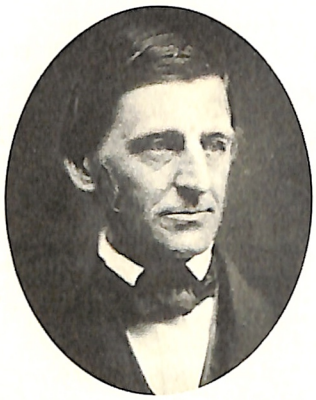

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EMERSON SOCIETY PAPERS

Sampson Reed: A Swedenborgian at Harvard and Early Emerson Colleague

BILL R. SCALIA
Columbia, Maryland

That Sampson Reed (1800–1880) had a significant influence on Ralph Waldo Emerson's early work has been generally accepted by Emerson scholars. Reed's work is clearly predisposed toward the importance of visual recognition (and cognition), and as in Emerson's work, "seeing" and related visual terms become complicated and multifaceted. Reed would bring these aesthetic elements—language and vision—and the unique capacity (or *responsibility*) of the poet, to Emerson at an important early juncture in his career.

Still, while this influence on Emerson is acknowledged, and the extent of that influence has been traced in a general sense (meaning that scholars have located passages in Reed that Emerson gleaned, both directly and implicitly), critics have been less concerned with specific ways in which Emerson's aesthetics may have been influenced, or better yet, formed, by his reading of Sampson Reed. Scholars have, correctly, been careful to note that because of the Unitarian community's rejection of Swedenborgian doctrine, Reed, cautious of his standing in the community, was careful not to mention Swedenborg by name in his two most influential works, the "Oration on Genius" (1821) and *Observations on the Growth of the Mind* (1826). In fact, Reed actually uses Swedenborg's theology to define a specific theory of aesthetics. Who, then, is Sampson Reed, where did he encounter Emerson, and what is the nature of his influence?

Clarence Hotson, in 1929, was the first critic to closely examine Reed's writings. Of Reed's importance to Emerson he writes,

> While studying the relationship of Emanuel Swedenborg to Ralph Waldo Emerson, I have discovered incidentally a remarkable intellectual influence, hitherto little regarded, which a Swedenborgian friend of Emerson's had upon him. This friend, Sampson Reed, gave the first definite impulse which led to Emerson's literary career.[1]

Kenneth Walter Cameron has probably done the most extensive work on Reed's influence on Emerson, perhaps the most valuable study being his summaries of Reed's best known works, "Oration on Genius" and *Observations on the Growth of the Mind,* which went through nine American editions and three editions in England.[2] In Cameron's brief three-and-a-half-page summary of *Growth of the Mind,* he cites twenty-seven passages that reappear, closely paraphrased, in Emerson's *Nature* (1836). The title of The Swedenborg Foundation's 1992 issue of *Swedenborg Studies—Sampson Reed: Primary Source Material for Emerson Studies*—further acknowledges Reed's importance in Emerson's life and work. More recently, Joel Myerson's inclusion of the whole text of *Growth of the Mind* in his anthology *Transcendentalism* (Oxford, 2000) recognizes Reed's significance as an early influence on the movement, especially through his introduction to Emerson of Emanuel Swedenborg's writings.

Reed remains a rather obscure figure in nineteenth-century American letters. A brief biographical sketch here of Reed's early career will serve to place him in the context of the Harvard environment of the young Emerson. Reed's path to the Unitarian pulpit seemed to lie clearly before him. He had been educated for his first fourteen years by his father, Dr. John Reed, a former Calvinist turned Unitarian who had served for more than fifty years as pastor of the First Church in West Bridgewater, Massachusetts. At fourteen, Sampson Reed was enrolled at Harvard to begin undergraduate work and quickly distinguished himself as a scholar of great potential. His Harvard roommate was Thomas Worcester, who would become the key figure in Reed's spiritual life. Beginning in Reed's junior year at Harvard, Worcester's "principal employment was in reading [Swedenborg's] *Heavenly Doctrines* and in communicating a knowledge of them" to fellow students.[3] Reed's son James writes that "during this time [Reed's] religious opinions underwent a complete change, unless, indeed, it would more properly be said that they were then first definitely formed. He became a thorough believer in the doctrinal system propounded by Emanuel Swedenborg."[4]

(Continued on page 11)

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ESP welcomes notes and short articles (up to about 8 double-spaced, typed pages) on Emerson-related topics. Manuscripts are blind refereed. On matters of style, consult previous issues. We also solicit information about editions, publications, and research in progress on Emerson and his circle; queries and requests for information in aid of research in these fields; and significant news of Emersonian scholars. Send manuscripts to the editor, Wesley T. Mott, Department of Humanities & Arts, Worcester Polytechnic Institute, 100 Institute Road, Worcester, MA 01609-2280, or email wmott@wpi.edu.

Review copies of books on Emerson should be sent to book review editor Jennifer Gurley, Department of English, Le Moyne College, 1419 Salt Springs Road, Syracuse, NY 13214-1399.

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PROSPECTS.

American Literature Assocation Conference

The Ralph Waldo Emerson Society will present two panels in Boston during the eighteenth annual conference of the American Literature Association, which will be held 24-27 May 2007. Times and dates for the panels and for our annual business meeting will be announced later. For details check the ALA's Web site, www.americanliterature.org.

SESSION I
New Approaches to Emerson: Exploring the Family Ties
CHAIR: Phyllis Cole *(Penn State University-DelawareCounty)*

"Realizing 'the publick spirit of Plato's republick': Mary Moody Emerson, Ambition, and Women's Writing," Noelle Baker *(independent scholar)*

"'Not a Pure Idealist': Emerson and the Civil War," Jessie Bray *(University of South Carolina)*

"'Who in future undertake to write Father's biography?': The Emerson Family and Emerson's Reputation," Robert Habich *(Ball State University)*

"The Familial Canon of Emerson's Poetry," Joseph Thomas *(Caldwell College)*

SESSION II
Emerson on Other Shores: *English Traits* and Beyond
CHAIR: Todd Richardson *(University of Texas-Permian Basin)*

"Emerson's Encounter with European Natural History in 'Goethe; or the Writer,'" Michael Jonik *(SUNY-Albany)*

"Emerson's Search for a Teacher: The Jardin des Plantes," Richard Geldard *(independent scholar)*

"Transcendental Orientalism: Question of Materiality," Tamara Emerson *(Wayne State University)*

The ALA conference will be held at the Westin Copley Place, 10 Huntington Avenue, Boston (617-262-9600). The conference fee for those who pre-register before 15 April is $75 ($25 for graduate students, independent scholars, and retired faculty); after that date, the cost increases by $10 for each category.

Concord 2007: "Emerson and the Quotidian Life"

The Emerson Society will present a panel on "Emerson and the Quotidian Life" at the Thoreau Society Annual Gathering, reports our program chair, Joe Thomas. Speakers will be Sarah Ann Wider (Colgate University) on "Emerson's 'Home' and Hospitality of Mind" and Elizabeth Addison (Western Carolina University) on "The Quaker Element in Emerson's Simplicity." The theme of the Gathering—which will be held in Concord, Mass., on 12-15 July—is "'Simplify, simplify': Thoreau's Timeless Message." For details, visit www.thoreausociety.org

Emerson Sightings/Citings

Clarence Burley sends Father Eugene Hemrick's "Human Side" column from the *Catholic Free Press* of 22 December 2006 titled "My Christmas wish for you." The first paragraph reads, "Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote that 'America is a poem in our eyes,' but he thought the country had not found a poet worthy of the subject. He became that poet." Though Whitman might lay claim to that achievement, the column ends with the Emersonian sentiment, "May the poetic spirit with which God blesses us course through you and renew the ageless gifts of 'vision' tucked within your soul!"

Mr. Burley also writes that Emerson is extensively and "honorably mentioned" in Tim Traver's *Sippewissett or Life on a Salt Marsh* (White River Junction, Vt.: Chelsea Green, 2006), though RWE is said to have 'resigned as minister to the Unitarian Church in Cambridge' (187).

Brenda Yates Habich sends along an item from the journal *American Libraries* (January 2007), p. 22: "The sons of pioneering woman cartoonist Marjorie Henderson Buell have donated their mother's papers to Harvard University's Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America." Marjorie Henderson Buell's most enduring cartoon creation is the strong-willed child "Little Lulu." One of the cartoonist's sons is eminent Emersonian Lawrence Buell of Harvard, who notes in the article that "Lulu seems to me to be of great historical interest as a barometer of young women's assertiveness in a male-dominated culture."

Joel Brattin reports: In an article about the 19th-century Russian writer Alexander Herzen, Keith Gessen quotes a passage from Herzen's memoirs, descriptive of his friend Belinsky's rhetorical power and physical weakness, and then notes that "Like Emerson's early essays, [this passage] inaugurates a national style. Herzen does this sociologically and through the dramatic retelling of literary and intellectual history; Emerson did so through exhortation and reflections on nature. (This is why Russia has literary and philosophical debate, and we have 'Snow Falling on Cedars.')" (*The New Yorker,* 30 October 2006, p. 94).

Sampson Reed

Sampson Reed, the Boston druggist and Swedenborgian, was a crucial early influence on Emerson. *See article beginning on page 1.*

Lucy Stone Reviews Emerson

WESLEY T. MOTT
Worcester Polytechnic Institute

A previously unrecorded review of Emerson's *Fortune of the Republic* by woman's rights activist Lucy Stone appears in *The Woman's Journal* for 9 November 1878.[1]

Lucy Stone (1818-1893) was the first woman from Massachusetts to earn a bachelor's degree (Oberlin, 1847) and an ardent abolitionist. In 1869, with Julia Ward Howe, Mary Livermore, and Stone's husband, Henry B. Blackwell (she defiantly retained her surname), she founded the American Woman Suffrage Association, whose Executive Committee she chaired for years. One of a team of editors when *The Woman's Journal* was established in Boston the following year, Stone by 1872 was the dominant force guiding the paper in its mission to advocate for woman's rights, particularly suffrage.[2]

Lucy Stone

Emerson's reticence about personal engagement in woman's rights is well known. In 1850 he declined an invitation from Paulina W. Davis to speak at the Woman's Rights Convention in Worcester. Though he professed to support woman's rights to "hold property, and vote" and agreed to be listed as a sponsor, he balked at women's conducting such business at "a public meeting."[3] And when Lucy Stone invited him to speak in Worcester the next year, he again declined, doubting that he had "any message worth bringing to you if I were free" but claiming that, in any case, he was too busy working on the Life of Margaret Fuller (*L* 8:288). Finally, he accepted Davis's invitation to lecture at the Boston convention on 20 September 1855, and he spoke before the New England Woman Suffrage Association (NEWSA) in 1869. That year he was even chosen as a Vice President of NEWSA—a position his wife Lidian later held for several years, along with such leaders as Livermore, Howe, Louisa May Alcott, and Stone, who later also served as President. And he gave several talks before the Women's Club of New England.

Emerson's stance on woman's rights, though, has elicited nuanced verdicts from the leading scholars in the field. Len Gougeon argues that Emerson's "involvement with the women's movement…approximates the trajectory of his experience with the antislavery movement. Both began with a troubled concern, moved to a reserved commitment, and culminated in unambiguous support." Armida Gilbert considers Emerson open to the views of women such as Margaret Fuller and a welcome supporter of Woman Suffrage. Phyllis Cole, however, finds his commitment to woman's rights equivocal and marked by "inner resistance." Yet Helen R. Deese shows that Boston author and reformer Caroline Dall, who avidly followed Emerson's lectures, did not criticize his measured 1855 address and may have influenced his thinking on the Woman Question.[4]

Certainly by 1855 Emerson had grown to admire Stone as a representative courageous voice for reform. In his Notebook "Liberty" he fumed against the reactionaries who had supported the Fugitive Slave Law: "our Whigs are only brave in a cowardly cause. They are brave to call Theodore Parker hard names, brave to mob Garrison & Phillips, brave to mob quakers & Miss Lucy Stone, but when the State of Massachusetts is threatened & insulted & disfranchised, they are as gentle & peaceable as whipt dogs."[5] For her part, Stone valued Emerson as a prophet of America rising as a light to the world. Her voice is thus somewhat strange today, as scholars are debunking notions of U.S. exceptionalism, and exploring the nation's literary culture in global context. But her pointed comment on the folly of the nation's *present* leadership and her advocacy of equal rights resound still.

The debate will continue as to whether Emerson's commitment to woman suffrage was sufficiently early or thorough. But by the mid-1870s, one fact is clear: The champions of Woman Suffrage were only too glad to claim him as one of their own. He had become "a great rock, secure and solid," in their continuing struggle.[6]

FORTUNE OF THE REPUBLIC. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Houghton Osgood & Co.

This book is the lecture given by Mr. Emerson for the benefit of the Old South Church last spring. Like others by the same author, its sentences are separate gems, rich, profound; a mine of wealth for every one who has eyes to see. Mr. Emerson begins by saying: "It is a rule that holds in economy as well as in hydraulics, that you must have a source higher than you tap. Revolutions begin with the best heads, and run steadily down to the populace. The interest in dynastic wars is over; now we only value ideas and principles. When the cannon is aimed by ideas, when men with religious convictions are behind it, when men die for what they live for, and the mainspring that works daily urges them to hazard all, then the cannon articulates its explosions with the voice of a man, then the rifle seconds the cannon and the fowling-piece the rifle, and the women make the cartridges, and all shoot at one mark; then gods join in the combat; then poets are born, and the better code of laws at last records the victory. At every moment some one country more than any other represents the sentiment and the future of mankind." Mr. Emerson considers that America is the country. He welcomes men of all nations to it. He believes in free trade, in commerce; says that "the passion for America will cast out the passion for Europe." The book is full of subjects for thought, full of suggestions, and ought to be read again and again. It is like a great rock, secure and solid, in presence of the empty-headed and blatant meddlers with the affairs of the nation.

L.S.

Notes

1. The review appears in volume 9, number 45, of *The Woman's Journal* on page 360, the back, or eighth page; the newspaper numbers its pages sequentially for the entire year. I am grateful to the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, for access to its run of *The Woman's Journal.*

Emerson's *Fortune of the Republic* can be traced to his lecture of that name in Boston on 1 December 1863. The 1878 Houghton Osgood edition was, as Stone notes, based on Emerson's 1878 lecture at Old South Church, a revised version of the 1863 lecture that, in turn, was substantially reworked by James Elliot Cabot and Ellen Emerson before it appeared in print. See Joel Myerson's textual commentary in *Emerson's Antislavery Writings,* ed. Len Gougeon and Myerson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 183-186. The 1863 lecture appears in that volume (137-154) and in *The Later Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1843-1871,* 2 vols., ed. Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 2:319-335.

2. See Carol Lasser's essay on Lucy Stone in *American National Biography.* In 1880, Stone was listed on the masthead as sole editor, with Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Howe, Livermore, and Blackwell as "Editorial Contributors."

3. *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* 10 vols., ed. Ralph L. Rusk and Eleanor M. Tilton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, 1990-1995), 4:230. Cited hereafter in the text as *L.*

4. Gougeon, "Emerson and the Woman Question: The Evolution of His Thought," *New England Quarterly* 71 (December 1998): 570-592; Gilbert, "Emerson in the Context of the Woman's Rights Movement," *A Historical Guide to Ralph Waldo Emerson,* ed. Joel Myerson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 211-249; Cole, "The New Movement's Tide: Emerson and Women's Rights," *Emerson Bicentennial Essays,* ed. Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2006), 117-152; Deese, "'A Liberal Education': Caroline Healey Dall and Emerson," *Emersonian Circles: Essays in Honor of Joel Myerson,* ed. Wesley T. Mott and Robert E. Burkholder (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 1997), 237-260.

5. *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* 16 vols., ed. William H. Gilman, Ralph H. Orth, et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960-1982), 14:415.

6. *The Woman's Journal* continued to claim Emerson posthumously as a champion of woman suffrage. See Todd H. Richardson's excellent "Publishing the Cause of Suffrage: *The Woman's Journal*'s Appropriation of Ralph Waldo Emerson in Postbellum America," *New England Quarterly* 79 (December 2006): 578-608.

An Emerson Bibliography, 2005

DAVID M. ROBINSON
Oregon State University

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Wayne, Tiffany K. *Woman Thinking: Feminism and Transcendentalism in Nineteenth-Century America.* Lexington. [Transcendentalism as a formative influence on the early women's rights movement]

Wright, Conrad. "American Unitarianism in 1805." *JUUH* 30:1-35. [Religious and social character of Unitarianism in the year of Henry Ware, Sr.'s election at Harvard]

Dear Emerson Society Members,
I want to thank all of the authors and reviewers who have waited so patiently for their reviews to appear in ESP. *I inherited quite a backlog when I jumped on board as Book Review Editor in 2004, and I am happy to say that we are almost up to speed. Please do continue to direct my way (or direct me to) books that you believe would be of interest to our members.*

All Best,
Jennifer Gurley

Reviews

To Set This World Right: The Antislavery Movement in Thoreau's Concord.
SANDRA HARBERT PETRULIONIS. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2006. 225 + xi pp. $29.95 cloth.

Sandra Petrulionis helps answer several important questions posed by scholars over the past decade regarding the involvement of American Transcendentalists in abolition. Celebrated critics of Jacksonian America, Emerson and Thoreau had notoriously eccentric relations with the antislavery societies and other activist groups that fought for emancipation. Some scholars have argued that Emerson's and Thoreau's idealist philosophies profoundly influenced abolitionists, even though both intellectuals were reluctant to participate in the organized movements on which emancipation depended. Petrulionis demonstrates convincingly that Emerson and Thoreau themselves were deeply influenced by political activists, ranging from such forgotten heroes as Mary Merrick Brooks, Prudence Ward, and Lewis Hayden to more memorable figures, such as Frederick Douglass, Louisa May Alcott, John Brown, and Franklin Benjamin Sanborn. Deeply divided between their commitments to individual reform and the social reform that abolition demanded, Emerson and Thoreau often vacillated and equivocated, especially in the years prior to the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law, while their family, friends, and neighbors in Concord attempted to enlist them in a morally just struggle.

Petrulionis bases her argument on scrupulous research in primary texts, including the correspondence, diaries, and public lectures of the women and men who shaped Concord's abolitionist movement. I understand why this book took ten years to research and write: It depends on Petrulionis's careful attention to the everyday organization of antislavery groups and their members, especially women. Although historians know well how crucial women were in abolition, her book is the first detailed account of how ordinary women shaped this reform movement. Emerson's wife Lidian and daughter Ellen subscribed to William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* and urged Emerson to take a more active role in abolition, as Thoreau's mother and sisters prodded Thoreau toward greater public activism in the cause. Mary Brooks's husband, Nathan, was a Congressman who opposed abolition, even though his wife was eulogized by Wendell Phillips as a leader of "those untiring women that 'won or wearied' the noted names of Concord into sympathy with this great uprising for justice" (158). Mary Brooks, Prudence Ward, Sophia Thoreau, Lidian Emerson, and other activist women of Concord used an extraordinary variety of means to promote abolition, ranging from their antislavery "fairs" at which they sold their handiwork to raise funds, to the efforts of several Concord women to prevent federal marshals from "kidnapping" Franklin Sanborn in 1860 for his part in John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry.

Petrulionis has written an important addition to the history of abolition and women's rights. She has answered questions about Emerson's and Thoreau's involvement in both movements, although she might have addressed more directly Emerson's troubling views on women's rights, especially in his 1855 essay, "Woman." Thoreau was moved by others from the symbolic legal actions of his lecture "Civil Disobedience" (1848) to the more revolutionary position of "A Plea for Captain John Brown" (1859). For Petrulionis, Emerson was slower to change, even if he did eventually endorse the justice of John Brown's cause and the necessity of the Civil War. Neither Transcendentalist would have contributed much to the cause of abolition without the urging of the women of Concord, heroes of the twinned fights for women's rights and abolition. Every student of American Transcendentalism should read this book; it teaches us how ordinary people helped transform U.S. politics, as well as influenced their more famous friends and neighbors. The book also testifies to the ways these women transgressed the boundary separating their "separate sphere" of domesticity from the public sphere of political action and conscience.

—JOHN CARLOS ROWE
University of Southern California

Emancipating Pragmatism: Emerson, Jazz, and Experimental Writing.
MICHAEL MAGEE. University of Alabama Press, 2004. 264 pp. $27.50 paper.

With the bold eclecticism and appropriation of an experimental musician, Michael Magee enacts the methodologies he writes about by riffing on topics from the disparate and distended history of American creative life: the founding documents, Emerson's writing, African-American literature, pragmatism, jazz, and experimental poetry.

Magee claims that Ralph Waldo Emerson adopted a "pragmatist view of language," and that Ralph Waldo Ellison considered jazz the "predominant form of pragmatist artistic practice and democratic symbolic action in the twentieth century" (10-11). The opening scene of Magee's book illustrates the connection "between Emerson's 'experimenter' and the jazz improviser," creating by steps an argument for a continuity between Emerson's writing; African-American emancipation; American self-creation; pragmatic theories of action in language; and the manifestation of Emersonian pragmatic ambitions in jazz music and Ellison's writing (12). Ellison made a case for understanding the "American vernacular" as (appropriating Kenneth Burke's idea) a form of "democratic symbolic action" (23). When we consider "how a rhetorical theory of form might be wedded to a desire for democracy," the various lines drawn together in this book—Emerson, Ellison, jazz, experimental writing, et al.—appear to share the ambition of "acting symbolically in favor of an improvised republic" of citizens who are themselves continually engaged in experiments with form (17, 19).

In Chapter 2, Magee emphasizes the Emersonian attempt to turn readers back to themselves, employing what Stanley Cavell calls "aversive thinking," in the light of African-American emancipation and creative expression. Once a reader realizes the "contingency of language," he is thrust into the role of writer (or interpreter of signs). The "onus of connection, logical systemization, and analogy, is felt to be squarely the responsibility of the reader" (49, 51). Magee says that Emerson understood this for himself, for example, when he recognized that "the debate over slavery was a debate highly dependent on theories of reading, on the interpretation of cultural documents and cultural myths" (70). Through his own writing, Emerson created the conditions for readers to enact their own forms of democratic

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symbolic action. Power and security often enable silence and complacency because one has the impression that things are settled and stable, but an inspired, vulnerable reader understands the degree to which he can write (and re-write) his condition and constitution. Magee notes, poignantly, Emerson's insistence that "American genius finds its true type…in the poor Negro soldier lying in the trenches by the Potomac with his spelling book in one hand and his musket in the other." Such a man is fighting for freedom, as Magee puts it, "under a new set of rules, a set of rules that put mental and physical symbolic activity on the same playing field (or battlefield), a set of rules that made the liminal self agent in the proposal of a liminal nation" (89).

In Chapter 3, Magee focuses on the numerous lines of affinity between Ellison and Emerson, or more specifically the way "a whole range of characters in [*Invisible Man*] are, consciously or unconsciously, claiming Emerson's inheritance by signifying on him" (98). Much of the chapter is dedicated to a "genealogy" of the characters in the novel who "signify on Emerson" (103). Ellison is recognized for his "troping on the history of democratic symbolic action," exemplified by his appropriation of Emerson (101). That usage capitalizes on the way Emerson makes space for his inheritors to put his words to new purposes, in new contexts. "Ellison suggests that if Emerson's pragmatism was an event aimed at renewing the language of the American Revolution, then jazz (and the writing Ellison develops out of jazz culture) is an event that renews the language of Emersonian pragmatism" (103). Emerson, Ellison, and jazz artists share the same project: "the improvisation of American democracy" (126).

In the concluding chapter, Magee turns to the relationship between poetry (specifically experimental writing), jazz, and democracy. The downtown Manhattan bar The Five Spot serves as a geographical as well as spiritual space for reflecting on the meaning of improvisation. Magee says of Frank O'Hara that he came to regard the new jazz avant-garde of The Five Spot "with other forms of egalitarian desire, including his own poetry and the Civil Rights movement" (130). As a result, O'Hara's poetic work, like Ellison's prose work, began to invoke "formal and social" elements found in jazz performance. O'Hara's influence on the poetics of Black Mountain College led one of its teachers, Robert Duncan, to speak of a "pragmatic literary agency" (138). The work of John Dewey (particularly *Art as Experience*) is also close at hand, and motivates both the work at Black Mountain and O'Hara's creative desire. O'Hara was seeking, as Dewey says, the conditions for "more comprehensive and exact relationships among the constituents of his being…more opportunities for resistance and tension, more drafts upon experience and invention, and therefore more novelty in action, greater range and depth of insight and increased poignancy of feeling" (143). Drawing all the voices together—from Emerson to the Negro soldier in the trench, from the jazz musician to Ellison, from Frank O'Hara to Black Mountain—we discover many common elements. Principal among them is a pragmatic pursuit of emancipation.

We might regard the title of Ornette Coleman's 1960 album—*Free Jazz: A Collective Improvisation*—as an apt description of the project and process of American pragmatism. The musician Marc Ribot has commented that while free jazz artists such as Coleman were "freeing up certain strictures of bebop," they were also "developing new structures of composition." Magee's investigation shows how this compensation is a hallmark of all democratic symbolic action: Moments of flair are balanced by pauses and restraints. Coleman himself described his music as a "democratic experience" (128). Likewise, we can see that life in a real democracy is a kind of jazz experience. One of the outcomes of Magee's effort is the chance to see the degree to which the phenomenon of improvisation obtains in poetry and social action, in jazz and government, in literature and the creation of American identity.

—David LaRocca
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The Essential Transcendentalists.
Richard G. Geldard. New York: Penguin, 2005. 265 pp. $15.95 paper.

Explaining New England Transcendentalism to French companions is not an easy task when one's friends speak very little English, and one's French is little more than a faint memory. But with the help of Richard Geldard's new anthology, I managed to grace the conversation of a small dinner party in Normandy. Geldard's book, written in a refreshingly accessible style, provides just such a foundation for building new gatherings of Transcendentalists.

This anthology differs from other collections of Transcendentalist writings in its attention to the movement's spiritual teachings. It is perhaps for this reason that Geldard emphasizes that the Transcendentalists seek rather than possess truths; indeed he refers to them as "seekers" (the word appears frequently) rather than philosophers. Organized into three sections, the anthology first presents what Geldard considers to be the primary texts. He introduces the material by describing Transcendentalism as the coming together of various men and women who were unsatisfied with the spiritual, religious, and philosophical movements of their day. These seekers rejected the materialist views of consciousness and reality that dominated the thinking of the time. They believed, instead, in what Emerson calls "the infinitude of the private man," who can access "higher nature," through "self-reflective thought" (5). Geldard chose his exemplary texts with this view in mind: "the selection of the following materials, especially those involving the primary sources and some of the minor figures in the movement, illustrates the principle of *essentialism,* not only in that term's metaphysical meaning of asserting the preeminence of essence over existence, but also in its more literary sense of stripping away nonessential elements to concentrate on main points" (28). Sampson Reed, James Marsh, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Amos Bronson Alcott, and Emerson are among those authors included, and a selected biography provides direction for further reading.

The second and longest section, entitled "Individual Voices," features selections from the works of Emerson, Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Henry David Thoreau, and Frederic Henry Hedge. The writing seems to come alive in a comfortable and friendly way as Geldard introduces the lives and works of his central authors, weaving biographical details with textual explication. This section emphasizes the personal nature of the quest(s) for truth, explaining that "although [the Transcendentalists] often met in groups and held conversations, they did search privately for their truths and sifted through their inner lives as solitaries" (63). The book's final section briefly surveys the movement's influence. Featured are, among others, Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson, Wallace Stevens, Loren Eiseley, and Annie Dillard. This short story of Transcendentalism's afterlife proves that its ideas and aims endure into today.

—Emilie Ortiga
Le Havre, France

The Emerson Brothers: A Fraternal Biography in Letters.
Ronald A. Bosco and Joel Myerson. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. xxv + 416 pp. $49.95 cloth.

As its title indicates, this book is a biographical story of the four brothers of the Emerson family: Charles Chauncy (1808-1836), Edward Bliss (1805-1834), Ralph Waldo (1803-1882), and William (1801-1868) Emerson. As the authors write in the preface, their research is based on previously inaccessible sources. The number of letters exchanged among the brothers amounts to 768; selections from these letters (the last included in this biographical story is a 14 March 1863 letter from William to Waldo) are placed alongside diary entries that are inserted here and there throughout the biography. Since this circle of Emerson brothers belonged to an extended circle of family and friends, selections from 483 letters between the brothers and their wives, the Hoar family, various friends, and especially Mary Moody Emerson, are properly and accurately referred to in order to produce a vivid and balanced depiction of their lives.

The letters are generally written to communicate, but they are often records of the soul. Charles's letters are typically so, being the lamentable records of his agony and despair. Filled with darkness and disbelief, they tell a tragic and strained story that is helpfully explained by Bosco and Myerson. In the midst of his dark thoughts, it seems, Charles appealed to and depended on Aunt Mary's "sublime confidence in the moral and emotional efficacy of Calvinism" (256). He is introverted and strongly dislikes "the mere practical man, who takes the external coating of the world to be the whole—& builds his fortunes, speculations, hopes, upon those courses of events…as final facts" (257). Emersonians might see in Charles the alter ego of Waldo, especially when reading the following passage from Charles's diary: "Do not tell me I am God, or that god is in me & I know it not—that when I seek often Him I shall not find Him save in that Reason whereof I partake, & which itself hastes to worship the unknown God, attesting the existence & Personality of its Author. This can I not receive and be happy" (245).

Hearing of Charles's worsening condition, Waldo writes that his "constitution has no power of resistance & therefore shut[s] him up & starve[s] him & he withers like a flower in the frost" (310; quoted from Rusk). And here is his response to Edward's death at St. John's, Puerto Rico: "So falls one more pile of hope for this life. I see I am bereaved of a part of myself" (143). The various faces Waldo shows in such circumstances will intrigue all Emersonians, whether they are interested in biographical study or in literary and philosophical research.

It is mainly because of Waldo's writings that we are interested in such a biographical family story of this kind. It may not originally have been the authors' intention to provide literary and philosophical commentary in relation to the family letters. There is no doubt, however, that the vivid and accurate depiction of the brothers' feelings, sentiments, pains, and hopes, makes this book one of the most notable recent contributions to the field. Such a work would not have been possible without Bosco and Myerson's painstaking work with the family materials.

—Shoji Goto
Rikkyo University

On Emerson.
David Justin Hodge. South Melbourne, Australia: Wadsworth, 2003. vi + 106 pp. $15.95 paper.

As a selection in the Wadsworth Philosophers Series, *On Emerson* aims to offer students new to the Concord Sage "a preliminary map" which "will serve as a guide to seek out other maps, and perhaps to write one's own" (vi). Hodge's book does indeed deliver a concise overview of major developments in Emerson's intellectual and personal life beginning with the early years in Boston and ending roughly with Emerson's engagement with the practical ethics of the Civil War era. As the book wends its way through Emerson's struggles to define his vocation and his familial losses, Hodge pauses frequently to explore pivotal essays and poems which most fully express moments of tension and transformation. These brief explorations, most notably of *Nature,* Divinity School Address, "Experience," and "Fate," are perhaps the best part of Hodge's effort. Succinct and even elegant, his textual analyses present the rich interpretive possibilities available to any reader of Emerson.

For example, Hodge suggests that Emerson transformed his terrible grief at the loss of his son Waldo into a practical and ultimately empowering orientation towards fate and casualty through his composition of "Experience." Although he does not go so far as Stanley Cavell's argument that "Experience" transformed Emerson's grief into the foundation of American philosophy, he does argue that his grief had philosophical import. It taught him of the "lords of life"—Kantian categories of the understanding with the significant revision that these "lords" are in fact a "flux of moods." These moods, including grief, are not merely "emotional states but existential conditions" (61-62). Hodge sums up with the observation that "Emerson's 'Experience' is a new statement of Emerson's experience. And that experience is defined by its recognition of life's limits as much as its powers of possibility" (63). The discussion, then, implicitly acknowledges and refutes the critical tradition which denies Emerson's sense of the tragic.

More problematic is the final chapter's treatment of Emerson's move towards the practical ethics of reform in antebellum America—a move occasioned by his own philosophical grapplings with freedom and necessity. When faced with inequalities based on race and gender, Emerson, according to Hodge, became fully cognizant of "the degree to which the *liberty* of some humans depends upon the *choice* of others" (83). Hodge, however, overstates Emerson's commitment to suffrage reform particularly, claiming that the essay "Woman" supported the reform "unambiguously" (89). Even those scholars who speak for Emerson's suffrage credentials, such as Len Gougeon, have avoided such descriptors for the composition. Hodge goes on to gloss over problematic quotations from the essay, such as "I do not think it yet appears that women wish this equal share in public affairs." Others, even more problematic, he ignores, such as "[women] would give, I suppose, as intelligent a vote as the Irish voters of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia."

Generally, organization is also somewhat problematic. *On Emerson,* like other full-length works, is constructed along both chronological and thematic axes, but one might wish that the schema were handled with greater felicity in the present case. For example, the chapter "Walking in Concord" is organized primarily upon the theme that the town was central to Emerson's intellectual life, and more neglectfully upon the order of the chapter's development. The result is that Hodge takes up Emerson's death, as resulting from one final walk in Concord, just midway through this middle chapter. Subsequent sections in this same chapter treat Emerson's role as a public intellectual, Emerson's relationship with Thoreau, and finally Emerson's work on the *Dial* with Fuller.

All in all, however, *On Emerson* is a worthwhile introduction to the life and thought of the Concord Sage. Those just getting acquainted with Emerson, or renewing an old friendship, should consider Hodge's book.

—Todd H. Richardson
University of Texas of the Permian Basin

Mr. Emerson's Cook.
Judith Bryon Schachner. New York: Dutton, 1998. 32 pp. out-of-print cloth. *(Review Editor's note: Secondhand copies of this lovely little book are easy to find.)*

Mr. Emerson's Cook is a children's book graced with small and subtle stabs at pleasing older readers. No deep critique of history hides in its pages, though; for the most part it strives simply to

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amuse children, and perhaps to teach them some about Emerson, his family, and his chef. As such, it does an impressive job. We meet Irish immigrant Annie Burns, a character based on the author's great-grandmother, when Annie arrives in America. We witness her awkward introduction to Emerson, her subsequent frustration with his lack of interest in food, and her eventual victory of reminding him, through her determined kitchen theatrics, how much he enjoys a good meal.

After Annie fails several times to feed the philosopher, she writes home telling her mother of the mishaps, and receives in response a cookbook she had written as a child. Annie spends a frosty New England night shivering beneath her covers and perusing her old cookbook's pages. Catalogued amidst the "mud pies" and "moon cakes," Annie finds a recipe that intrigues her: "A cup full of clouds, three spoons of gray sky, the song of a lark, one stone smooth and dry." She then imagines a series of nature-as-food scenes, which includes cameos from Thoreau, who builds a cabin next to "a steaming pond of soup," and Louisa May Alcott, who, at Emerson's table, enjoys some "snow pudding." Rejuvenated by her imagined culinary adventures, Annie returns to the kitchen the next morning and creates food that pulls Emerson from sleep and makes him jump atop a chair and cry with joy.

As one might expect, Emerson is oversimplified: He is concerned only with his imagination, and his family constantly is surrounded by animals, domesticated and otherwise, as the dreamy sage himself switches regularly from eccentric genius to inept bumbler. But perhaps the hyperbole best captures the essence of the Emerson family and its Concord home. And pictorially, the book is a treat. The watercolors are vivid, and Emerson's study and the characters' clothing are spot-on. Schachner is at her best portraying the out-of-doors: Night and day, summer and winter, the real and the imagined—all appear as wholly different worlds, as they often do to children.

For all its departures from history and indulgences in exaggeration, *Mr. Emerson's Cook* celebrates intellect, imagination, and hard work, just as Emerson did. This children's book oddly enough succeeds in doing what many accomplished scholars still struggle to do: It explains Emerson's big thinking in small terms.

—Jeffrey Moretti
College of Saint Rose

Woman Thinking: Feminism and Transcendentalism in Nineteenth-Century America.
Tiffany K. Wayne. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2005. xiii + 156 pp. $70.00 cloth.

When the terms feminism and Transcendentalism appear together, Margaret Fuller undoubtedly comes to mind, and for good reason: As Tiffany K. Wayne reaffirms in her new study, Fuller was the key figure in bringing the two movements together. There were many other women, however, who had vital roles in developing feminist thought by fueling it with Transcendentalism, women who encouraged others and gave a voice to female intellect. Wayne explains that "Margaret Fuller is central to the history of the Transcendentalist movement, but the focus on Fuller has perpetuated the idea of her as 'an exception to her sex'" (17). Highlighted in Wayne's book are the contributions of the women in Fuller's shadow, including Ednah Dow Cheney, Caroline Dall, Paulina Wright Davis, and Elizabeth Oakes Smith. Wayne's book marks a breakthrough in women's studies, pulling together these forgotten women, establishing their connections to one another and to the two movements, and therefore presenting a more complete history of feminist thought at the time. Her purpose is to "highlight the written work of several women less likely to be acknowledged in the history of Transcendentalism, and to examine the links between their understanding of the philosophy and their active feminism" (7). My only criticism of the book is of its organization. One chapter focuses on Fuller, and the remaining chapters, arranged thematically, tend to repeat the same points rather than develop Wayne's central claims, which are persuasive and interesting. For this reason, I will outline the claims rather the chapters.

Wayne explains, for example, how and why Transcendentalism became such a powerful influence in feminist thought and the women's rights movement. She argues that even though Transcendentalist philosophy didn't necessarily encourage women, it didn't specifically exclude them either. The women discussed worked hard to apply its claims to women and to force society to accept their revolution. Feminist thought existed already on its own, and Transcendentalism supported feminism in its articulation of alternative ways of living, and its invitation to self-reform as a means to social reform. Feminist thinkers did not simply convert Transcendentalism into a feminist agenda. Instead, they translated it into a universal social critique and an opportunity for self-improvement for the other half of the population. "Through the Conversations Margaret Fuller had attempted to 'call forth' and reform women's minds, to help them conceive of their own self-emancipation so that they could then 'qet out' their conviction" (Chapter Two).

It took a collective force to create such momentum and power, but Wayne makes it clear that many of the conventions, organized by some of the book's other heroines, called for women to take action and first improve and educate themselves. Despite their meager education and duties to their proper "sphere," women who attended the conventions were encouraged to be curious about the world around them, to question their position in society, and, most importantly, to contribute to the discussion of their own futures.

Wayne's study pays attention to the women named above who usually are noted not for their intellectual contributions, but only for their relationship to prominent men. She argues that nineteenth-century America could not recognize female intelligence, because intelligence itself was defined as a masculine quality. This is why Emerson exalts Margaret Fuller as an "exception to her sex," a claim that ridicules her abilities. The other women Wayne presents suffered the same criticism. The point was that natural, real women did not have the ability to think for themselves, and hence did not need to educate intellects that did not exist.

Wayne argues, above all, that it is not the case that feminist thought would not be without Transcendentalism. In fact, Wayne traces the "seeds of [feminist] thought" (this is the second chapter's title) back to Anne Hutchinson, and she reiterates that it was a woman, Mary Moody Emerson, "who shaped [Emerson's] formative view on nature, spirituality, and the soul, and who encouraged his independent thought that would lead to his Transcendentalist break from Unitarianism in the 1830's" (19). Finally, citing Caroline Dall, a relatively unsung nineteenth-century leader of the women's rights movement, Wayne insists that it was women's intuition and intelligence that helped form and attracted them to Transcendentalism, and not vice versa.

—Liza La Lomia
Le Moyne College

Sampson Reed

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Such was Harvard's (and the Unitarian) opinion of Swedenborg's writings at the time that the only books discovered to have been "banished" to the obscurity of an unused storage closet were the volumes of Swedenborg donated to the Harvard library[5] many years earlier by the Reverend William Hill.[6] Reed describes finding the volumes:

> Upon my return to college, after I had begun to read Swedenborg, I went to the library the second time to see if I could find any of his works. The librarian looked into the catalogue again, and found the alcove and shelves where they ought to have been; but they were not there. Then we began a thorough search. We looked through the whole library, in place and out of place, but could not find them. Then we began to think of other rooms. At that time the library was in the second story of the west end of Harvard Hall. In the east end was a large room, called the "Philosophical Room." And between this room and the library was a small room, which for the want of a proper name was called "the Museum." It was filled with old rubbish, old curiosities, cast off, superseded, and obsolete philosophical apparatus, and so forth, all covered with dust. We could see no reason for hunting here, except that we had hunted everywhere else, without finding what we wanted.
>
> There was a long table in the room. Upon it, and under it, were piles of useless articles; and beyond it were shelves against the wall, where various things were stored away. On the under shelf, as far out of sight as possible, I saw some books. I told the librarian, and he went round and worked his way until he got at them, and found that the large books were volumes of the *Arcana Cœlestia*.[7] There were also several works of Swedenborg, all of them covered with dust. I immediately got an order from President Kirkland, giving me authority to take the books and keep them in my room; and this I did for the rest of my college life. By what means or for what purposes these *Heavenly Doctrines* were cast out of the library of Harvard College must be left to conjecture. Of the 50,000 or 60,000 volumes then belonging to the library, these were the only ones treated in this manner. The fact seems to represent the state of the New Church at that time.[8]

This reminiscence not only indicates Harvard's attitude toward Swedenborgian doctrine; it also demonstrates the part that the chance finding of this "cast off . . . philosophical apparatus" (Reed might think this Divine Providence) would have on the history of American letters.

Reed graduated from Harvard in 1818 and was admitted to the Divinity School at the encouragement of his father, who expected him to become a Unitarian minister. However, in 1820, Reed was formally admitted into the Boston New Church family. Worcester, four years his senior, had already graduated, and in 1821 the Boston New Church asked Worcester to become its pastor. Reed became immersed in Swedenborgian theology to the extent that he did only the work required by the Divinity School to maintain his standing in the program. In any case, Reed left the Divinity School before completing the program of study and relocated at Boston. He was asked to deliver the baccalaureate address to the 1821 Harvard graduating class, which included Ralph Waldo Emerson. Reed's address, entitled "Oration on Genius," was well received; Sylvia Shaw notes that Reed "left Harvard with the applause of his audience ringing in his ears."[9] Though Reed was careful not to mention Swedenborg by name in order to protect his standing at the school (as well as his future), the address contains a thinly veiled accounting of Swedenborg's principal ideas. Shaw notes that "when [Reed] spoke to the class of 1821 on the subject of genius, by which he meant greatness, he delivered one of the most unusual speeches in American letters. It presented Swedenborgian theology in the clothing of Romanticism."[10] Perry Miller declared Reed's address "the first admonitory indictment of formalism in the liberal church and pointed the way for an appeal from institutional legalities to a fresh and creative approach to nature." Reed's "oracular, cryptic style . . . had not been heard in New England before." Indeed, the electrified Emerson borrowed the speech and made a copy, which he "kept as a treasure."[11]

Reed's aesthetic, detailed initially in the "Oration in Genius" and later in *Growth of the Mind,* consists of these components: the properly developed mind; the correct condition of seeing; the chastity and purification necessary to produce the Word of God, distilled through the eye, without the falsity of artifice. Reed's emphasis on visual perception informs Emerson's thinking about the actual and symbolic significance of vision, and his use of visual terms. Emerson stated in an 1835 lecture on English literature:

> Every truth we can learn concerning our Ideas, we find some symbol for, in outward nature, before we can express it in words . . . . But this origin of all words that convey a spiritual meaning is only a small part of the fact. It is not words only that are emblematic. Every fact in outward nature answers to some state of the mind and that state of the mind can only be described by presenting that natural fact as a picture.[12]

Emerson's emphasis on the presentation of image through language is essential to his thinking; this aspect of his thought, as developed in the "Language" chapter of *Nature,* for example, is indebted to Reed.

In *Growth of the Mind,* while imagining a plan of instruction for a scholar of truth, Reed offers this advice:

> I would point him to that source from which the author himself had caught his inspiration, and, as I led him to the baptismal fount of nature, I would consecrate his powers to that Being from whom nature exists. I would cultivate a sense of the constant sense and agency of God, and direct him inward to the presence-chamber of the Most High, that his mind might become imbued with His spirit. I would endeavor, by the whole course of his education, to make him a living poem, that, when he read the poetry of others, it might be effulgent with the light of his own mind. The poet stands on the mountain, with the face of nature before him, calm and placid. If we would enter into his views, we must go where he is. We must catch the direction

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In Memoriam

True Boardman

1909–2003

Hollywood actor turned award-winning screenwriter True Boardman turned his talents to portraying Emerson in many Unitarian-Universalist services in the late 1980s. For more than a decade he took his one-man show as Ralph Waldo Emerson up and down the coast of California and east as far as Ohio and even Concord, Mass. With great care he researched and wrote his script and starred in these performances. His daughters True Anne and Penelope verified that their father was extremely proud of these performances, pouring great attention into every detail of his costume and delivery. "His (bow) tie had to be tied just right and he even encouraged the congregation to dress in period costume." In 2001, I befriended True by phone requesting advice on portraying Emerson. Generously he shared his counsel and his script with me. After his death, I obtained video copies of two of his performances, which I have donated to the Emerson Society archives.

Perhaps Boardman got the "bug" back in the 1960s when he starred as Emerson in the Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee play *The Night Thoreau Spent in Jail.* So enamored of Emerson was True that for his 90th birthday party he scripted with Penelope a surprise skit or spoof. He secretly left the party and came back in full Emerson costume as a noisy party intruder, with his daughter trying to shoo away this unwelcome guest, until his "True" identity was revealed for a good laugh by all.

A player in Hollywood all his life, True was the son of silent-film-star parents, True Boardman and Virginia Eames Boardman. During his childhood he appeared in films with Charlie Chaplin and Mary Pickford. His long credits for screenwriting included the film *Pardon My Sarong* and a Lassie movie and TV episodes for *Bonanza, Perry Mason, Gunsmoke,* and others.

An active member of the Academy of Motion Pictures and the Writers Guild of America, he was awarded the Valentine Davies Award for Lifetime Achievement in 1993 for "contributions to the entertainment industry and the community-at-large" and for bringing "dignity and honor to writers everywhere." He also brought dignity and honor to his portrayals of Emerson and to the Emerson Society, of which he was a member for many years. *—Wendell F. Refior*

Sampson Reed

(Continued from page 11)

> of his eye, and yield ourselves up to the instinctive guidance of his will, that we may have a secret foretaste of his meaning—that we may be conscious of the image in its first conception—that we may perceive its beginnings and gradual growth, till at length it becomes distinctly depicted on the retina of the mind.[13]

Little wonder, then, that at the time these words fired the spirit of the twenty-three-year-old Emerson, Divinity School dropout and somewhat disenchanted teacher feeling his way toward a career as a Unitarian preacher. Emerson would take Reed's advice and pursue the "image in its first conception" until it burned, unrelenting, in the retina of his own mind.

Notes

1. Clarence Paul Hotson, "Sampson Reed, A Teacher of Emerson," *New England Quarterly* 2 (April 1929): 249. A good introduction is Arthur Wrobel's essay on Reed in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: 235* (Gale, 2001).

2. Clarence Paul Hotson, "Emerson and Swedenborg" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1929), 128.

3. Sampson Reed, *A Biographical Sketch of Thomas Worcester, D.D.* (Boston: Massachusetts New Church Union, 1880), 15-16.

4. James Reed, preface to Sampson Reed, *Observation on the Growth of the Mind* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1889), v.

5. William Hill (1762-1804) came to America for the sole purpose of disseminating information about Swedenborg. He became a friend of Harvard President Kirkland, and deposited a set of the *Arcana Cœlestia* in the Harvard Library on 11 July 1794. Clarence Hotson, "Emerson and Swedenborg," 81.

6. Kenneth Walter Cameron, *Emerson the Essayist,* 2 vols. (Hartford, Conn.: Transcendental Books, 1945), 1:254.

7. Cameron notes that "These were probably the *Arcana Cœlestia,* (7 vols. in quarto), London, 1749-1754, listed in the *Catalogue of the Library,* Cambridge, 1830, II, 814. By 1830, Harvard had an excellent collection of Swedenborg's writings, including another set of the Arcana Cœlestia, (5 vols. in octavo), London, 1792." *Emerson the Essayist,* 1: 254.

8. Reed, *Worcester,* 15-16.

9. Sylvia Shaw, preface to *Sampson Reed: Primary Source Material for Emerson Studies. Swedenborg Studies* / No. 1 (New York City and Westchester, Pa.: Monographs for the Swedenborg Foundation, 1992), vii.

10. Shaw, preface, v. However, Ralph L.Rusk, notes that "Ralph Emerson thought the best thing on the commencement program was an oration on genius by Sampson Reed, a graduate who had returned to Cambridge, after the prescribed three years of good behavior, to take his Master's degree. Reed's theme was the divinity of genius. The young Swedenborgian was vigorously announcing a new spiritual dawn. It is not surprising that, though his bold proclamation struck most listeners as dull and tiresome, it caught the fancy of the senior from Federal Street and he borrowed the manuscript and copied it" (*The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* [New York: Scribners,1949], 87).

11. Perry Miller, *The Transcendentalists: An Anthology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), 50.

12. Stephen E. Whicher and Robert E. Spiller, *The Early Lectures of Ralph Waldo Emerson Volume,* 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 159), 1:222.

13. Sampson Reed, *Observations on the Growth of the Mind.* Reprint of first edition (Boston, 1826), in Cameron, *Emerson the Essayist,* 2:26.