Volume 21, Number 1 Spring 2010

EMERSON SOCIETY PAPERS

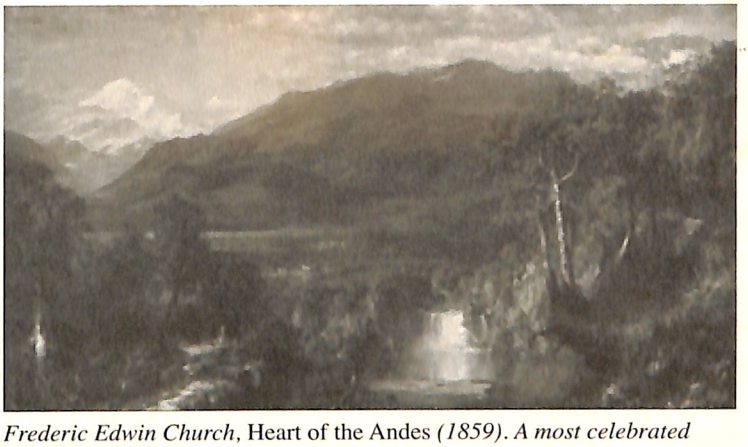
A One-way Street:

Emerson and the Hudson River School

NICHOLAS GUARDIANO

One can hardly study the Hudson River School painters without encountering some reference to Ralph Waldo Emerson. Whether visiting a museum exhibition or studying art history, there arises, without fail, at least a tangential reference to Emerson and his Transcendentalist philosophy. Barbara Novak, in her thorough trilogy which endeavors to define American painting of the nineteenth century, identifies Emerson as the "unofficial spokesman for the American landscapists." In the latest preface of the new edition of her *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century* (2007), she assigns Emerson primacy of place and recognizes him as the focal point of an American optimistic ideal that "dominated the culture of which the painters were a part." Optimism is only one category among many that Novak's project uses to correlate Emerson and the Hudson River School, and her work is only one of many that coordinate the two into a single constellation of American history. They are linked together in various ways: by their historical role in creating a national American identity, their similar pedagogies promoting direct experience, their preoccupation with the effects of light, their sense of a metaphysical monism, and even by their sheer love of the outdoors. Research has noted their similarities on themes both grand and ordinary, ranging from the philosophical to the religious, and simply to personal taste. Such resonances between Emerson and the school come as no surprise and have come to be expected. He spearheaded the American Renaissance of the nineteenth century, and part of his greatness lies in his call for and invention of an intellectual culture and aesthetic at a time when there was none. The Hudson River School was born on the road of an enlightenment paved by Emerson and illuminated by his iconic status. This story is often told, and Emerson's achievement and preeminence are well established. However, the reverse narrative—one that explores whether the first American landscapists influenced Emerson—remains to be told.

Emerson's interest in painting, and art in general, is significant. We know that he was extensively aware of the history of Western art, having been introduced to it during his relatively liberal education at Harvard College, while on his European travels, and by way of his voracious reading habit throughout his life. In the works of Greek and Renaissance artists he found some of his favorite pieces, and duplications still hang on the walls of his home. In his journals, lectures, and published writing the great painters and paintings of western culture provide grist for the mill of his own ruminations on the nature of art. Landscape painting, he declares at the opening of "Art," is to represent the ideal spirit



Frederic Edwin Church, Heart of the Andes *(1859). A most celebrated and monumental work of the Hudson River School. Credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Margaret H. Dows, 1909 (09.95). Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.*

expressed by nature; it must "give the suggestion of a fairer creation than we know…give the gloom of gloom, and the sunshine of sunshine." Across such works as *Nature*, "Art," "The Poet," "Beauty," and "Poetry and Imagination," Emerson makes philosophical pronouncements about the nature of artistic perception, the creative process, the work of art, and beauty—all the while locating art as a human mode co-natural with the greater cosmic world of wild nature.

At the time when Emerson was spreading his "electric word" on art by way of his publications and lecture series, America's first tradition of painting, the Hudson River School, flourished. The school existed from the 1820s through the

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EMERSON SOCIETY PAPERS
The newsletter of the Ralph Waldo Emerson Society
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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, Robert D. Habich, Department of English, Ball State University, Muncie, IN 47306-0460 or email rhabich@bsu.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.

Editor's Note

It is an honor and a challenge for me to take over the editorial reins of *Emerson Society Papers* from my friend Wes Mott, and before him, the late Doug Wilson. Thanks to their superb work, *ESP* has a tradition of solid scholarship, news, reviews, and events.

Fortunately for me, as I follow in their footsteps I have plenty of good help: Jennifer Gurley of LeMoyne College, who continues as our very able book review editor; our professional designer Peggy Isaacson of Worcester Polytechnic Institute; Bill Rossi of the University of Oregon, who follows David Robinson of Oregon State University as the journal's bibliographer; my two student assistants at Ball State, Sam Edwards and Lora Thompson; and of course you readers who have contributed generously to the journal's pages. To all, my thanks.

My thanks as well to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Margaret E. Dows, 1909 (09.95), for permission to reproduce Frederic Edwin Church's painting *Heart of the Andes* (1859), and to the Emily Dickinson Museum, for permission to reproduce Sanford Robinson Gifford's painting *Autumn Evening in the White Hills* (1858).

On the time-honored advice to not fix what isn't broken, I'm retaining the features that have made the journal successful for the past two decades. Please keep sending us "Emerson Sightings/ Citings," material for "Prospects," and of course your articles and notes. But I invite readers also to contribute to two new features.

The first, "Emersoniana," will feature visually striking items, with a preference for the rare, antique, illuminating, and/or amusing. The inaugural item in this series comes from the extensive collections of Joel Myerson.

The second new feature derives its name from the familiar line in Emerson's essay "The Poet" (1844), "Words and deeds are quite indifferent modes of the divine energy." This column will briefly showcase the Emersonian (if not divine) activities of our members, particularly those deeds outside the more traditional realms of classroom teaching and publishing. In this issue's "Words and Deeds" we feature Ian Johnstone's online course on Emerson and Thoreau for senior learners and Noelle Baker's report on her ongoing textual work with the Almanacks of Mary Moody Emerson.

Please let me know of your words, deeds, and news.

—Bob Habich

American Literature Assocation Conference

The Emerson Society will conduct two panels at the annual meeting of the American Literature Association, May 27-30, 2010, at the Hyatt Regency San Francisco in the Embarcadero Center. Both panels will take place on Saturday, May 29.

SESSION I (9:30–10:50 a.m.)
The Emerson Society at 20 Years: Retropects and Prospects
CHAIR: Robert D. Habich *(Ball State University)*

"'What are we? and Whither we tend?': The Emerson Society at 20," Wesley T. Mott *(Worcester Polytechnic Institute)*

"Extending the Legacy: Emerson's Editors and Readers in the Twenty-First Century," Ronald A. Bosco *(University at Albany, SUNY)* and Joel Myerson *(University of South Carolina, Emeritus)*

"Batting Oranges on the Beach; And the Way Forward in Emerson Studies," Albert von Frank *(Washington State University, Emeritus)*

SESSION II (2–3:20 p.m.)
Emerson as Mentor
CHAIR: Susan L. Dunston *(New Mexico Tech)*

"Emerson's Hero: Mentoring Margaret Fuller," David Dowling *(University of Iowa)*

"Emerson's Proxy: Mark Salzman and True Notebooks," Karen English *(San Jose State University)*

"Considering Charles Loring Brace's Effort to Implement Self Reliance," Carter Neal *(Indiana University)* Carter Neal is the 2010 winner of the Emerson Society's Graduate Student Paper Award.

The Society's annual business meeting will take place at 12:30 on Saturday, May 29. For further details about the conference, visit www.americanliterature.org.

Thoreau Society Annual Gathering

The Society will once again sponsor (this year in conjunction with the Margaret Fuller Society) a panel discussion at the Annual Gathering of the Thoreau Society, held every year in Concord, Mass., on the weekend nearest Thoreau's birthday—this year, July 8-11, 2010. The Emerson Society panel will take place on Thursday, July 8, 7:30–9 p.m.

Transcendental Conversations
CHAIR/MODERATOR: Leslie Eckel (*Suffolk University)*

"From Schoolroom to Cosmos: Margaret Fuller and Bronson Alcott in Conversation," Leslie Eckel *(Suffolk University)*

"Transcendentalism's Private World: Fuller and Sturgis in Newport," Kathleen Lawrence *(George Washington University)*

"Rich in Friends, Rich in Experiences, Rich in Culture: Notes on Emerson, Thoreau, Fuller, and Friendship," Iuliu Ratiu *(SUNY-Albany)*

"Margaret and Her Friends: Dall, Emerson, and the Gender Politics of Transcendental Conversation," Tiffany K. Wayne *(independent scholar, Santa Cruz, Calif.)*

Stievermann Receives Templeton Award

Emerson Society member **Jan Stievermann**, of the University of Tübingen, received the John Templeton Award for Theological Promise in May 2009 in recognition of his book *Der Sündenfall der Nachahmung: Zum Problem der Mittelbarkeitt im Werk Ralph Waldo Emersons* [The Original Fall of Imitation: The Problem of Mediacy in the Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson] (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2007).

(Continued on page 4)

Prospects

(Continued from page 3)

The prize is conferred by the John Templeton Foundation in cooperation with the Research Center for International and Interdisciplinary Theology in Heidelberg. Professor Stievermann's book was reviewed in *ESP*, Fall 2007.

Emerson Sightings/Citings

Almost simultaneously, life member **Ellen Emerson** and our *ESP* designer **Peggy Isaacson** pointed out this Emersonian tribute in the *New Yorker* for February 8, 2010, in a memorial to the writer J. D. Salinger written by Lillian Ross:

Emerson was a touchstone, and Salinger often quoted him in letters. For instance, "A man must have aunts and cousins, must buy carrots and turnips, must have barn and woodshed, must go to market and to the blacksmith's shop, must saunter and sleep and be inferior and silly." Writers, he thought, had trouble abiding by that, and he referred to Flaubert and Kafka as "two other born non-buyers of carrots and turnips."

The full article is accessible at www.newyorker.com/talk/2010/02/08/100208ta_talk_ross. We recognize the quote from Emerson's journal for June 8, 1838.

Past president **Len Gougeon** and my Ball State colleague **Joe Trimmer** both pass along this intriguing essay, "Giving Emerson the Boot," which appeared in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* for January 22, 2010, pp. B4-B5. Bemoaning the difficulty of teaching Emerson to college undergraduates, professors William Major and Bryan Sinche cite Emerson's "contradictory, baffling, radical, reactionary ideas that offer no practical guidelines for actual human behavior" but speculate about why he remains in the curricula in so many classes:

"[M]aybe it boils down to the fact that when Emerson confronts uncertainties born of the nation's uneven progress and his own progress through a life marked by highs and lows, he reckons with problems that dog us still: the challenges faced by individuals in an expansive and sometimes merciless world; the desire to overcome the ghosts of our personal and national histories; the hope that one might make sense of it all. One can justly say that Emerson tried, and that's something."

The authors' conclusion about Emerson in the classroom? "He tempts us with his big thoughts and enchants us with his impossible optimism, but he finally leaves us frustrated, confounded, and sputtering before a class of students who want to know what they've just read and why they should care."

We'll leave it up to readers to decide how much of the article is sharp-tongued and how much is tongue-in-cheek. Read the entire essay at http://chronicle.com/article/Giving-Emerson-the-Boot/63512/?sid=cr&utm_source=cr&utm_medium=en.

Longtime member **Clarence Burley** has discovered a Zen group entitled "WALDO: The Ralph Waldo Emerson Zen Sangha," which meets at the First Church, Boston. Visit http://bostonzen.org/About.html for information. There is a similar site for Thoreau, http://newtonzen.org/.

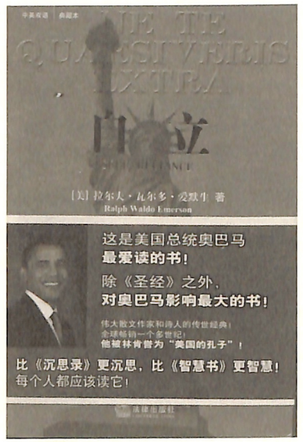
For those who may doubt Emerson's reach into popular culture, member **Roger Thompson**'s friend **S. A. "Alan" Baragona** reports that the *New York Times* review of James Cameron's blockbuster film *Avatar* for December 18, 2009, describes the movie as "an Emersonian exploration of the invisible world of the spirit filled with Cameronian rock 'em, sock 'em pulpy action." The review goes on to call the movie "glorious and goofy and blissfully deranged," which is not, Alan points out, a description he'd usually associate with Emerson!

Clarence Burley—whose eye for Emersonian sightings is obviously keen—points out a "special promotion" section in the December 2009 *Atlantic* (volume 304, number 5, pp. 14-15), in which Emerson's cachet as a commercial icon is featured twice. On page 14, in promotion of the magazine, Emerson is honored as "writer, thinker and a founder of *The Atlantic*" whose wisdom and position in history make him "a Master of the Craft." On the facing page is an advertisement for a single-malt scotch that, so the speculation goes, Mr. Emerson would have enjoyed—since it "hasn't changed in over a century and much like Mr. Emerson's thoughts and writings it remains authentic, uncompromising and bold today." Readers who want a full tutorial on Emerson advertising history should visit the "Emerson Ephemera" pages of the Society's web site, www.cas.sc.edu/engl/emerson/EmersonEphemera.html.

Emersoniana

Joel Myerson sends along this interesting new item from his collection, which continues a connection between Emerson and President Barack Obama noted last year in "Emerson Sightings/Citings" (*Emerson Society Papers*, Spring 2009, pp. 4-5.)

(Joel Myerson Collection of Nineteenth-Century American Literature, University of South Carolina)



TRANSLATION

(top half, below SELF-RELIANCE)

- Written by (American) Ralph Waldo Emerson

(bottom half)

- This is the book that Obama, the American President, loves to read most!
- Beside the Bible, this is the book that influences Obama most!
- The classic passed down generations by a great essayist and poet!
- The best seller for over a century.
- He was praised by Lincoln as "the American Confucius"!
- More meditative than Meditations, Wiser than The Art of Worldly Wisdom!
- Everyone should read it!

Obama Endorses Emerson in Chinese

Joel Myerson *(University of South Carolina)*

On a trip to Beijing in February 2010, I purchased a bilingual translation of "Self-Reliance" published in paperback in 2009 by the Law Press. The book itself is unremarkable—the essay appears first in Chinese with annotations, then in English without notes—but it has an advertising wrap-around with a color photograph of Barack Obama that demonstrates just how well and how widely an assumed presidential endorsement can travel.

The American press has long mentioned Obama's fascination with Emerson, one of the most recent manifestations being a combined edition of Obama's inaugural address, Abraham Lincoln's two inaugural addresses and the Gettysburg Address, and "Self-Reliance," these being, as the "Preface" puffs, "two great American thinkers and writers whose words have influenced and inspired Obama politically" (Obama, *The Inaugural Address 2009* [New York: Penguin, 2009], p. vii). A publicity person at the Law Press probably thought that a Chinese audience would be even more eager to attempt reading Emerson's works if they knew that "Self-Reliance" is Obama's favorite "book," ranking right up there after the Bible, something we die-hard Emersonians have always been tempted to say regarding our feelings for the Sage but have been restrained by modesty from so doing. Interestingly, the two authors and works to whom Emerson is compared are known for maxims or aphorisms, rather than longer essays: the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations* and the seventeenth-century Spanish Jesuit Baltasar Gracian's *The Art of Worldly Wisdom*.

Note: The book will become part of the Joel Myerson Collection of Nineteenth-Century American Literature, University of South Carolina. I thank Yuanyuan Liao of Ball State University for the translation.

Words and Deeds

Longtime member **Ian M. Johnstone** of Australia is offering an interesting course through U3A Online entitled "Thoreau, Emerson, and the Conduct of Life." Ian provides the following description:

> U3A Online is an international adult education organisation run entirely by volunteers from different countries who want to share their expertise "for the greater good". There are no exams, no awards, no prerequisites. Currently there are more than 35 high quality courses, each written and taught by retired experts, for older people who love to learn new things. Each course runs for 8-9 weeks; alternatively the courses are available all year for independent study.

Ian is our sole Australian member and identifies himself as "70 and a retired country lawyer" who has been intrigued by Emerson and Thoreau for 45 years. For more about Ian's course, visit www.u3aonline.org.au. Contact Ian about the class at johnstone@bluepin.net.au.

Noelle A. Baker, an independent scholar from Wisconsin, is coediting with Sandra Harbert Petrulionis a selection of the "Almanacks" of Mary Moody Emerson. She reports on recent activities as a Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association fellow at the Houghton Library, Harvard:

In 2008 Sandy Petrulionis and I were awarded a Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association fellowship to support our ongoing project, an annotated digital edition of Mary Moody Emerson's "Almanacks" (c. 1804-1855). A series of hand-made fascicles of over one thousand pages, the Almanacks combine the generic features of spiritual diaries, letters, and commonplace books. They document Emerson's wide-ranging interest in Eastern and Western literature, history, theology, and philosophy; advocacy of social reform; and occasional forays into imaginative writing. The holograph manuscripts are housed in forty-seven folders with the Emerson Family Papers at Harvard's Houghton Library, where they are also preserved on microfilm. The Brown University Women Writers Project will publish *The Almanacks of Mary Moody Emerson: A Scholarly Digital Edition* in its subscription database, *Women Writers Online*.

During the 2008-2009 fellowship, we stabilized the Almanacks' pagination, a task necessitated in part by Emerson's habit of circulating whole fascicles and individual leaves among correspondents; the manuscripts were further disordered when the Emerson family home caught fire in 1872. This devastation severely compromised the manuscripts; today, nearly every page reveals extensive damage from fire, water, and mildew. To facilitate our work, the Houghton staff encapsulated the Almanacks in mylar; this protective measure allowed us to handle their fragile pages. Sandy also began perfecting our transcription in preparation for editing, while I conducted a physical description of the manuscript for the edition's Textual Introduction.

My examination proved useful and revelatory. We produced our transcription from photocopies of the microfilm, and as any textual editor will attest, copies generate one-dimensional renderings of manuscripts. The evidence of watermarks, for instance, will guide our placement of many undated fragments. Similarly, although a few intact fascicles remain, the presence of needle marks, thread stains, and remnants will also help us identify many other Almanacks that Emerson collected and bound into booklets.

Other physical features of the text reveal the fundamental ways that manuscripts informed Emerson's spiritual life. In a July 4, 1826 devotional testimonial on a single leaf, Emerson testified to and interrogated her faith; the paper's irregular size, needle holes and creases indicate that she folded the scrap into a pocket sized packet for easy carrying and frequent perusal before finally sewing it into an 1826-1827 Almanack for preservation. Emerson appears to have created relatively few such small, portable packets; in addition to these material characteristics, they share atypically specific dating and formal religious witnessing. The Almanacks' shifting forms--including these traveling packets, single leaves dispersed with letters, and carefully bound fascicles--delineate the pivotal but changing ways in which writing served her faith and enriched her readers, on a daily basis and over time.

These and other exciting discoveries significantly advanced our editorial work. In addition, they suggest that the largely unpublished Emerson was deliberate and self-conscious about her writings and their legacy. This initial report from the archives promises that in addition to her well-established contributions to Transcendentalist and Women's Studies scholarship, Mary Emerson and her Almanacks will offer an important resource for book history and material culture studies.

Reviews

First We Read, Then We Write: Emerson on the Creative Process.
ROBERT D. RICHARDSON. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2009. 112 pp. $19.95 cloth.

Extending his examination of Emerson's reading habits begun in *Emerson: The Mind on Fire*, Robert Richardson brings us *First We Read, Then We Write: Emerson on the Creative Process*, an engrossing, handy little book that deepens our understanding not only of Emerson's creative process but also how, through tending to the relationship between reading and writing, he practiced his non-conformity. Its compact size, however, belies the surprising density of its contents. A virtual collage of collected fragments not only from Emerson's body of writing but from a wide variety of literary and philosophical sources, including Goethe, Hobbes, the Proverbs of Solomon, Proust, Dreiser, and C. S. Lewis, what lends the book coherence is Richardson's ability to gather them in such a way as to convey Emerson's devotion to the process. This has the stunning effect of creating a palpable sense of Emerson's character and an intimate knowledge of his personal ambitions, frustrations, and goals for his essays and audience.

Richardson notes at the start that although Emerson was passionate about writing, he never wrote an essay about it, and while we may be familiar with Emerson the philosopher, social critic, Transcendentalist, or naturalist, a study undertaking Emerson the writer has been neglected. The organization and content of the book, from the development of each chapter's subject to the order of the chapters themselves, resist straightforward summary. The creative process is recursive, and no resource in that process is more important than another. One way that Richardson conveys the interdependency of the various facets of Emerson's writing life is by leaving the chapters unnumbered. Moreover, the chapters proceed in a loosely linear way. Rather than transitioning clearly from one to the next, they are grouped in such a way as to chart an architectonics of what Richardson concludes in his Epilogue was Emerson's "lifelong quest . . . for personal power."

"Emerson's strength," Richardson states, "is that he came to understand where his came from" (84). It came from his commitment to an antinomianism realized through the creative process: The first third of Richardson's book elaborates the practical aspects of it in chapters called "Reading," "Keeping a Journal," "Practical Hints," "Nature," and "More Practical Hints." Focusing on the stages associated with exercising, recognizing, and recording original vision, these chapters explain the ways that Emerson found ordinary life and the visible world simultaneously contributive and threatening to the integrity of our mental processes. The second third, organized around chapters called "The Language of the Street," "Words," "Sentences," "Emblem, Symbol, Metaphor" and "Audience," discusses the writer's transformation of language and the kind of transformative relationship the artist should have with his or her audience.

The final third turns to a discussion of Emerson's self-identification as a poet and his "vehemently anti-elitist view of the artist" (72). The poet is not, for Emerson, "a special or a different kind of person; rather, he or she has developed more completely than most people the poetic impulse all people share" (72). These chapters, "Art is the Path" and "The Writer," stress that the role of the poet is to bear witness to nature's creative process and act as an agent in its self-registration by capturing it in a poem. To "report" nature is the poet's responsibility, Emerson claims, and in the act of creating, the poet "mimics the process of nature" (75). Emerson believed that the divine influx was responsible for energizing not only nature's living motion but the artist's inspiration as well. Representing these invisible creative forces distinguishes true art, and Richardson joins in that effort by offering us a window into Emerson's own vital, creative force.

—Andrea Knutson
Oakland University

The Spiritual Emerson: Essential Works by Ralph Waldo Emerson.
Edited with an Introduction by JACOB NEEDLEMAN. New York: Tarcher/Penguin, 2008. 224 pp. $10.00 paper.

Jacob Needleman introduces *The Spiritual Emerson: Essential Works by Ralph Waldo Emerson*, a "handy volume" that reprints seven essays, with the question: Why do we need him now? In a more Emersonian mood, he might well have asked, why do we need this book now? Unlike the 2004 Beacon Press edition by the same title, thoughtfully edited by David Robinson, Needleman provides no context for the essays that follow his thin, five-page introduction and its assertion: "Reading Emerson can awaken a part of the psyche that our culture has suppressed" (3). The collection offers the following essays, republished from the Centenary edition of *Complete Works*: "Self-Reliance," "Compensation," "Spiritual Laws," "The Over-Soul," "Circles," "Fate," and "Success." There is no reference in Needleman's introduction to where these "essential works" come from in Emerson's writing or times, nor why others (the Divinity School Address, for example) have been left out. Furthermore, Needleman does not offer any guidance along the way, providing neither head notes nor the date in which each essay is published, much less any indication that these essays, like all of Emerson's writings, emerge and evolve in time. Needleman wants this book to be a lesson from Emerson—"Emerson's writings honor our search for how to conduct ourselves amid the tensions and tribulations of everyday life" (4)—but offers a poor lesson in Emerson's conduct of life as a writer and the way that spirit, like the writing, becomes.

This lack of context is no simple matter of a book designed only for general readers and not for scholars. There is no statement to that effect in the introduction; in fact, Needleman is identified as an academic, a religious scholar, and philosopher. The matter, rather, is that we need (now, as ever) to understand Emerson in context because he is a thinker of context—his thought works within spiritual, pedagogical, philosophical, literary contexts. To take him out of those contexts is to reenact the history of repressing the Emersonian psyche from our culture. I should also note that the contexts David Robinson provides for Emerson's writings and spiritual principles are no less readable for their attention to tribulations in the everyday life of Emerson's spiritual thinking. In fact, Robinson's premise for the need for his edition is that Emerson's spiritual life has been unduly overshadowed by Emerson's position in literary history.

Needleman asserts, "it is the ancient office of philosophy to magnetize the heart and mind" (4). That voice is vaguely Emersonian. Without further elucidation of how Emerson thinks of, and thinks through, his philosophy of/as magnetism—no reference is made, for example, to Emerson's interest in polarity nor to the "irresistible magnetism" (63) that shows up later in Emerson's "Compensation"—we are left with a spiritual Emerson whose power has ceased in the repose of this handy volume; he ends up too much like the kind of worshipped figure he would have resisted. Instead of the magnetism, this limited book gives us the needles.

—Sean Ross Meehan
Washington College

Mediating American Autobiography: Photography in Emerson, Thoreau, Douglass, and Whitman.
SEAN ROSS MEEHAN. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008. xi + 250 pp. $39.95 cloth.

Sean Ross Meehan's monograph is an ambitious attempt to bring media studies to bear on four prominent nineteenth century American authors by examining how the emergence of photography in America influenced their conception of autobiography, a genre he describes as "a related technology of self-representation that develops in the same period" (4). What I found most interesting is Meehan's account of how early commentators such as Oliver Wendell Holmes and Marcus Root generally tried to cover over photography's metonymic qualities as a mode of representation. As photography gained currency with the general public, promoters of the new media claimed it offered an immediacy and verisimilitude that was almost as good as being there—that it was quite literally a way "to capture Nature." Writers like Holmes exemplify the typical ways in which early studies of photography would "hide the contingencies, the 'metonymical process of reproduction' that yields but also unsettles the photograph and its celebrated sense of immediacy" (16). By contrast, Meehan argues, writers such as Emerson, Whitman, Douglass, and Thoreau consistently "remetonymized" photography, concentrating on its contingent difference from the thing it pictures. He then extends this argument to autobiography. Just as Emerson, for example, understood autobiographical representation to be only an approximation of the self, he also understood photographic images to be a representation that is reproducible and disseminating—not fixed and stable. For Meehan, this is where photography and autobiography meet, and in making this point repeatedly, he seeks to destabilize and merge our conceptions of photography and autobiography. "Consider the four authors under study here," he writes, "as figures who, by means of photographic memory and its metonymies, foreground and reflect upon the representational conditions of their own representativeness" (60-61).

It is an interesting deconstructive argument, but one that has been made before with reference to autobiography, most notably in the work of Paul de Man. Does Meehan add to our understanding of autobiography in making this argument again with reference to, and in the terms of, photography? I am not convinced he does. However, by bringing Emerson, Thoreau, Douglass and Whitman to bear on the discourse that popularized photography, he does help us think about nineteenth-century image culture in more deconstructive ways. A significant problem, though, is the simple fact that photography is not a privileged site for these authors' meditations on self; their writings are. And although Meehan does a remarkable job of culling out passages where Emerson, for example, comments on the daguerreotype process, or where Whitman makes use of photographic self-portraits to market his poetry, these are marginal moments in their work. By placing them at the center of his analysis he, and his readers, lose sight of the transformative power of poetic language that is a central concern for each of these authors.

This is nowhere more obvious than in his use of Whitman to frame his project. Meehan opens his monograph with a wonderfully provocative example of how writers began to imagine their writing in relation to the newly emergent medium of photography: Walt Whitman's comparison of his poetry to a daguerreotype in a review of *Leaves of Grass* that he wrote himself and published anonymously in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. As his own anonymous reviewer, Whitman claims that "the book is a reproduction of the author" and, after calling attention to the portrait on the frontispiece, declares "the contents of the book form a daguerreotype of his inner being, and the title page bears a representation of its physical tabernacle" (1). Meehan uses this comparison to announce his thesis; namely that, within the first decades of its invention, "photography has been implicated thoroughly in the words and workings of autobiographical memory" (2). Given the famous half-portrait of Whitman, head cocked and with one arm akimbo, and the consciously autobiographical nature of his poetry, it may seem hard to argue with Meehan's claim that "[t]he author stands in relation to his book just as the frontispiece image stands in relation to the author" (2). Yet Whitman was careful to make a distinction between the picture and his poetry that Meehan elides. In Whitman's words, the frontispiece portrait is a reproduction only of the "physical tabernacle" of his body. The poetry, by contrast, is a reproduction of his "inner being" (1). Now one might say I am quibbling over a metaphysical distinction no longer made in our thoroughly digital age, but then Whitman continually asserts the distinction between body and soul throughout his many editions of *Leaves of Grass*. "I will make poems of my body and of mortality," he writes in "Starting from Paumanok," "For I think I then shall provide myself with the poems of my soul and of immortality." So while I find myself half-persuaded by Meehan's claim that Whitman's review "remind[s] us, well before Kodak and Apple, that photographic imaging has figured complexly in the representation of personal and public identity" (2), I cannot shake the feeling that his focus on photographic imaging takes us further away from Whitman's poetry. And isn't that truly the soul of the matter?

—Peter Norberg
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Passions for Nature: Nineteenth-Century America's Aesthetics of Alienation.
ROCHELLE L. JOHNSON. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009. xx + 300 pp. $24.95 paper.

In the opening pages of *Nature* (1836), Emerson attempts to define the gap in understanding that separates human beings from the natural world. "To speak truly," he writes, "few adult persons can see nature. Most persons do not see the sun. At least they have a very superficial seeing." Taking this peculiar form of blindness in the face of nature as her starting point, Rochelle L. Johnson asks a startling question: what did nineteenth-century Americans actually see when they looked at the natural world? The argument that drives *Passions for Nature* hinges on Johnson's answer to this question. To a certain extent, Johnson's thinking aligns itself with Emerson's: nineteenth-century Americans were "superficial," perceiving nature as "a means to an end" for their own pursuit of progress, refinement, and reason (147). On the other hand, she contends, Emerson himself falls prey to precisely that failure of insight into nature's physical realities that he found so disturbing in others.

Johnson challenges our assumptions about nineteenth-century Americans' strong affinity for nature. Usually viewed as the "green" founding parents of the environmental and ecocritical movements, the transcendentalists in particular, Johnson believes, warrant further investigation for the extent of their commitment to knowing nature in depth. Johnson identifies a nagging "paradox" at the heart of nineteenth-century nature writing: "passion for nature was widespread, but knowledge of the actual physical environment was limited" (7). Emerson's contemporaries were well aware of this paradox, which Johnson proves as she quotes Thoreau's wry comment in "Walking" (1862), "There is plenty of genial love of nature, but not so much of Nature herself."

Johnson's interdisciplinary study breaks new and compelling ground in its establishment of a dialogue between writers, naturalists, painters, and landscape designers on the subject of nature and its role in American life. Here, Emerson and Thoreau keep unexpected company with such figures as Susan Fenimore Cooper (daughter of James Fenimore Cooper), Thomas Cole, and Andrew Jackson

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Downing. Although Johnson grants each of these figures a chapter in her book, her argument favors Cooper and Thoreau as the creators of an environmentally conscious "counteraesthetics" that insists on recognizing the literal detail instead of the figurative potential of nature and on cultivating an attitude of humility in the face of its mystery and power (3).

Johnson makes a persuasive case for the reading of Cooper's "literary daybook," *Rural Hours* (1850), alongside such environmental classics as Emerson's *Nature* and Thoreau's *Walden* (1854). Cooper's intensive study of a single place seems especially prescient, Johnson notes, in our age of appreciation for "localized environments" and of concern for the losses of native species due to "ecological imperialism" (15). In contrast, Emerson's philosophical work in *Nature* seems abstracted from place altogether, inhabiting a realm that he would refer to in "The Poet" (1844) as "the old largeness." Johnson's sharp sense of Emerson's fixation on the development of human reason allows her to read the "transparent eye-ball" passage in *Nature* as an assertion that the visible world is in fact "all mind" (164). Johnson tends to take Emerson at his word in *Nature*, however, and does not track the development of his thought through his later lectures on the "Natural History of Intellect." In an argument that celebrates Cooper and Thoreau's attention to the specific details of natural history, this seems like an oversight.

Passions for Nature makes a unique and timely contribution to the study of Emerson and Thoreau and to the growing field of the environmental humanities. Johnson fearlessly critiques the author of *Nature* for his failure to comprehend and to respect nature itself, and boldly asserts that we should pay less attention to the familiar literary Thoreau of *Walden* and more to the painstaking naturalist of his journals and later essays, including "Walking," "Wild Apples," and the lesser-known "Kalendar": an unfinished project in which Thoreau chronicles the natural life of Concord both for its own sake and in an effort to capture "the inexpressible meaning that is in all things & every where" (190). Like Laura Dassow Walls's *Emerson's Life in Science: The Culture of Truth* and David Robinson's *Natural Life: Thoreau's Worldly Transcendentalism*, Johnson's book pushes us to contextualize transcendentalist writing not only in light of social and political events, but in terms of the physical environment from which these authors drew their inspiration. As Johnson suggests, we still have much to discover about these writers' use (and misuse) of nature, as well as much to learn from their recognition of the ways in which the natural world continually transcends our powers of perception.

—Leslie Eckel
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Society and Solitude. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. The Collected Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Vol. VII.
Textual Editor Douglas Emory Wilson, Historical Introduction and Notes by Ronald A. Bosco. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007. xcii + 449 pp. $89.50 Cloth.

The seventh of ten projected volumes in the Harvard edition of Emerson's works, *Society and Solitude* was originally published in 1870, a decade after *The Conduct of Life*. It was the penultimate book to bear Emerson's name during his lifetime and the last to contain essays written and corrected by him alone. (The 1876 *Letters and Social Aims* was so heavily edited by his daughter Ellen and his literary executor that according to his son Edward, Emerson "always spoke of it to James Elliot Cabot as 'your book.'") Of the twelve essays in *Society and Solitude*, seven had been previously published. The remainder were reworkings of lectures.

John Burroughs rightly called *Society and Solitude* "chapters …on old themes," a collection of "terse, epigrammatic essays of sense, poetry, and philosophy." Here we have an Emerson whose optimism is not diluted by practicality but reinforced by it: who can assert that "Self-trust is the first secret of success, the belief that, if you are here, the authorities of the universe put you here, and for cause," yet at the same time warn that success "by no means consists in rushing prematurely to a showy feat that shall catch the eye and satisfy spectators"(148). In topics ranging from "Art," "Eloquence," and "Books" to "Courage" and "Old Age," Emerson explores the pragmatics of idealism. Wisdom is permanent, he says, a force in nature "like electricity," but in practice the wisdom of individuals is temporary, "as glasses rubbed acquire electric power for a while" (126). The title essay is a reminder to those who might need it that opposites can coexist. "Society and solitude are deceptive names," Emerson notes, and they set up a false dichotomy that leads to unnecessary extremism. Don't sacrifice genuine sympathy for others, he counsels, but hold on to your independence, too (7-8).

While the practical wisdom of *Society and Solitude* would seem to reinforce Emerson's posthumous iconization as the benign Sage of Concord, these essays are not intellectual bromides but reminders of the vitality of Emerson's later work. That point is made forcefully by Ronald A. Bosco in his fine historical introduction to this edition, where, returning to a theme from his and Joel Myerson's 2001 edition of Emerson's later lectures, he convincingly presents *Society and Solitude* as further evidence that "Emerson was as active and productive in the 1860s as in any decade of his life that preceded it" (xxv). Bosco's mastery of Emerson's cultural, commercial, and biographical milieu accounts as well for the comprehensive explanatory notes—small essays, really, that elucidate the text but are readable on their own—and the identifications of parallel passages in the *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*, the *Topical Notebooks*, and elsewhere.

The text for this edition was scrupulously established by the late Douglas Emory Wilson, whose aim was to provide text that comes "closest to the author's initial coherent intention" (lxviii) in both substantives and accidentals. Like other volumes in the *Collected Works*, this one is conservatively edited, with emendations of the most obvious errors but not of "inelegancies or irregularities" (lxix). No proof sheets survive for *Society and Solitude*, but the genealogy of these essays makes it complicated nonetheless to establish copy-texts for them. They exist in multiple early versions—holograph manuscripts (five of them, with Emerson's emendations), magazine publication, and the first edition of the book (lxxi). All variants are carefully documented in the textual apparatuses that follow the text proper. (For me, the most revealing of these are the alterations Emerson made to the five surviving manuscripts, carefully recorded in an appendix, for through them we can watch Emerson's mind at work revising, rather than correcting, his ideas and expression.) Editorial policies are clearly explained in the textual introduction, which is itself an informative primer on the issues of editing nineteenth-century texts.

With the publication of this volume and the recent volume eight, *Letters and Social Aims*, the end is in sight for the Harvard edition, bringing to a close, as Bosco points out, the explosion of editorial work begun in the 1950s that stimulated a revival of interest in Emerson. This carefully prepared edition of *Society and Solitude*, while not the last in that series, presents in authoritative form an accumulation of what Emerson himself called "central wisdom, which was old in infancy [and] young in fourscore years" (170).

—Robert D. Habich
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A One-way Street

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1870s as a loose association of landscape painters geographically located around New York City. Its recognized founder, Thomas Cole (1801-1848), was first discovered in 1826. Cole became the most celebrated living American painter, and in 1836, he exhibited his renowned series of five paintings, *The Course of Empire*. In January of the same year he announced his aesthetic affinity for the American wilderness in his "Essay on American Scenery," printed in *The American Monthly Magazine*. Cole died in 1848, just when landscape painting was becoming fully appreciated in America, and at a time when the galleries of the National Academy of Design, American Art-Union, and Boston Art Club were garnering public enthusiasm and professional patronage for their native artists. Asher Durand (1796-1886), both painter and president of the National Academy of Design, assumed the role as the senior leading figure of American landscape art. In 1855 Durand addressed the forthcoming generation of aspiring painters and formulated the school's ideological focus in his famous "Letters on Landscape Painting," published in *The Crayon* (1855-61), the primary art journal of the school. Soon after, Frederic Church appeared to personally fulfill Durand's vision when in 1859 he exhibited

Sanford Robinson Gifford, Autumn Evening in the White Hills *(1858). Probably viewed by Emerson while visiting the Dickinsons. Credit: Emily Dickinson Museum.*

the most celebrated American painting in the nineteenth century, *Heart of the Andes*. The following decade brought a new generation of the school highlighted by such figures as Fitz Hugh Lane (1804-65), John Frederick Kensett (1816-72), and Sanford Robinson Gifford (1823-1880). These painters gave particular emphasis to the effects of light in their work, a style later known as Luminism. Aesthetic tastes eventually turned away from traditional landscape painting, leading in the 1880s to the collapse of the Hudson River School.

If we examine the written material of the school's spokespersons, Cole and Durand, a number of parallels between their positions on art and Emerson's are revealed. Cole's "Essay on American Scenery" sounds remarkably like Emerson. Both sketch an aesthetics grounded on the forms of nature; for Cole, nature is the "Eden" and "exhaustless mine" from which the artist brings "wondrous treasures." Likewise, for Emerson, it is the "the entire circuit of natural forms" that ranks as the "standard of beauty," and which is available for artistic reception and re-expression in a work of art. Cole's essay would become a travel guide for future landscape painters. In it, he catalogues the wealth of American scenery: the varieties of mountains, lakes, waterfalls, rivers, forests, and skies. This comprehensive and Platonic sense of the beauty and variety of nature Emerson never tired of emphasizing throughout his writings. Durand's "Letters" further reveal unmistakable ideological correspondences with Emerson. Beyond the fact that the two writers share a general Romantic devotion to art and nature, their thoughts overlap in deeper philosophic and more pointed ways. One example is their mutual pedagogical emphasis. To his pupils, Durand recommends excursions into the "Studio of Nature" over formal study of the "technical knowledge, mechanical processes, most suitable colors, &c, &c"—in short, "the poisons of conventionalism." Emerson concurs. When addressing the American scholar, he implores the scholar to find instruction in "the field and the work-yard" over "colleges and books."

Given the intellectual affinities between Emerson and the Hudson River School, together with their shared geographical and temporal setting, a number of questions arise. What effect, if any, did the artworks of the Hudson River School painters possibly enkindle in Emerson? Did he know of the school? Was he aware of Cole, Durand, or others? Did he ever attend a local exhibition of the school's work? Or did he, perhaps, ever read any of their publications, such as those found in *The Crayon*?

To begin, let us consider what is to my knowledge the only direct encounter, recorded by scholarship, between Emerson and the school. Barbara Millhouse reports in her *American Wilderness: The Story of the Hudson River School of Painting* (2007), that Emerson viewed Church's *Heart of the Andes* and "described it as 'a fairer creation than we know.'" Millhouse, however, provides no citation or evidence to support her claim. Indeed, her report, is manifestly false. Emerson's statement actually occurs in his essay, "Art," where it is used to describe the intention, in general, of the landscape artist; the *Heart of the Andes* is not mentioned by name and neither is Church. Furthermore, any speculation on Emerson's encounter with the painting prior to composing "Art" is ruled out as anachronistic, since "Art"was published in 1841 and *Heart of the Andes* first exhibited in 1859. The spurious account is, nevertheless, fascinating. Only the strongest affinity could cast such a spell influencing us to imagine a concrete two-way relationship between Emerson and the Hudson River School, and establish the former as the "spokesman for the

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American landscapists."

We suppose Emerson's relationship to the school to be stronger than it truly is. Judging from his extant writings, it appears that he was almost entirely ignorant of his fellow American artists. For starters, there is no evidence suggesting that he ever visited the nearby galleries of the National Academy of Design, American Art-Union, or Boston Art Club—primary venues catering to American landscape painting from the 1820s onward. Furthermore, nowhere in his publications or lectures does he address the accomplishments of his native landscape artists, nor does he note in his journals or letters any individual painter—except for a single mention of Durand, as considered below. Absent from Emerson's writings are Thomas Doughty, Cole, Kensett, Martin Johnson Heade, Worthington Whittredge, Jasper Francis Cropsey, Gifford, Church, David Johnson, Albert Bierstadt, Samuel Colman, and others. Perhaps we should not be surprised at these absences since Emerson is of a generation or two prior to most of the painters. However, he was also of a generation prior to the literary notables like Walt Whitman and Henry Thoreau, with whom Emerson *was* in contact. The fact of the matter is that the Hudson River School flourished with its paintings on display during Emerson's time.

A contemporary of Emerson—and the only exception to the list of painters above—is Durand. In a letter (1852) to his friend Horatio Greenough, Emerson makes a tangential reference to Durand. Greenough, himself a professional sculptor and writer, regularly corresponded with Emerson. The two had similar views on art and aesthetics, which they often discussed. In the letter Emerson provides editorial advice on a book recently drafted by Greenough. The manuscript would become Greenough's only book to be published in his lifetime, *The Travels, Observations, and Experience of a Yankee Stonecutter*. It consists of a collection of essays, one of which exhibits Greenough's learnedness of and engagement with critical debates surrounding the contemporary art scene. In the essay Greenough rebukes the author of a recent exhibition review in the *New York Tribune*, which had Durand and his painting, *God's Judgment Upon Gog*, as its subject. Emerson's reaction to Greenough's participation in these superficial dealings of scholarly practice is uncompromising and dismissive. Along with Durand and other unnamed "personalities" included in the draft, Emerson recommends that Greenough "strike [them] out," in order to prevent the otherwise thoughtful book from appearing as a mere "brochure of newspaper articles."[12] Although Emerson extracts Durand's name from the manuscript, it is clearly not to single him out. His response is not a reaction against Durand himself, but an impatience towards the methods of professional criticism.

Despite their parallel philosophical positions, it appears that Emerson was uninformed about Durand as a fellow American spokesperson for art. The single occurrence of the Greenough letter is inconsequential for supporting that Emerson was in any sense substantially informed about Durand or his accomplishments. The apparent blind spot persists when, in 1855, Durand's "Letters" improbably happen across Emerson's reading desk. Emerson requested that his brother, William, send the issues of *The Crayon* containing the "Letters." Yet it was neither the "Letters" nor Durand which Emerson wanted, but posthumous fragments by Greenough. Despite reviewing the issues, it appears Emerson either never read Durand's columns or was left unaffected by their words. In his short follow-up thank you to William, his thoughts remain decidedly one-track: the "passages from Greenough are excellent."[13] A similar coincidence occurs the following year when Emerson's own writings are published in *The Crayon*. His poetry and extracts of his primary writings appear in print alongside the latest "gossip" surrounding the Hudson River School painters. In addition, Emerson arose as the topic of discussion of a number of articles in *The Crayon*, such as the review of *English Traits* (1856), which is presumably written by the primary acting editor at the time, John Durand, the son of Asher Durand.[14]

Emerson also experienced a near miss of Cole's signature publication, "Essay on American Scenery." The essay was initially presented as a lecture for the *American Lyceum* in New York, May 1835, the same year Emerson began an extensive schedule of public lectures, some before the lyceum. Cole periodically presented lectures on the lyceum circuit and published an occasional essay or poem in magazines familiar to Emerson. The year Cole published "Essay on American Scenery" in *The American Monthly Magazine*, Emerson sent copies of his own recently published *Nature* to the same magazine.[15] The magazine's name is one item on a list in Emerson's journals that includes various persons and places to whom *Nature* is sent. Present, besides *The American Monthly Magazine*, is *The Knickerbocker*, a periodical out of New York which would publish poems and articles by Cole in the 1840s.

Emerson could have also received news of Cole and Durand, and even of his shared affinities with the school as part of his voracious reading curriculum, if he had examined Henry T. Tuckerman's synopsis of the two painters in his *Artist-Life: or Sketches of American Painters* (1847), or Tuckerman's later collection, *Book of the Artists* (1867), which is the first of its kind to thoroughly cover the Hudson River School painters as a whole. Emerson read the author's *Thoughts on the Poets* (1846) with "great pleasure and respect."[16] He also took up and made notes on Tuckerman's *A Memorial of Horatio Greenough* (1853), but neither *Artist-Life* nor *Book of the Artists* is found in his library. *A Memorial* includes a selection of Greenough's *The Travels* as well as a memoir written by Tuckerman. Besides Emerson only a few persons received an advanced draft of *The Travels* from Greenough. Tuckerman was one of the few. While Emerson reviewed Greenough's book, Tuckerman simultaneously reviewed a separate draft. Despite the coincidence, apparently Emerson never learned that Tuckerman was a fellow co-editor on the project, or that this co-editor had already become the pioneer scholar of the country's first original school of painting.

Yet, Emerson didn't have to take in the sensual beauty of the paintings secondhand and by way of the eyes of a critic, albeit a highly sympathetic one. Although he apparently never attended a formal exhibition of the school, he may have, and in all likelihood did, coincidentally regard some landscapes while visiting The Evergreens estate of Austin and Susan Dickinson (the brother and sister-in-law of Emily Dickinson) who were patrons of the arts in their day. Adorning the walls of their stately homestead are Kensett's *Sunset with Cows* (1856) and Gifford's *Autumn Evening in the White Hills* (1858), among other works by landscapists local and abroad. The Evergreens was initially furnished when it was occupied immediately after the couple married in July 1856. It was probably at this time the Kensett was acquired, purchased by Susan using a large dowry she received from her brothers. The painting was her favorite.[17] Austin—a somewhat crazed and reckless aesthete—bought the Gifford. The paintings, throughout their life at The Evergreens, have been displayed in the parlor and the library, although their original location is uncertain. In the two rooms, Susan and Austin entertained notable guests and enthusiastically showed off the fine furnishings of their household. Emerson appears to have visited the Dickinsons twice, in 1857 and 1865, inferring from his lecture engagements in Amherst and from Susan's testimony in her memoir, "Annals of the Evergreens."[18] Susan briefly records their time together. She notes their evening conversation around the fireside and Emerson's praise of an author whose book was located on the library table. However, Emerson left no record of these visits, but it seems evident that, if not during his first visit then during his second, the Gifford and Kensett both hung on the walls. We are left only to conjecture how the works of Luminist expressionism may have affected him: to imagine him, perhaps, stealing a glance at the paintings while conversing beside the fire, or perhaps being directly consulted, by the reverent hosts, to offer his valued aesthetic opinion on the country's preeminent landscapists.

Emerson's apparent ignorance of the Hudson River School suggests a possible lack of awareness in the accomplishments of contemporary painting. Be that as it may, his passion for the fine arts and Romantic love of wild nature ran deep, and the Hudson River School painters shared these sentiments as two essential ingredients of the soul that forged their visionary and idyllic artworks. Considering that Emerson's primary passion was literature, that he occupied his time with writing essays, lectures, and poetry, and that his social circles included friends and acquaintances engaged in like pursuits, it is perhaps not surprising that he may have missed out on the world of painting contemporary to his time and place. Given the lack of surviving evidence, we can only guess, then, what Emerson's impression would have been if he truly did observe Church's nationally acclaimed *Heart of the Andes*; or if, while visiting The Evergreens, he contemplated Gifford's "masterpiece of luminist quiescence," or Kensett's own expression of "pastoral calm and soft aerial benediction that were characteristic of the best early Hudson River school manner."[19]

Nicholas Guardiano received a master's in philosophy from The New School for Social Research in 2008, is currently a Ph.D. student at Southern Illinois University Carbondale, and works on the philosophy of Emerson, literature, aesthetics, and nature.

Notes

1. Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825-1875* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 267-8.

2. Barbara Novak, *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century: Realism, Idealism, and the American Experience*, third edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), ix.

3. In addition to Novak's trilogy, which also includes *Voyages of the Self: Pairs, Parallels, and Patterns in American Art and Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) and in which chapter 2 is devoted to the connection between Emerson and Fitz Hugh Lane, see, for example, James Thomas Flexner, *That Wilder Image: The Painting of America's Native School from Thomas Cole to Winslow Homer* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962), 181, 363, and passim; Gayle L. Smith, "Emerson and the Luminist Painters: A Study of Their Styles," *American Quarterly* 37 (1985): 193-215; and Gene Edward Veith, *Painters of Faith: The Spiritual Landscape in Nineteenth-century America* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2001), 40-1, 94, and 122.

4. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Art," in *Essays & Lectures* (New York: The Library of America, 1983), 431.

5. In addition see Emerson's article, "Thoughts on Art"; and essays and lectures, "Eye and Ear," "Art" (in *Society and Solitude*), and "Michael Angelo"(in *Natural History of Intellect*).

6. Thomas Cole, "Essay on American Scenery," *The American Monthly Magazine* 1 (1836): 12, 1.

7. Emerson, Nature, in *Essays & Lectures*, 18.

8. Asher Durand, "Letters on Landscape Painting," *The Crayon* 1 (1855): 2.

9. Emerson, "The American Scholar," in *Essays & Lectures*, 62.

10. Barbara Babcock Millhouse, *American Wilderness: The Story of the Hudson River School of Painting* (Hensonville, NY: Black Dome Press, 2007), 105.

11. On the question of the occurrence of the names Cole and Bierstadt it is worth noting some interesting leads found in Emerson's unpublished material. Regarding the former, in a short journal entry Emerson inquires: "What does that fact signify,—that no body in this country can draw a hand except Allston? asserted by Mr Cole I think" (*Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks*, ed. William H. Gilman, et al. [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960-82], 7: 341). That this "Cole" is Mr. *Thomas* Cole is highly improbable. First, there is no further evidence to support that Emerson knew of Thomas Cole, and second, Cole never publicly discussed Washington Allston or his skills as a painter. The name "Cole" occurs elsewhere in Emerson's journals and letters, suggesting that Emerson was acquainted with another man named Cole. Regarding the latter, Bierstadt, the editors of *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* inform us that he sent a letter to Emerson in 1865 but that Emerson neither mentions nor quotes it.

12. Ralph Waldo Emerson to Horatio Greenough, September 25, 1852, in *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph L. Rusk and Eleanor M. Tilton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939–1994), 8:333.

13. Emerson to Susan Haven Emerson, May 5, 1855, in *Letters*, 4:507. Emerson is thanking William by way of writing to Susan.

14. See "Emerson's *English Traits*," *The Crayon* 3 (September 1856): 266-8. By the time of this issue, John Durand had full responsibility of editorial duties, since William James Stillman, the other editor, handed over his share, in June, 1856, due to ill health.

15. See Emerson, *Journals* and *Miscellaneous Notebooks*, 5:264.

16. Emerson to James Elliot Cabot, August 3, 1845, in *Letters*, 3:293.

17. Judith Farr, *The Passion of Emily Dickinson* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 256.

18. Susan records in her memoir that Emerson stayed with the couple in 1857 and "several other times" ("Annals of the Evergreens" [http://www.emilydickinson.org/susan/tannals.html], p. 13) thereafter, but that during his last visit he stayed in a hotel due to his failing memory and because he was traveling with his daughter, Ellen. We know Emerson lectured in Amherst in the years 1857, 1865, 1872, and 1879. By 1872 his memory was already noticeably impaired and so Ellen accompanied him to help with traveling and lecturing. These facts establish 1857 and 1867 as the only years Emerson visited The Evergreens, and leave to hyperbole Susan's testimony of "several" visits, hardly an unusual statement for a woman of high society who enjoyed flattering herself as a privileged hostess.

19. Barton Levi St. Armand, *Emily Dickinson and Her Culture: The Soul's Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 251-2, 282.

In Memoriam

Frank Shuffelton
1940–2010

Frank Shuffelton, a Harvard graduate with a Stanford Ph.D., taught for his entire career at the University of Rochester (1969-2008). His Transcendentalist credentials were impressive. An original member of the Emerson Society, one of twenty-seven present at the founding meeting in 1989, he wrote important articles on Henry Thoreau and Margaret Fuller, and contributed essays to both the *Biographical Dictionary* and the *Encyclopedia of Transcendentalism* (1996). His fine chapter "Emerson's Politics of Biography and History" appeared in *Emersonian Circles: Essays in Honor of Joel Myerson* (1997), which Bob Burkholder and I edited—in fact, it was Frank's visit to the director of the press that secured our contract with the University of Rochester Press. And his essay on Puritanism appears in the recent *Oxford Handbook of Transcendentalism*, edited by Joel Myerson, Sandra Harbert Petrulionis, and Laura Dassow Walls.

Indeed, Frank used to quip that he "commuted between early American literature and the Transcendentalists"—for though he was regularly drawn into Emerson's orbit, he was most at home in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His *Thomas Hooker: 1586-1647* (Princeton, 1977) was the first biography of the great New England Puritan divine since 1891. Frank also wrote *The American Enlightenment* (Rochester, 1993) and edited *A Mixed Race: Ethnicity in Early America* (Oxford, 1993) and *The Letters of John and Abigail Adams* (Penguin, 2003). He will perhaps best be remembered as one of the great Jeffersonians of his time. He published *Thomas Jefferson: A Comprehensive, Annotated Bibliography* (Garland, 1983), followed by *Thomas Jefferson, 1981-1990: An Annotated Bibliography* (Garland, 1992), and edited Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (Penguin, 1999). Most recently he edited the *Cambridge Companion to Thomas Jefferson* (Cambridge, 2008).

Widely honored by his profession—a Mellon Faculty Fellow, National Endowment for the Humanities Senior Fellow, MLA Distinguished Scholar of Early American Literature in 2006—Frank is remembered by Jefferson scholar R. B. Bernstein as both "a valued and incredibly industrious colleague . . . and a true gentleman and scholar." The Society of Early Americanists has posted an "In Memoriam" page, where tributes emphasize his warmth and wit, his generosity to colleagues and students. (Visit http://www.societyofearlyamericanists.org/Memoriam.html; to be included, send remarks to Professor Susan Imbarrato at simbarra@mnstate.edu.) Emersonians will long remember Frank as a congenial researcher at the Houghton Library and as a jovial presence at conferences who lit up a room with humor and honest charm, who delighted us at dinner with funny stories and news of his wife, Jane, their children, Amy and George, and their beloved summer home in New Hampshire. I will always picture Frank showing up at American Literature Association conferences sporting his Emerson Society "transparent eye-ball" T-shirt under a two-piece suit. ALA will feel a lot smaller without Frank. We are all better for having known him.

—Wesley T. Mott