I thank the contributors for their sparkling appraisals of Emerson, their cooperation through the editorial process, and the spirited, collegial e-mail and telephone conversations in which we all engaged. For particularly helpful advice I thank Ronald A. Bosco, David O. Dowling, Leslie Elizabeth Eckel, Len Gougeon, Robert D. Habich, Joel Myerson, Albert J. von Frank, and Leslie Perrin Wilson. For the frontispiece, Joel Myerson kindly offered a railroad-stock certificate owned by Emerson, an image that immediately evokes an unexpected context of the life of a man regarded for too long as a purely ethereal sage; the original is now in the Joel Myerson Collection of Nineteenth-Century American Literature, Ernest F. Hollings Special Collections Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia. At the Concord Free Public Library, Leslie Perrin Wilson, curator of the William Munroe Special Collections, selected all the portraits of Emerson and arranged permission to reproduce them; and Robert C. W. Hall Jr., technical services associate librarian, created digital images of the Emerson photographs. At Worcester Polytechnic Institute, Debra L. Dexter, Jim Monaco, and Patrick Moody at the Computing and Communications Center gave expert technical help with the manuscript; and Kristin Boudreau, head of the Department of Humanities and Arts, and other WPI colleagues supported a sabbatical leave during which the book was finished. At Cambridge University Press, Dr. Ray Ryan, senior editor of English and American Literature, championed the book from the beginning; and Louis Gulino, senior editorial assistant, coordinated its production. At Newgen Knowledge Works, Ami Naramor was an exemplary copy editor; and Bhavani Ganesh Kumar was a superb project manager – both were unfailingly professional and cordial. On the home front, my wife, Sandy, has helped me keep Emerson in context.

The list of abbreviations includes standard critical editions of Emerson's writings, and the two best biographies (Rusk's "external" life and Richardson's intellectual study), all cited parenthetically in the text. This is the first book able to cite the complete *Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (CW [1971–2013]), the tenth and final volume of which, *Uncollected Prose Writings*, appeared just before the manuscript for this book went to press. I am grateful to CW general editor Ronald A. Bosco,



Preface xxi

who kindly made available an advance copy of volume 10. The present volume occasionally cites texts from volumes 10–12 of *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (W, the Centenary Edition [1903–1904]), three posthumous volumes that contain essays and lectures attributed to Emerson that were actually edited, arranged, or improvised by his literary executors, whereas CW publishes only those writings that Emerson personally wrote in their entirety, authorized for publication, and saw into print.

The dedication recognizes the editorial achievement of general editor Ronald A. Bosco and textual editor Joel Myerson in bringing to completion *The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. They are already renowned for accomplishing what conventional wisdom deemed editorially impossible, and at the appearance of *CW* 10 all Emersonians rejoice.

Wesley T. Mott Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts, 2013





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## Abbreviations

AW	Emerson's Antislavery Writings, ed. Len Gougeon and Joel	
	Myerson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).	
CEC	The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle, ed. Joseph Slater	
	(New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).	
CS	The Complete Sermons of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 4 vols., ec	
	Albert J. von Frank et al. (Columbia: University of Missouri	
	Press, 1989–92).	
CW	The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 10 vols., ed. Alfred	
	R. Ferguson, Joseph Slater, Douglas Emory Wilson, Ronald	
	A. Bosco et al. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press,	
	1971–2013).	
EL	The Early Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 3 vols., ed. Robert	
	E. Spiller, Stephen E. Whicher, and Wallace E. Williams	
	(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959–72).	
JMN	The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo	
	Emerson, 16 vols., ed. William H. Gilman, Ralph H. Orth et al.	
	(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960–82).	
L	The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 10 vols., ed. Ralph L. Rusk	
	and Eleanor M. Tilton (New York: Columbia University Press,	
	1939, 1990–95).	
Life	Ralph L. Rusk, The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson (New York:	
	Scribner's, 1949).	
LL	The Later Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 2 vols., ed. Ronald	
	A. Bosco and Joel Myerson (Athens: University of Georgia	
	Press, 2001).	
Mind	Robert D. Richardson Jr., Emerson: The Mind on Fire (Berkeley:	
	University of California Press, 1995).	
W	The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 12 vols., ed. Edward	
	Waldo Emerson (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1903–04).	

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# Chronology

## Sterling F. Delano

1796

October 25 William Emerson and Ruth Haskins, RWE's parents,

wed in Boston.

1803

May 25 Ralph Waldo Emerson born in Boston, the fourth

of eight children: Phebe Ripley (1798), John Clarke (1799), William (1801), Edward Bliss (1805), Robert Bulkeley (1807), Charles Chauncy (1808), and Mary

Caroline (1811).

1811

May 12 William Emerson, RWE's father, dies.

1812

Spring RWE enters the Boston Latin School.

June 18 United States declares war on Great Britain, initiating

the War of 1812.

1814

April 14 Three-year-old sister Mary Caroline dies.

1817

October 10 RWE enrolls and begins classes at Harvard College.

1818

January Between terms at Harvard, RWE's first teaching

experience at his Uncle Samuel Ripley's school in

Waltham.

1820

Awarded Bowdoin Prize for essay on "The Character

of Socrates."

Awarded Boylston Prize for public speaking.

XXV



> xxvi Chronology

1821

Hears Sampson Reed deliver his "Oration on Genius" August 21

at Harvard.

Graduates from Harvard College. August 29

Autumn Begins teaching (unhappily) at brother William's

school for young ladies in Boston.

T822

November-RWE's first publication, "Thoughts on the Religion December

of the Middle Ages," appears in the Christian Disciple

and Theological Review.

1823

Mav Emerson family moves from Boston to nearby Roxbury. December 5 William Emerson sails for Europe. RWE manages

William's school.

1825

February RWE enrolls in the Harvard Divinity School. American Unitarian Association is formed. May 25

September 12 RWE opens school in Chelmsford. In December he

closes school.

1826

April 1 Opens school in Cambridge.

September Reads Observations on the Growth of the Mind by

Sampson Reed.

October 10 RWE is approbated to preach.

By end of month RWE closes his school in Cambridge, October 23

ends career as a teacher.

November 25 RWE's tubercular symptoms prompt trip

Charleston, SC.

1827

RWE preaches forty-eight sermons this year.

Departs Charleston, SC, arrives in St. Augustine, FL. January 13 Arrives in Alexandria, VA, after a brief stop in Baltimore. April 28 Visits William Henry Furness, his childhood friend, May 24

in Philadelphia.

Iune 1 Visits brother William in New York.

December 25 Preaching in Concord, NH, RWE introduced to Ellen

Louisa Tucker, whom RWE will marry in 1829.



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1828

RWE preaches 109 sermons this year.

August 28 RWE elected honorary member of Phi Beta Kappa.
December 17 RWE and Ellen Louisa Tucker become engaged.

1829

RWE preaches ninety-four sermons this year.

March RWE ordained junior pastor at Second Church in

Boston.

March 4 Andrew Jackson takes office as the seventh president

of the United States.

July I Henry Ware Jr., senior pastor of Second Church, hav-

ing stepped down because of illness, RWE's annual

salary is increased to \$1,800.

September 30 RWE and Ellen Louisa Tucker married in Concord,

NH.

1830

RWE preaches just over 100 sermons this year.

January I RWE withdraws two books from the Boston

Athenaeum, from which he would withdraw more

than 435 books in his lifetime.

March 13 Ellen Tucker Emerson is introduced to RWE's aunt

Mary Moody Emerson.

May 28 President Andrew Jackson signs "Indian Removal Act"

into law.

1831

RWE preaches 108 sermons this year.

February 8 Ellen Tucker Emerson dies of tuberculosis; she was

nineteen years old. She is buried in her family's tomb

in Roxbury.

1832

RWE preaches sixty-eight sermons this year.

March 29 RWE visits Ellen's tomb and opens her coffin.
September RWE notifies Second Church that he will resign.

December 22 Farewell letter sent to the Second Church.

December 25 RWE leaves for Europe.

1833

February RWE's first trip to Europe. Travels to Malta, Italy,

France, England, and Scotland, along the way meeting



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Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, and

Thomas Carlyle, among other notables.

October 9 Arrives in Boston from European trip.

December 3 RWE's brother William marries Susan Woodward

Haven.

1834

RWE preaches seventy-eight sermons this year.

May 13 RWE receives \$11,600, half of the inheritance from

Ellen Tucker.

October 3 RWE's brother Edward dies of tuberculosis in

Puerto Rico.

October 9 RWE moves to Concord, MA, where his mother has

been living.

1835

RWE preaches seventy-one sermons and delivers

twenty-six lectures this year.

January 24 RWE proposes marriage, by mail, to Lydia Jackson of

Plymouth, MA.

July 7 Purchases Coolidge House on the Cambridge Road in

oncord.

September 12 Delivers Historical Discourse marking Concord bicen-

tennial. RWE is the fourth choice of the Selection

Committee.

September 14 RWE marries Lydia Jackson in Plymouth.

1836

RWE preaches seventy-three sermons and delivers

twenty-seven lectures this year.

May 9 RWE's brother Charles dies in New York.

July 24 Margaret Fuller arrives in Concord and meets RWE

for first time; she stays at the Emerson home for three

weeks.

September 8 First meeting of Transcendental Club. RWE will attend

twenty of the twenty-five documented meetings.

September 9 Publication of RWE's first book, Nature.

October 30 Waldo Emerson is born.

1837

RWE preaches seventy-three sermons and delivers

twenty-nine lectures this year.



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May 12 Financial Panic of 1837. New York and Boston banks

suspend specie payments.

July 27 RWE receives second half of Ellen Tucker

inheritance - \$11,674.49.

August 31 Delivers Phi Beta Kappa "American Scholar Address."
September 1 Transcendental Club meets at RWE's home. First

time women are included (Margaret Fuller; Elizabeth

Hoar; Sarah Bradford Ripley).

September 23 James Munroe & Co. print 500 copies of the

"American Scholar Address."

1838

RWE preaches thirteen sermons and delivers forty-

four lectures this year.

February 24 Second edition of the "American Scholar Address"

published.

March 14 RWE relinquishes his "ecclesiastical charge" at East

Lexington and indicates he will no longer preach

except at the Lyceum.

May 14 RWE's letter to President Martin Van Buren protest-

ing the Cherokee Removal published in the Daily

National Intelligencer (Washington, DC).

July 15 Delivers address to Harvard Divinity School

graduates.

August 21 James Munroe & Co. publishes Divinity School

Address.

1839

RWE preaches three sermons and delivers twenty-one

lectures this year.

January 20 RWE makes final pulpit appearance.

February 23 Birth of second child and first daughter, Ellen.

1840

RWE delivers thirty-one lectures this year.

March Bronson Alcott and family move to Concord.

July First issue of *The Dial* (1840–44) is published. RWE

persuades Margaret Fuller to serve as editor.

October 16 George and Sophia Ripley meet with RWE, Fuller,

and Alcott in Concord to discuss "new social plans"

(i.e., the organization of Brook Farm).



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December 15 RWE notifies the Ripleys he will neither join nor sup-

port the new community.

1841

RWE delivers eleven lectures this year.

March 19 Essays [First Series] published.

November 22 Birth of third child and second daughter, Edith.

1842

RWE delivers nineteen lectures this year.

January 11 Henry Thoreau's brother, John, dies of lockjaw.

January 27 Waldo Emerson dies of scarlatina after a three-day

illness.

May 6 Bronson Alcott departs for England; RWE under-

writes the trip.

July First issue of *The Dial* under RWE's editorship.

July 9 Nathaniel Hawthorne and Sophia Peabody are

wed and move into the Emerson ancestral home in

Concord known as the "Old Manse."

1843

RWE delivers twenty-six lectures this year.

1844

RWE delivers thirty lectures this year.

January RWE makes sixth and final visit to Brook Farm.

July 10 Birth of fourth child and second son, Edward Waldo.

August 1 Delivers address on "Emancipation in the British West

Indies" in Concord.

September Purchases forty-one-acre lot by Walden Pond.

October 19 Essays: Second Series published.

1845

RWE delivers fourteen lectures this year.

July 4 Thoreau begins residence at Walden Pond on property

owned by RWE.

1846

RWE delivers fifty-three lectures this year.

December 25 Poems published (Boston edition).

1847

RWE delivers fifty-five lectures this year.

September Thoreau leaves Walden Pond cabin and moves back to

Concord.