# MARGARET FULLER

## Critic

### Writings from the *New-York Tribune*, 1844–1846

JUDITH MATTSON BEAN & JOEL MYERSON

EDITORS

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*Edited by*

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*Columbia University Press, New York*

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
*Publishers Since 1893*
*New York*
*Chichester, West Sussex*



*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Fuller, Margaret, 1810–1850
Margaret Fuller, critic : writings from the New York Tribune, 1844–1846 / edited by Judith Mattson Bean and Joel Myerson.
p. cm.
Includes index.
ISBN 0–231–11132–0 (cloth : alk. paper)
1. Books—Reviews. 2. American Literature—19th century—History and criticism. 3. Literature—History and criticism. I. Bean, Judith Mattson. II. Myerson, Joel. III. Title.

PS2502.B43 2000
809—dc21 99–087879

*Casebound editions of Columbia University Press books are printed on permanent and durable acid-free paper.*
*Printed in the United States of America*

*c 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1*

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# Acknowledgments

This project has been supported by a number of scholars and institutions. Assistance in transcribing Fuller's words from darkened and aging copies of the *New-York Tribune* was essential to completing the full collection. Support for this work was provided by Texas Woman's University and the University of South Carolina. We appreciate the work of Camille Langston, Ginger Cotton, Ann Hoff, Lee Davinroy, Chris Nesmith, Ralph H. Orth, and Todd Richardson, who participated in this effort, and especially the work of Michael McLoughlin. Judith Bean wishes to thank especially Sondra Ferstl, Elizabeth Snapp, and Lucyle Hook. Joel Myerson thanks Robert Newman, chair of the English department of the University of South Carolina, for his support.

We are also indebted to a number of libraries and their staffs who assisted in the work of examining Fuller's papers: the Boston Public Library, the Houghton Library of Harvard University, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New York Public Library, the Blagg-Huey Library of Texas Woman's University, and the University of South Carolina.

We received helpful encouragement and suggestions from many Fuller scholars. Wilma Ebbitt's 1943 dissertation editing some fifty of Fuller's texts from the *Tribune* proved a valuable source of information. We are grateful to Professor Ebbitt, as well as members of the Margaret Fuller Society, and especially Susan Belasco and Robert N. Hudspeth. Our introduction has benefited from suggestions made by Larry J. Reynolds. Susan Heath has edited the work with precision. We owe a special debt to Jennifer Crewe of Columbia University Press, who helped us through the various stages of this project and was instrumental in helping us achieve the final, comprehensive result.

*Judith Mattson Bean*
*Joel Myerson*

# Introduction

When Margaret Fuller became the literary editor of the *New-York Tribune* in the fall of 1844, she also embarked on a process of reshaping her identity. Her *Tribune* essays, like her most famous work, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), can be read not only as cultural critique but also a record of Fuller's evolving identity. With each column Fuller expressed her sense of self by taking positions that identified her politically and culturally. Before moving to New York City, Fuller lived in Boston, where she participated actively in its culture and identified herself with the progressive and reformist citizens, such as the Reverend William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Amos Bronson Alcott. She initiated an educational experiment by leading seminars (called Conversations) for women and edited the *Dial*, the Transcendentalists' literary journal, for two years.[1] Although informally educated, she was described as the most brilliant woman in America and one of the leading minds of her time. In Boston her efforts were aimed at interpreting European literature and German literary philosophy, encouraging American literature and art, and developing her own intellectual powers. Her philosophical orientation toward the idealism of the German Romantics such as Herder and Goethe was balanced by her appreciation for classical thought. Although progressive in literary and educational theories, she rejected direct association with "radical" groups such as the abolitionist societies in Boston. Her *Tribune* essays indicate that her New York experiences transformed her political consciousness and reoriented her perspective. They show that she gained an increased understanding of the opportunities for political action open to women and to intellectuals as she directly considered national political programs and her own role in shaping them through one of the most popular newspapers of the day.

Although in the 1840s political endeavor was, by definition, men's work, Fuller's columns reveal her growing radicalism and confidence in her political identity. Working for the *Tribune* brought her into contact with marginalized

women, reformers, and political activists and forced her to express her views on the social issues of her day. Her columns became textual acts of identity produced through individualized responses to this sociohistorical context. Reading and writing were recursive processes through which she developed a socially expanded identity. Each political position or literary judgment she asserted situated her in public debates and developed her credibility as a social and literary critic. Through Fuller's case, we can examine how women, especially in times of national redefinition, recreate for themselves new identities that challenge prescriptive cultural norms against political activism.

The 1840s were a decade of reform in which individuals identified themselves in part by their attitudes toward reform itself. Americans were reexamining the principles of democracy and individualism, questioning the relation of the nation as a whole to segments of the population defined by race (African Americans, Native Americans), class (Irish immigrant laborers), and gender (women). American women were active in reforming public institutions despite social expectations that they confine themselves to private life. During 1846–47 alone, the *Tribune* reported on the public activities of women such as Dorothea Dix, who was petitioning the New Jersey legislature for improved care of the insane; Abby Kelley, who was lecturing against slavery; and Delia Webster, who was imprisoned for allegedly subverting slavery laws in Kentucky (and to whom Fuller refers in the 28 December 1844 *Tribune* ("New Year's Day"). Several women advocated reform in Horace Greeley's newspaper: Harriet Beecher Stowe published antislavery fiction; Maria Chapman and Frederika Bremer argued for abolition. Lydia Maria Child attacked slavery, nativism, and the persecution of women prisoners; Caroline Kirkland spoke out on women's rights. Catharine Sedgwick worked quietly to educate and assist women prisoners; Ernestine Rose spoke in a public meeting of the New York Prison Association; and Eliza Farnham became the first woman to supervise and reform a women's prison. Elizabeth Barrett's poetry inveighed against the plight of poor and working classes in England.

Although women could undertake humanitarian reforms and maintain social respectability, direct political involvement (such as lobbying) and public political argumentation was still very risky. Fuller admired the risk-takers and praised them in her columns, reviewing the works of reformist women writers such as Child, Farnham, Sedgwick, and Barrett. In her praise of individual women, Fuller implicitly identifies herself with them and their public work, displaying a redefinition of self as woman. She praises speakers who do not "make phrases or compliments; [nor] slur over the truth."[2] They are

"truth-tellers," an epithet she often applies to herself. Fuller's recurring metaphor for acts of protest and reform is the grain of mustard seed.

Fuller's readings link acts of reform to texts and present rationales for social transformation. She writes, for example, in "New Year's Day" (28 December 1844), that, "While reading a notice of a successful attempt to have musical performances carried through in concert by the insane at Rouen [France], we were forcibly reminded of a similar performance we heard a few weeks ago at Sing Sing" (the New York prison for women). After reporting the European precedent and implying that prisoners should be given the same consideration as the insane, she goes on to describe an organizational meeting of the New York Association for the Benefit of Prisoners as a "happy omen . . . [and] cause for thanksgiving." Thus her reviews, particularly of other women writers, delineate Fuller's shift toward political activism. Whether this shift constitutes an extension or rejection of Romantic idealism is debatable.[3] Fuller vehemently defends reform activity against the charge of superficial sentimentalism when Carlyle labels proponents of abolishing capital punishment as disgusting Rose-Water Philanthropists or advocates of "Jean-Jacques Philanthropy." She challenges Carlyle's habit of ridiculing individuals whose political position differs from his and condemns his indiscriminate categorizing.[4] His comments call attention to the significant link between romanticism and reform fever in America. Fuller's growth as a critic of contemporary American culture was possible because in the *Tribune*, with its reform orientation, she could "address, not our neighbor, who forces us to remember his limitations and prejudices, but the ideal presence of human nature as we feel it ought to be and trust it will be. We address America rather than Americans."[5] In addressing America, Fuller participated in shaping attitudes toward America's political conduct.

Fuller's *Tribune* reviews often omit contextualizing comments and assume acquaintance with the New York political and literary milieu. The *Tribune*'s place in the political landscape was generally within Whig territory (supporting Daniel Webster and Henry Clay), but it was also associated with reformist papers that generally opposed the Whigs. The *Tribune* generally opposed political positions of the democrats (supporters of Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren), which found favor in William Cullen Bryant's *Morning News*. Nevertheless, the reformist aims of Horace Greeley (and Fuller) were occasionally similar to the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. On some issues Fuller aligns herself with the *Democratic Review* and democrats who sympathized with European revolutions. On slavery and the Texas annexation issue,

she stands with New England Whigs, Greeley, and her friend William Henry Channing. At other times Fuller speaks out individually to bring an issue to public attention. A promoter of associationism, Greeley encouraged Fuller to intensify reformist views and express them with force. He tirelessly covered national political events and supported reform or party work through editorials and excerpts from other periodicals. Greeley's primary editorial concern was the improvement of prospects for both industry and laborers in America. He assigned Fuller to report on a variety of city events and activities as well as writing literary reviews.

Fuller's first *Tribune* review appeared just after the Whig presidential defeat of 1844, a political campaign that swamped Greeley's pages for months and ended with the election of the Jacksonian "Young Hickory," James Polk. A fierce national division over the Texas annexation issue during the campaign prompted South Carolina to threaten secession and one group in Massachusetts to declare the union dead. The controversy temporarily subsided during 1845 when Texas rejected annexation terms, but when those issues were resolved and Texas was formally annexed in the fall of 1845, war with Mexico erupted in the spring of 1846. Like Greeley, Fuller opposed war with Mexico, not only for antislavery reasons but also from a deeply felt antipathy for the imperialistic impulses of the Manifest Destiny ideology that was used to justify the war.

The annexation debate of the 1820s to the 1840s revealed deep cultural tensions. The 1846–48 war with Mexico originated from several causes beyond the expansion of slavery. Indeed, some argue that the strongest supporters of forceful Texas annexation were New York commercial interests who stood to profit from increased trade. Ambition to amass individual fortunes through land speculation was also rampant. A rapidly expanding population of urban poor increased fears of class war, encouraging the annexation of Texas as a safety valve for urban conflict. Yet another factor was anti-Catholic nativism, which provided grounds for opposing Mexican rule of Texas (and, ironically, for the desertion of Irish soldiers from U.S. divisions for service with Mexico). Finally, competition with England for domination in the western hemisphere supported Texas annexation.

In New England Whigs rallied to protest annexation because it would increase slave territory. Abolitionism was still an unpopular ideology in New York, and Greeley's paper expressed a dissenting view. The *Tribune* featured reports and commentary on antislavery and anti-Texas meetings and on the activities of abolitionists Frederick Douglass, Cassius Clay, and Delia Webster.

The related issue of black suffrage emerged when New York State began rewriting its constitution. Fuller responded to both the annexation and black suffrage issues in her columns in essays, reviews, allusions, and metaphors (such as a black cloud hanging over America). Initially, Fuller viewed the Texas debate as contesting only slavery, but her later essays exhibit a larger and more complex understanding of the multiple forces that led to war. In them, she realizes that a war would drastically reconfigure the nation's population and landscape, leaving a legacy of dispossession and ethnic conflict. Fuller's essays actively resist American imperialism with attempts to subvert racist American expansionist rhetoric and to legitimate Mexican independence and property rights, while simultaneously exposing Mexican oppression of indigenous people. Fuller's participation in this debate was significant for another reason: the war with Mexico played a critical role in her disillusionment with America. Before her departure for Europe in the fall of 1846, she began to equate U.S. national policy with European despotism and imperialism. When she maintained her opposition to the war after it was declared, she, like Greeley, was exposed not only to classification as a radical and controversial author but also to charges of disloyalty to America (accusations that Greeley defended himself against in the *Tribune*). Speaking out on controversial issues had its price; for example, the publishing firm Wiley & Putnam demanded that Fuller withdraw some essays from their forthcoming collection of her critical essays. Thus Fuller's political essays become significant public acts of identity. Through them she creates the authority, subjectivity, and selfhood that anticipate her European dispatches.

The Texas conflict was only one of several struggles over national boundaries and identity. At the root of the Mexican conflict was a dispute over philosophies of history and nationhood. Supporters of the war argued that strife between advanced and primitive peoples was as inevitable as was the victory of the advanced race. Others, who held a more organic theory of history, envisioned peaceful growth and expansion as a benign process in which the youthful, vigorous culture would replace degenerate, older civilizations. However, the mixed population of Mexico posed a conundrum. Was Mexico a Spanish, hence degenerate, older civilization, or an Indian, and thus a primitive civilization; was the United States the most advanced or the youngest civilization? How, in other words, was the United States to act in relation to its southern neighbor? Thus the war with Mexico raised fundamental issues of national identity and history. Through her arguments, analysis, allusions, and extensive quotations, Fuller's political essays allow modern readers to decon-

struct monolithic descriptions of national myths such as Manifest Destiny that neglect opposing voices. What Fuller's *Tribune* essays provide, therefore, in addition to an increased understanding of this writer's work, is an opportunity to reconfigure the parameters within which antebellum American cultural discourse is defined. Her *Tribune* essays follow the same impulses that now stimulate feminist and postcolonial literary criticism. Philosophically oriented to the comparative approach employed by Goethe and Herder, Fuller's essays problematize constructions of American imperialism, recreating the dialogue between the American colonizer and the colonized other. These essays also reveal—through example—the redefinition of political discourse as woman's work.

Fuller was at the center of American and New York City attempts to establish new identities independent of British cultural influence. One dominant feature of the discourse of national identity was the polarization of U.S. democracy in opposition to monarchy worldwide. Czar Nicholas of Russia, whose domain was the world's largest, epitomized European monarchical power. Thus, when the czar met P. T. Barnum's protégée, Tom Thumb, the "smallest and the greatest personages in existence met" ("General Tom Thumb's Career," *NYDT* 6 July 1844). With every attempted revolt (in Ireland or Poland, for example) or successful effort to gain independence from a monarch (as in South America), the press celebrated the advance of world democracy for America's "brothers" in liberty around the globe. Napoleon's place in history provided considerable debate in the periodical press (including that by Greeley and Fuller) and in public lectures, the dominant oral media of the day. Writers revealed their political stances by their interpretations of Napoleon as either despot or brilliant leader. In reviewing contemporary American literature, Fuller practices a democratic criticism that challenges writers to uphold ideals of liberty and equality. Her political essays also argue that America's principles of liberty and equality are endangered by American materialism, greed, and the desire for continental domination. She directs attention to the relation of dominant American society to the other, contending that American society is founded upon tolerance and upon recognition of universal human rights rather than domination by force.

Because Americans wanted to claim the cosmopolitan sophistication of Europe but to reject its monarchical political systems and alleged cultural decadence, ambivalence marked arguments for a unique national identity. Greeley once claimed that European news was becoming less and less important to America, but elsewhere he held up European cities and cultures as the

measure of American growth and success. American insecurities appeared in frequent comparisons and attempts to prove U.S. parity with Europe. With a regular column on city life and many reports on city development, Greeley established a personal and journalistic identification with New York, which he saw as a growing American city in contrast to older European urban centers. Evidence that New York was competitively oriented toward European rather than American cities appeared in the higher frequency of *Tribune* comparisons of New York with London and Paris rather than with such American cities as Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, or Baltimore. Fuller's readings of foreign-language literature and periodicals assisted in creating a cosmopolitan ethos for the *Tribune* and for New York City, while her attention to American literature and culture developed the theme of national identity.

Interest in European culture and politics was intense despite America's nationalistic feelings; cosmopolitan New Yorkers recognized the importance of transatlantic exchanges in material and intellectual culture, in people, and in technology. Literary commerce was not limited to the import of European books; publishers' crews raced out to meet ships before they docked, hoping to scoop competing newspapers and publishing houses for European news and pirated editions of literary works. The *Tribune* featured full-page displays of European news fresh from steamships and advertisements for the latest installments of French novels. In addition to social and political news, the paper provided columns such as "Glimpses of Europe" (a foreign travel column) and Fuller's columns of "Items of Foreign Gossip," gleaned from European periodicals. In her reviews of foreign-language periodicals and literature, Fuller argues for the significance of journalism in literary culture and for the importance of reading literatures of other nations. Parisian newspapers, for example, are praised as illustrating the potential for high standards of journalism.[6] Fuller's translations and criticism of others' translations assert the importance of international literary exchange.

Fuller's *Tribune* writing illustrates the potential service of the critic as mediator in a pluralistic, cosmopolitan, literary culture. Mirroring New York life in the 1840s, the *Tribune* displays a heteroglossia of urban cultures and international dialogue. Daily enmeshed in city life, confronted with contradictory theories of culture and national policy, Fuller's profession involved discourses of race, gender, class, political power, nationhood, economics, authorship, education, and religion (to name a few). By the mid-1840s New York had become a metropolis, a complex of multiple environments, unknown to each other and perhaps unknowable to any single individual through direct or per-

sonal experience. City life was mediated through the daily press, and the many different environments of the city were represented there.[7] Fuller not only wrote for one of the city's and nation's most popular papers (circulation two hundred thousand), she also read it and responded to its reports. Fuller's humanism and background as a critic and translator of foreign literature encouraged her to adopt the role of mediator among classes, ethnic groups, and national literary cultures. Her feminism inclined her to produce feminist criticism (i.e., criticism that is more ethically than aesthetically oriented and that moves toward human change and genuine social improvement). Believing in the socially contingent nature of literature in the tradition of Germaine de Stäel, Fuller read contextually; her aesthetic and social comments were intertwined. Her preference for dialogic, intertextual discourse creates a need on the part of the modern reader for an awareness of Fuller's cultural milieu.

Living in New York increased Fuller's interest in theories of economics and social class and convinced her of the need for a literature that mediated between classes. By one estimate the richest 1 percent of New York's population in 1845 owned one-half of the city's wealth, while the upper 4 percent owned more than four-fifths of the city's total wealth.[8] The problem of poverty was felt to be "a ragged insult to the land of opportunity," and by 1850 the New York police estimated that three thousand vagrant children lived in the streets.[9] Burgeoning immigration, particularly as the Irish famine began, overwhelmed American port cities between 1845 and 1855; New York's foreign-born population increased from one-third to one-half during those years. One solution was imprisonment; the majority of those sentenced to prison were vagrants. Workhouses were another option; Randall's Island was used for a children's farm school, Blackwell's for a prison and almshouse. New York geography reified the growing divisions, with wealthy New Yorkers building on high ground in mid-island (e.g., Washington Square), while the poor occupied districts near the docks, in the Five Points area, and on the lower East Side. Housing problems contributed to frequent city fires—such as one at the *Tribune*—and water supply problems continued until the 1842 addition of a new water supply source.

Greeley advocated increasing land availability in the east and promoted western homesteading. As an ardent Associationist, he believed that as business prospered, the worker would prosper. To address inadequacies of public assistance, New Yorkers began to organize reform and philanthropic groups such as the Mariners Family Industrial Society and the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor. The *Tribune* publicized meetings

and agendas of groups that advocated land-rent reform, prison reform, postal-cost reform, associationism, and temperance. Greeley also campaigned daily for the rights and opportunities of working men and women. A series of articles, "Labor in New-York" (August to October 1845), presented statistical analyses of working conditions and wages for several blue-collar occupations and working women. Fuller wrote essays focusing on the rich and the poor concurrently with this series, and in other essays engaged in the ongoing discourse about growing class divisions.

Utilitarianism, or Benthamism, persuasively theorized social, political, and economic aspects of the increasingly industrialized culture. In the *Tribune* the term *political economy* referred to utilitarianism. When Fuller refers to its principle, "the greatest good for the greatest number," her tone suggests ambivalence or opposition.[10] Her essays reveal an awareness that utilitarianism seemed democratic but in fact created advantages for dominant groups at the expense of dissenters and social misfits. With the emergence of economics as a science, a sense of social determinism emerged, challenging individualistic ideologies and positing the inevitability of poverty. Utilitarians argued that economic laws were natural laws, an idea that appealed to those who held that the poor were a divinely ordained part of society. In response to the growing appeal of so-called "political economy," American writers such as Fuller confronted the problem of creating a truly humane and egalitarian society. Although significantly influenced intellectually by contacts with underprivileged women, prisoners, and women reformers, Fuller was not able in New York to transcend class boundaries in a personal sense. Her essays on the rich and poor indicate that, although she expressed sympathy for the imprisoned poor and domestic servants, she had no rebuttal for theories of economic determinism and had not yet questioned the foundations of class relations as she later did in Italy. The theory upon which she relied was an organic model of society that assumed difference but complementarity between mental and manual work, mind and body. A construct similar to one in Catharine Sedgwick's best-selling novel *The Poor Rich Man and the Rich Poor Man* (1836) and Edward Everett's "Lecture on the Working Men's Party" (1830), the organic model relied upon interdependency rather than competition of classes.[11] Nevertheless, contacts with the poor unsettled Fuller's earlier definitions of self, race, gender, and class, preparing her for a more radical transformation in Europe. She adapted the organic principle to theorize national differences and literature in a pluralistic model, a "beautiful variety in the order of nature," which assumed that nations possessed individual mental and moral character-

istics emerging in national literatures.[12] Her perspective resembled Herder's model of the political family as one of diversity and harmony in which the folk express the essential national identity. Fuller's essays demonstrate her desire to include in the literary culture "the seed of each plant that ever bloomed in the garden of Humanity," all growths, whether humble and noble.[13] Fuller's pluralistic vision of American culture is illuminated by her cross-cultural thinking; she envisions American culture as receiving not only people but seeds of thought and expression from other nations.

Fuller's New York writing brought her into the busy literary marketplace during the "Golden Age of Periodicals," and her essays reflect the growing importance of publishers and periodicals. Publishing was stimulated by technological advances, making it more than an activity of elite culture. Literary journalists included Edgar Allan Poe and Walt Whitman, both of whom responded to Fuller's writing.[14] In August 1845 Whitman returned from New York City to Brooklyn to edit the *Brooklyn Eagle*; he reacted to Fuller's work as a woman critic and to her calls for an American poet. Poe became the editor of the *Broadway Journal* as well as publishing his *Tales* and "The Raven" in 1845. Poe and Fuller met at gatherings of the literati and reviewed each other's work, engaging in a dialogue marked by polarities of critical theory and practice as well as personal and regional differences. The importance of contemporary periodicals to the literary culture is attested by frequent reviews of periodicals in the *Tribune*, which regularly previewed *The Knickerbocker*, the *Democratic Review*, *Graham's*, *Godey's*, and others with short notices, extracts, or lists of contents. The *Democratic Review* established itself as a leader in New York City literary culture and has been cited in histories of magazines for its vigorous political commentary and excellence in literary publications. Although the conservative *Knickerbocker* presented itself as the ultimate in metropolitan sophistication, its greatest appeal was its literary gossip. The *Broadway Journal*, under editor Charles F. Briggs, aimed to configure New York as an American Paris. Fuller's reviews and allusions to Boston's *North American Review* exhibit the generally held opinion that it had become stodgy. The Fourieristic *Harbinger*, published at Brook Farm, received her accolades. Fuller regularly read and alluded to both American and foreign periodicals, such as *Blackwood's* and the Liberal Whig *Edinburgh Review*. Her columns present a dialogue with British and American reviewers who discussed many of the same works and issues.

The *Democratic Review* and its writers became important to Fuller's thinking about social and literary issues, although she differed from their expan-

sionist stance and acquiescence with slavery. For example, she moved toward their position that literature was a form of social action and that the writer could shape individual and political perceptions. Fuller also supported its enthusiasm for democratic revolutions in Europe and South America and its calls for a distinctive and democratic American literature. The *Democratic Review* followed the logic that democracy would equalize wealth, that redistribution of wealth would increase leisure among the masses and thus increase the desire for democratic literature and art. Under this theory, intelligence was presumed to be widely distributed in the masses, but the poor were thought to require satisfaction of their material needs before they could be expected to appreciate the refinements of culture. Like Fuller, the *Democratic Review* called for "a new species of poetry, expressly designed to represent their condition and utter their aspirations, and at the same time to encourage and sustain their endeavors."[15] Fuller expresses hope for a working-class literature in her reviews of works by Thom and Prince, retitled as "Poets of the People" in *Papers on Literature and Art* in 1846.

Fuller's work at the *Tribune* challenged her to consider the nature of work: manual work, mechanized work, and the intellectual work of authorship. All forms of intellectual work were challenged by Adam Smith's popular theories of productive (manual) labor and "unproductive" intellectual labor, of laborers as the producers of wealth versus unproductive consumers of wealth. In a mass-market economy and democracy what was the value of literature—its market and moral value—to the people and to its producers? Fuller's complex vision considers not only the author's spiritual needs but the economics and limitations of publisher and public as well. When she insists that America should "at least, pay interest on this rich capital" from the English mind (in a review of Hood's poetry) or argues for the intellectual property rights of authors (in "Publishers and Authors"), she engages in an international dispute on the nature of authorship and literature.[16] Greeley published several articles related to authorial rights and his own admonitions to authors from the publisher's perspective. Although England adopted a copyright law in 1842, the United States refused to do so, and pirated editions were a mainstay of publishers such as Harper and Brothers, the largest publisher in the country. Both authors and publishers were tempted to claim ideological justification for monetary motivation. American authors and publishers not only contested definitions of literature and the author but also negotiated relationships of author to publisher and publisher to the democratic public. Fuller presents authorship as a political, economic, and intellectual endeavor. She recognizes

legitimate aesthetic and material motives entailed in the collaborative process of publication.

As part of the industrial revolution, print culture was being redefined by science and technology. Utilitarianism and technological advances were described as progressive "signs of the times," harbingers of the march of civilization that was revolutionizing New Yorkers' relationships to the rest of the country and the world. Improvements in printing, bookbinding, imaging, and paper production were covered in the *Tribune*, but the three technological advances that ignited the most public interest were the steamship, the railroad, and the telegraph. Upon the completion of the first telegraph line in 1844, the *Tribune* hailed it as the "miracle of the annihilation of space."[17] Franchises and construction of new lines were reported with the same degree of excitement granted to leasing space on the information highway of the 1990s. A three-column, front-page etching of the *Great Britain* demonstrated the general excitement over the arrival of a colossal steamer, the world's largest and most technologically advanced ocean liner when it went to sea. Impressed with the transformational potential of the new ship, one writer declared that "Steam [travel] destroys nationality."[18] Enthusiasm for technology was also reflected in the number and kinds of patents reported and the space given by the *Tribune* to each new theory. Chemistry, geology, photography (and pseudosciences such as the water cure and phrenology) promised new and exciting ways of viewing the world and aiding humanity. Greeley provided agricultural columns to bring new methods to the farmer, and Fuller responded to the steamship and new theories in several essays.

Changes in the definition of academic knowledge also added to cultural uncertainty. Material aspects of life (e.g., biology and physics) were now subjected to empirical rather than metaphysical analysis. In Boston Fuller's contemporaries had stressed the spiritual interpretation of phenomena; in New York the empirical was celebrated and new scientific discoveries hailed. The new empirical approach to political and economic realms added weight to the notion that society as a whole, like the phenomenal world, was governed by scientific laws. Although Fuller read scientific theorists and began to analyze material conditions, she also continued to use physical phenomena as organic metaphors for the social, psychological, or spiritual elements of life.

Fuller's organic theory of literature posits the origin of artistic expression from internal impulses that assume their physical forms (genres) by continuously interacting with specific historical and geographic surroundings. Thus, she writes, the impulse for historical expression emerged as historical romances

in America rather than the poetic epics of Europe. Founded in German romanticism, this theory legitimates a hermeneutics of literary production and, broadly applied, of literary, material and social history.[19] For Shelley, one of the poets Fuller most admired, organicism could be used to theorize a protohistoricist criticism. Shelley (as well as Fuller) felt that poems should remain true to their culture, or in Paul Youngquist's terms, "incorporate their historicity, representing truth not as a formal product but as socio-historical production."[20] More than a theory unique to the Romantic period, this philosophical orientation has been described as one of four basic perceptual frames. Fuller's concept of the relation of history to genre (or forms) appears in an analogy of literary production to landscape formation. In an 1843 letter to James Freeman Clarke, she discusses the theory of forms and compares the author to a peasant living at the mouth of a constantly changing river. Fuller portrays the river as the stream of history whose force produces constant shifts in boundaries and rich new soil for literature. The writer, like the farmer, sows seeds of inspiration preserved from the literary past into the new soil, or era. With the reformation of the river delta, the farmer must move frequently, but each time finds newly made and enriched soil for his crops. He prospers because "he does not sigh for the forests and cities of the mainland, but uses the peculiar advantages of his own position." America, she writes, is positioned "in the stress of a great stream of change." She argues that American writers should emulate the delta farmer, not sighing "for the sacred depths of the slow growing forests" that are "*not ours*" but resisting the temptation to "stiffen in our innovations" and using language as a "pliant medium [that] should be presented for the ever present spirit, not *brittle* but *plastic*" (emphasis hers).[21]

Searching for literature native to American soil, Fuller praises travel writing such as Willis's descriptions of American city life, Melville's novel of travel to the South Pacific, and Kirkland's tales of the frontier. She reviews many autobiographical texts and asserts their significance as genuine American expression, for in this genre the individual presents a unique self in relation to the historical moment. Fuller also believes that in America the novel has assumed the position of representative national form—a position comparable to the ballad elsewhere. Fuller's organic metaphors become a way of knowing and of representing *processes* of culture, of suggesting symbiotic relationships and discussing issues of national identity.

Literary criticism and reviewing for Fuller was, as Renée Welleck has described the practice of German romantics, "a strategy of finding the place of a work of art, discovering its proper readers, defining its position in the world

of poetry."[22] Although Fuller's modern reputation is that of a radical and exceptional woman, she employed practices of many other periodical book reviewers. Most reviewers were men, according to Nina Baym, but a significant number (perhaps as high as 20 percent) were women, including Sarah J. Hale, Caroline Kirkland, and Ann Stephens.[23] Baym's study demonstrates that book reviewers expressed deference to public judgment as necessary for literary greatness. They presented reviews of works, as Fuller did, for classes of readers based on age, gender, family, and reading goals (for example, pleasure or education) in the early years of the mass market for printed texts. Methods for defining the position of a work of art in the world of literature were the most disputed aspect of reviewing and literary criticism. Critics disagreed about the relative importance of formal literary technique, of biographical influences, of social issues in literature, of nationality, and of a work's "morality." Literary critical standards were formal, political, and moral. Although the moral standard became increasingly important, Fuller usually opposed moralistic reviewing and defended writers such as Shelley and Sand against attacks by self-appointed guardians of morality. "Democratic" criticism (examining a work's political stance in relation to democracy) was important for American literature, but nationalism made critics sympathetic to native genius and reluctant to offend the public by negative criticism.

Fuller's critical practice exemplifies a conviction that aesthetic excellence cannot suffice as the sole criterion by which to evaluate literature. She endeavors to place works within a cultural context, to employ a comparative model, to read texts according to their own imperatives rather than in relation to externally and ahistorically imposed standards, and to see how texts speak to and out of specific traditions and cultures. Fuller reviews a wide range of print and oral performative genres: works of history, fiction, poetry, autobiography, and travel narratives. She searches for the generating impulses of each form and moves away from a hierarchy of genres. Although like Emerson, Fuller envisions American literature led by a bardic poet, she also argues that "poetry is not a superhuman or supernatural gift"; it can be produced by the "humblest minstrels" as well as the "greatest bards."[24]

Fuller increasingly seeks "poets of the people" and argues that ballads show "the existence of poetical energy in a nation, as polished court or literary verses never can."[25] Failing to find native ballads, she concludes that the novel takes its place in American culture. Earlier she had written in a journal: "Novels are the ballads of our day. Read them to know the time."[26] While she recognizes and celebrates literary art, she also valorizes popular literature for

"interpreting contemporary minds to each other on a larger scale than actual conversation in words or deeds furnishes."[27] In this essay she argues that popular literature (metaphorically, an oak tree) supports and invigorates literary art (metaphorically mistletoe). She argues that the "common and daily purposes of literature are the most important" and that a healthy popular literature need not be disparaged to exalt literary art. She takes pleasure in introducing readers to little known writers who are valuable as "private companions."

Fuller's early development into a literary critic consisted of extensive reading and responding in private journals and publishing translations and critical reviews for several periodicals (*American Monthly Magazine*, *Boston Quarterly Review*, *Western Messenger*, and the *Dial*), in addition to publishing *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* and *Summer on the Lakes in 1843* (1844). Fuller's early reading provided depth and breadth for her book reviews and criticism. Her extant reading journals (1834 to 1844) provided the basis for comparative readings later, stimulating her growth as a perceptive reader and critic. Through journals she developed critical powers, recorded impressions, and inscribed into memory her thoughts about works of philosophy, poetry, fiction, biography, criticism, and drama. Some private assessments are harsher than her public criticism (as in the case of Longfellow), or more favorable (as in the case of Balzac). Other journal entries attack early Victorian moralists who seek to protect young readers from exposure to worldly experience, such as reading Disraeli's *Vivian Grey*. She works out systems for reading and critiques the reading of her contemporaries such as George Ripley.[28] She discovers the merits and limits of the comparative method by responding to descriptions of Socrates by Xenophon and Plato and concludes that comparison gives us a "standing point" but that in some cases that point is "behind a wall" because two biographical accounts of the same subject may attend to different aspects of that subject; thus she writes that "the Socrates of Xenophon teaches to act, that of Plato to know and to be."[29]

Some journals provide direct background for reviews in the *Dial* and *Tribune*, but many more illustrate her extensive reading of American, British, German, French, and Italian literature—often in their original languages. She explores the philosophies of Platonism and contemporary theories such as German romanticism, Simonianism, and utilitarianism. Fuller's journals also indicate the importance of Coleridge in forming her practice of literary criticism. Reading his works extensively in 1836, she records principles that she practices as critic for the *Tribune*. Her reading of the romantics is balanced by

her reading of the classical authors, and her early reviews (1836) indicate her consciousness of the critical debate over the alternative merits of the romantic and classical points of view. Her synthesis of these two critical perspectives is the hallmark of her critical approach.

Goethe's importance to Fuller's literary criticism is evident from Fuller's journals and her first book, a translation of Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe* (1836), to her later essays. Goethe's method of reading sympathetically meant to "read a book and let it work upon you, and yield yourself up entirely to its influence, then, and only then, will you arrive at a correct judgment of it." In Goethe's essays on literary criticism, he writes that all readers criticize by describing the influence the book has on them. Some of Fuller's reviews record just this kind of individualized reader response, an extension of her voluminous private reading journals. Another critical principle she favors is that "What is important is to have a soul which loves truth, and receives it wherever it finds it." A third concept shared with Goethe is that of critic as mediating between cultures, aiding in establishing a world literature: "not that nations shall think alike, but that they shall learn how to understand each other, and, if they do not care to love one another, at least that they will learn to tolerate one another." In other respects she gradually withdraws from some of Goethe's strictures. On politics and poetry, he writes "If a poet would work politically, he must give himself up to a party; and so soon as he does that he is lost as a poet; he must bid farewell to his free spirit, his unbiased view, and draw over his ears the cap of bigotry and blind hatred."[30] However, in the politically charged New York culture, Fuller began to see the possibilities for combining literary and political action.

Fuller's nineteenth-century reputation as a critic was based primarily upon her praxis, an integration of theory with practice. As critic and editor of the *Dial* from 1840 to 1842, Fuller developed a theory of literary criticism based on three approaches to criticism (subjective, apprehensive, comprehensive) and a division of literary works according to the degree of their temporality.[31] She proposed adapting one's critical approach to each work so that standards of excellence differed for works of contemporary social protest and works that aimed to achieve distinction as literary art. In her work for the *Dial* Fuller generally preferred the "comprehensive" approach that combines understanding for the writer's aim and method with evaluating and placing a work in relation to literary or social culture. Ideal beauty was a standard used frequently in the Transcendental *Dial* but less often in the *Tribune*. Fuller's *Dial* criticism included lengthy scholarly essays appropriate for the quarterly peri-

odicals but less useful for the *Tribune*. In the *Dial* she undertook little social criticism, focusing rather on aesthetic issues until her groundbreaking essay, "The Great Lawsuit," on woman's position in 1843; but in the *Tribune* her political and social criticism frequently appeared. At the *Tribune* Fuller applied and extended her theory of criticism; she expressed increased faith in the potential for literary production by the people, and she relied more on criticism designed to nurture a diverse American literature by adapting her criteria to the work's perceived aim or function (apprehensive criticism). The convention of authorial prefaces encouraged critics to consider the author's announced aims. Fuller responded regularly to such prefaces, finding in them grounds for critique when the author seems (as Poe does) to be deliberately insincere or (as Kirkland does) to be playing lip service to conventional femininity.

Fuller's reputation as a critic, recognized formally with the publication of *Papers in Literature and Art* (1846), had begun with reviews of her translation of Goethe. Her creative and critical writing for the *Dial* (1840–1844) was reviewed in periodicals such as the *New Yorker*, the *Knickerbocker*, *Godey's*, and the *New York Tribune*, where she enhanced her reputation as a literary and social critic. Her major works, *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843* (1844), and *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845) were widely reviewed in American periodicals as well as in some British periodicals. With its progressive arguments for women's rights, *Woman* sold well and contributed to the perceptions that Fuller was a radical cultural critic.

Stimulated by the hope of publishing a collection of her best essays, Fuller sent a proposal in early 1846 to Evert A. Duyckinck, the advisory editor for Wiley & Putnam's Library of American Books, writing that, "Among the earlier pieces there is not one that has not excited a good deal of interest in this country and many of them have in England. I judge of this from the correspondence and acquaintance they have brought me."[32] Wiley and Putnam agreed to publish a collection of her essays, but the resulting volumes differed greatly from Fuller's proposal. She was asked to omit controversial or lengthy essays, and her proposed collection was cut in half for publication, obscuring her political critique and the range of her work as a critic. Focused on literary criticism of British and American literature, *Papers* received wide critical attention and sold well, with three printings by 1852. Though the book was highly praised by some reviewers, her analysis of American literature incited negative reactions, including satirical sketches by Poe and James Russell Lowell. One of its essays, "American Literature," synthesized many ideas expressed

in the *Tribune* and courageously evaluated the merits of individual writers. Contemporary periodical reviews praised her criticism for its independence, balance, and high aesthetic standards.

Fuller's Preface to *Papers* alludes to the omission of "more than half the essays I had proposed on the subject of English literature, the greater part of those on Art, and those on continental literature and of a miscellaneous kind entirely." Among essays omitted from her initial plan, for example, were literary review essays on Goethe, French novelists, and Italian poets, and cultural essays on "The Ideal Rich Man," "The Ideal Poor Man," and "Politeness." Her preface indicates that if she had been advised earlier of the volume's length restrictions she would have chosen differently to "do more justice to the range and variety of subjects which have been before my mind during the ten years that . . . I have written for the public."[33] Noting that the selection presented in *Papers* included some of her earliest and crudest as well as some of her latest essays, she expresses hope that at a future date a more complete selection will be published. After the publication of *Papers* Fuller continued to feel that her design for the book had been ignored at the cost of her literary and political reputation. From London Fuller wrote to Duyckinck that

> It is a real misfortune to me that Mr. Wiley took the course he did about my miscellanies; the vols [sic] have been kindly recd [sic] but every one mentions their being *thin*; the arrangement, too, that obliged me to leave out all I had written on Continental lite[rature] was very unfortunate for me. I have reason to feel daily how much use it would have been to me if these essays and others of a radical stamp were now before the readers and that a false impression has been given here of the range and scope of my efforts.[34]

For the remainder of the nineteenth century, editors of Fuller's works continued to minimize her criticism of continental literature and her radical political critique.

Fuller's *Tribune* essays are distinctive in many respects, while maintaining continuity with her earlier and later works. Their unique nature arises from the new location, audience, and media. In the *Tribune* she writes for multilayered New York and national audiences rather than a highly educated literati. Fuller, like Greeley, was persuaded that the newspaper could be a powerful force for democracy by educating the people and making opportunities available to all. Her style develops increased directness and power in some columns but retains her characteristic dialogic structure and occasionally complex syntax. Her reviews blur the lines of public and private discourse; some columns,

for example, seem to be letters to the many friends with whom she no longer keeps in regular contact. To her brother she writes that she has embarked on a new and noble career, a public career as distinguished from her earlier role of private friend, and that in her new role she will be communicating with everyone in print.[35] Part of the significance of these columns is that they are her primary form of expression for 1845 to 1846. Hints of her personal life appear infrequently: her friendships with Lydia Maria Child and William Henry Channing, her admiration for Greeley, her brief romance with James Nathan, and her involvement with Harro Harring's lawsuit. Despite her perception that she addresses her friends, her essays rarely assume the private tone of writing for an imaginary individual friend—such as Child assumes in her *Letters from New York*; rather, they typically address New York, Europe, and America in a public voice, often aiming to educate readers about new or foreign works or to engage in cultural criticism.

At the *Tribune* Fuller explored the full range of the essay as a genre: the character sketch, parable, prose epistle, journalistic essay, periodical essay, hortatory essay, and book review. Stylistically diverse and wide-ranging in topic, Fuller's literary reviews take three forms common to the professional practice of her day: the literary critique combined with a sociopolitical essay; the aesthetic discussion focusing on features of the text and the author; and the brief notice, with a short evaluative description of a work. These three types correspond to functions Fuller believed were served by literary critics: the discussion of important issues about which contemporary authors were concerned; the use of aesthetic judgment and the cultivation of standards for measuring excellence; and the encouragement of literary production by bringing books to the public notice.[36] While her feminist critical essays are relatively well known, the less familiar *Tribune* essays illuminate Fuller's critique of American imperialism and exhibit her skill in multiple modes of criticism. The titles or announced subjects of Fuller's review essays often are only the starting point for discussion of broader ideas, as illustrated by the review of Italian writers Alfieri, Cellini, and Dante in "Italy";[37] its central concern is not Italian literature but the state of American society.

According to a contemporary reviewer, Fuller's reviews created "a broad common ground on which all cultivated readers might meet" and expressed "an eager reverence for truth."[38] Fuller's *Tribune* columns also make lively reading today because of her flexibility of tone and control of language. While she can be earnest and serious, she also exercises her wit and keen sense of humor. Directly addressing readers and authors, Fuller creates dialogues and

encourages responses. She engages directly in spirited debates with writers such as Thomas Carlyle but shifts to indirect critique of Whig political figures such as Waddy Thompson. Dialogues are also created through excerpts from reviewed works, followed by Fuller's responses. Liveliness and humor are achieved with shifts between formal and colloquial language, as when she describes Leigh Hunt's writing about Dante, first in formal terms then as "the fly buzzing the lion and blaming him for eating up the great 'wild Beastesses' and other atrocities of which his flyship has no taste as not being in his line."[39] To a remarkable extent she adopts the imagery or tone of the writers she is reviewing and occasionally parodies them. Narratives of reading individualize these reviews as she engages in what was termed "subjective criticism." With intimate tone and elaborate detail she recalls early readings with friends in the woods or her first reading of Shelley (as a fireside enchantment at Christmas). Reviews such as these, differing from her earnest or jeremiadic essays, ultimately create a very human Fuller whose delight in literature originates in a sense of play and pleasure, manifested earlier as collections of meaningful passages copied into journals or recited among groups of readers. These autobiographical moments resemble letters and recall the foundations of her mature critical engagement with literary discourse.

Fuller's characteristic use of numerous extracts from the books she is reviewing illustrates many of her critical principles. Lengthy quotations, she explains, acquaint readers with books too expensive to buy, especially foreign books or philosophical or historical works. In this manner she accommodates class differences in access to literary works. Providing samples of the writer's style or treatment of a subject, Fuller also demonstrates her desire to encourage readers who are independent and discriminating and allows them to comprehend her judgments. Extracts create the multivocality that is characteristic of Fuller's style; many reviews become mosaics of quotations or intertextual dialogues. Her multivocal political essays create space for the voices of the other, such as the Mexican, the Indian, or the political exile. She might use, for example, the full speech of a Choctaw Chief from treaty negotiations or the words of Mexican leader Santa Anna. Fuller employs these textual designs along with metaphor and logical analysis to critique stereotypical representations and subvert popular ideologies. Her framing remarks might borrow images or phrases taken from the original work and depend upon the presence of the extract for appropriate interpretations. Fuller also makes strategic use of excerpts to juxtapose popular perceptions with the gritty facts of actual behavior—a "legitimate style of aggression" particularly notable in moments of

social satire.[40] In some cases excerpts allow Fuller to draw authority from others' personal experience in order to argue implicitly for the same position herself.

Fuller's practice as a feminist writer and critic increased the cultural authority and literary possibilities of other American women through thoughtful reviews, reliance on their works as resources, and recognition for their achievements. In reviews of American women writers Fuller challenges nineteenth-century notions of gender and genre. In "Books of Travel" she reviews six narratives by men and argues that the best travel books in their "observation of particulars and lively expression" are written by women.[41] Whereas Poe and others assert that women are suited to the genre of poetry, Fuller argues that women should not be limited to the role of "poetess" but can author diverse genres. Although Fuller does not attribute sentimental poetry entirely to women writers, she considers the tendency of women to write in that style an all-too-frequent problem. Fuller's critique of sentimental poetry in her review of Elizabeth Barrett's work has specific reference to conventional elegiac lyrics; she admires Barrett for replacing sentimentalism with "personal feeling . . . enlightened by Reason, [and] ennobled by Imagination." These reviews indicate her appreciation of the expression of authentic emotion but her skepticism of poetry "adorned by the flowers of feeling."[42]

Fuller's literary criticism does not grant women poets gender exemption from negative criticism; rather, she speaks in the "spirit of truth." Fuller seeks to nurture American writers—including women—intellectually and to educate American readers in order to achieve "the ripening of a new and golden harvest" for which she feels she will not be present.[43] Her critical strategies are designed to encourage women writers and to engender a rich, culturally responsive American literature. The *Tribune* essays illustrate not only Fuller's "love of truth and the power to speak it" (as Emerson described it) but also her important contribution to the acceptance of women as critics of literature and society.[44]

Contemporary critical practices evident in her reviews include searching for women writers of talent, classifying and ranking writers in relation to other writers, and considering the personality and life of writers in conjunction with their works. Women writers were entering the profession in ever increasing numbers, challenging notions of authorship, gender, and genre. Some Fuller reviews participate in an ongoing debate over women's potential for literary art and the appropriate subjects and manner for women's literary expression. Fuller's reviews show that the nineteenth century encouraged "a sense of tra-

dition . . . among women based on their membership in a separate sexual caste" not along the nationalistic lines advocated by male writers of the period.[45] Further study comparing Fuller's work to that of other women reviewers will be useful in establishing the range of approaches to criticism of women's literature by women in the nineteenth century.

While America redefined itself in terms of utilitarianism, imperialism, and industrialism, Fuller redefined herself as a woman reformer, an egalitarian, socially conscious citizen with an inclusive definition of citizenship. Responding to literature and the social problems of the 1840s, she gained the power of self-expression and chose positions that made her an articulate critic of American and European culture.

This selection of Fuller's *Tribune* essays, focusing on her criticism of literature and culture, seeks to bring together a representative group of her essays with emphasis on previously uncollected and out-of-print materials. However, some reflective essays are included to present her exploration of the essay as a genre. Minimal representation has been accorded to her investigative reporting, much of which has already been reprinted. The essays have been selected both for their individual merit as works of criticism (length and complexity of thought) and with attention to the subjects of the reviews. Fuller reviewed a wide range of texts in the print culture of her day including belles lettres, popular literature, gift books, history, biography, travel writing, textbooks, pamphlets, public reports, and periodicals. This extraordinary breadth offers students and scholars a unique opportunity to understand the interrelationship of diverse types of texts at a specific historical moment.

The arrangement of these essays is chronological with a second, topical table of contents provided for flexible use in the classroom. The chronological order will be useful for readers studying Fuller's development as a writer. The topical organization, though it is limited by Fuller's practice of integrating social and literary criticism in most of her essays, is provided to facilitate comparisons with her contemporaries' writing on major issues of the era. The topics listed here are broad categories only; as the subject index suggests, additonal topics and themes will emerge through close examination of the essays. The essays in this volume are complemented by the complete set of Fuller's *Tribune* essays, as well as "American Literature," available in a searchable electronic format that provides access to all of the essays and their accompanying notes.

The selection in this book aims to represent most of the genres Fuller reviewed. While her reviews recognize national literatures, they also include

works by differing national writers. Because of her significance as a literary critic, major emphasis is given to Fuller's reviews of American and British works. Her efforts to encourage international intellectual and cultural dialogue are presented through her reviews of European literature. Additional reviews of foreign–language periodicals and Fuller's translations may be found on the CD-ROM edition. Fuller's sociopolitical criticism in occasional essays and reviews addresses such issues as the national condition and policies, race, gender, class, progress, and technology; selected criticism of the fine arts is included to indicate her approach to fine arts and performances. Fuller's extensive quotations from the texts under review have been selectively cut where excerpts are largely appended as examples and do not support the argument of the review; they are retained when feasible where they constitute her efforts to give voice to groups or individuals who challenged dominant ideologies.

These essays may be read from many perspectives. They may be read in dialogue with other early critics such as Poe, allowing for a reassessment of their critical practice or read in relation to the history of women's literature. They allow readers to examine Fuller's evolving literary and political positions toward issues such as nationality in literature. Those positions continued to develop in her expatriate years when she recast the relation of American art in general to the use of American subjects in art. Bridging the gap in modern publication between *Woman* and the European dispatches, these essays allow readers to understand the full range of Fuller's work, her reception and reputation as a critic.

*Notes*

1. For a recent biographical study of Fuller in New York, see Joan Voh Mehren, *Minerva and the Muse* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994). On Fuller's earlier life, see Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life—The Private Years* (New York: Oxford UP, 1992).

2. Margaret Fuller, "Thanksgiving," *New York Daily Tribune* (*NYDT* hereafter) 12 December 1844.

3. Scholars debating this issue include Christina Zwarg, *Feminist Conversations: Fuller, Emerson and the Play of Reading* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995); Bell Gale Chevigny, "Foreword to the Revised Edition," in *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994), and Julie Ellison, *Delicate Subjects: Romanticism, Gender, and the Ethics of Understanding* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990).

4. See Fuller, rev. of Carlyle's *Cromwell*, *NYDT* 19 Dec. 1845.

5. Fuller, "American Literature: Its Position in the Present Time and Prospects for the Future," in *Papers on Literature and Art* (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1846), 2:140.

6. Fuller, rev. of *Courrier des Etats Unis*, *NYDT* 7 June 1845.

7. Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 156.

8. Edward Pessen, "The Egalitarian Myth and the American Social Reality: Wealth, Mobility, and Equality in the 'Era of the Common Man,'" *American Historical Review* 76 (October 1971): 989–1034. See pp. 1022–23 for statistics.

9. Edward K. Spann *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840–1857* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 70, 262.

10. Fuller, rev. of *Le Franco-Americain*, *NYDT* 23 May 1846.

11. On Edward Everett's 1830 "Lecture on the Working Men's Party," see Nicholas K. Bromell, *By the Sweat of the Brow: Literature and Labor in Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 24.

12. Fuller, "Italy," *NYDT* 13 November 1845.

13. Fuller, rev. of *A System of Latin Versification*, *NYDT* 12 May 1845.

14. For responses of Poe and Whitman, see Joel Myerson, *Margaret Fuller: An Annotated Secondary Bibliography* (New York: B. Franklin, 1977); Myerson, "Supplement to *Margaret Fuller: An Annotated Secondary Bibliography*," *Studies in the American Renaissance 1984*, ed. Myerson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984), 331–85; Myerson, *Margaret Fuller: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism, 1983–1995* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1998). Some contemporary responses to Fuller's essays have been reprinted in Myerson, *Critical Essays on Margaret Fuller*, (Boston: Hall, 1980).

15. [William A. Jones], "Poetry for the People," *Democratic Review* 13 (1843): 268.

16. Fuller, rev. of *Prose and Verse* by Thomas Hood, *NYDT* 9 August 1845; "Publishers and Authors," *NYDT* 3 February 1846.

17. "The Magnetic Telegraph—Its Success," *NYDT* 27 May 1844, p. 1. Several subsequent stories refer to the "miracle of the annihilation of space" and record the extension service in the region north of Washington to New York and Boston. When hostilities with Mexico began in May 1846, the *Tribune* prefaced news with headlines: "BY ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH," indicating that the telegraph had been extended to New York.

18. "Life in Paris," *NYDT* 16 August 1844, p. 1.

19. One of her earliest reviews as a critic had been a review of German literature (in *American Monthly* July 1836). Heinrich Heine in "The Romantic School" had described the theory of organic forms or genres in relation to literary history: "beginning with the primitive human emotions, following them as they developed in the various epochs and finally assumed artistic form. . . . In the hearts of a nation's writers there already lies the image of its future." See *Heinrich Heine: Selected Works*, trans. and ed. Helen M. Mustard (New York: Random House, 1973), 239–40.

20. Paul Youngquist, "Romanticism, Criticism, and Organicity," *Genre* 27 (1994): 183–208. Youngquist demonstrates the continuity of the metaphor of organicity through nineteenth- and twentieth-century criticism. He concludes that "however dead it may appear, the organic metaphor lives on in contemporary criticism . . . as a representational strategy" (204), whether in positive terms or negative.

21. Fuller, *The Letters of Margaret Fuller* (*Letters* hereafter), ed. Robert N. Hudspeth, 6 vols., (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983–94), 6:342.

22. Renée Welleck, *A History of Modern Criticism: 1750–1950—The Romantic Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), 2:87.

23. Nina Baym, *Novels, Readers, and Reviewers: Responses to Fiction in Antebellum America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), 21.

24. Fuller, rev. of *Poems* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *NYDT* 10 December 1845.

25. Fuller, rev. of *The Nubian Slave* by Bela Marsh, *NYDT* 24 June 1845.

26. Fuller, quoted by permission, "1840 Journal," Margaret Fuller Papers, Ms. Am. 1086 (3), Houghton Library, Harvard College. She makes the same point in a review of *Ellen* by Schoolcraft Jones, *NYDT* 10 Jan. 1846.

27. Fuller, "English Writers Little Known Here. Milnes . . . Landor . . . and Julius Hare," *NYDT* 4 March 1845, p. 1.

28. Apparently quoting from her reading, Fuller supports, "The overcoming of deriving your whole pleasure passively from the book itself which can only be effected by excitement of curiosity or some passion. Force yourself to reflect on what you read paragraph by paragraph and in a short time you will derive your pleasure, or an ample portion of it, at least, from the activity of your own mind. All the rest is *picture sunshine*." Quoted by permission, "S. M. Fuller's Bouquet," Margaret Fuller Papers, Ms. Am. 1086, Houghton Library, Harvard College.

29. Fuller, quoted by permission, "Journal D," Margaret Fuller Papers, Ms. Am. 1086, Houghton Library, Harvard College.

30. Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Goethe's Literary Essays*, ed. J. E. Spingarn (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1921), 141, 256, 92, 253 ["judgement of it," 141; "it finds it," 256; "tolerate one another," 92; "blind hatred," 252].

31. Fuller, "A Short Essay on Critics," *Dial* 1 (July 1840): 134.

32. Fuller to Evert Duyckinck, 5 February 1846, *Letters* 4:184–85.

33. Fuller, "Preface," in *Papers*, v, vi.

34. Fuller to Evert Duyckinck, 30 October 1846, *Letters* 4:234–35.

35. Fuller to Richard Fuller, 2 March 1845, *Letters* 4:184. Her shift toward public use of personal experience was protested by Caroline Sturgis who detected a veiled reference to herself; Fuller defended her use and the role of public woman. See Fuller to Sturgis, 13 March 1845, *Letters* 4:59–60.

36. Fuller's book reviews include discussion of moral, social, and political principles; biography, history, and plot summaries; and excerpts and assessments of merits and blemishes. Critics such as Poe and those of *Blackwood's* extended formalistic analysis into "Tomahawk criticism." Quarterlies such as the *Democratic Review* used books as starting points for discussing issues they raised; the *North American Review* presented lengthy essays surveying a field or group of authors; and many journals offered superficial appreciative essays.

37. *NYDT* 13 November 1845, p. 1.

38. "Miss Fuller's Papers on Literature and Art," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 19 (Sept. 1846): 198; repr. in Myerson, *Critical Essays*, 40.

39. Fuller, rev. of Leigh Hunt's *Italian Poets*, *NYDT* 18 February 1846.

40. Ellison has also asserted that "Quotation and allusion constitute the mature public

style of the heterogeneous *subject*" of Fuller's letters and *Woman* and that "The tactics of quotation both accentuate cultural differences and create a feeling of sameness—as diversity is blurred by the identical textual status of discursive bits" (*Delicate Subjects*, 282–83).

41. The proportion of travel books by women was relatively small (35 of 691 published in America between 1800 and 1868). Mary Suzanne Schriber, "Julia Ward Howe and the Travel Book," *New England Quarterly* 62 (1989): 269.

42. Fuller, "Miss Barrett's Poems," *NYDT* 4 January 1845.

43. Fuller, "American Literature," *Papers* 2:125.

44. R. W. Emerson, *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, ed. R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, and J. F. Clarke (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1852), 1:303.

45. Cheryl Walker, *The Nightingale's Burden: Women Poets and American Culture before 1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), 23, 26.

# Textual Note

This edition of Margaret Fuller's writings in the *New-York Tribune* prints annotated texts for 88 of the 250 pieces she published in the *New-York Tribune* between 7 December 1844 and 8 August 1846.[1] All 250 pieces are included in the electronic edition. Of these, only 38 (or about 15 percent) have been reprinted in twentieth-century editions. The other 212 texts are in a hard-to-locate and hard-to-read newspaper. We hope that our edition will assist new scholarship on Fuller by presenting for the first time in a modern edition the nearly two years of her creative output in the *Tribune*.

After her death, Fuller's writings were collected by her brother Arthur (with occasional help from Horace Greeley) as *Woman in the Nineteenth Century, and Kindred Papers* (1855), *At Home and Abroad* (1856), and *Life Without and Life Within* (1860). Unfortunately, he chose very selectively from the materials available, "improved" his sister's writing by revising what he thought ungraceful style, and deleted what he considered irrelevant (or "inappropriate") examples and passages.

Our edition presents Fuller's texts as she wrote them for publication in the *New-York Tribune*. These texts, written under the pressure of deadlines and set by compositors who may not have always been able to read Fuller's handwriting, and for a medium that does not encourage leisurely proofreading, are nevertheless surprisingly free of error. Our textual policy is simple: we print the texts as they appeared in the *Tribune*. Emendations have been made in cases of obvious typographical errors or misspellings, or when clarity of thought is disturbed. All emendations are reported by placing a superscript "n" in the text immediately following the word emended (as in "word$^{n}$"), with a description of the original reading provided in the footnotes. No attempt has been made to regularize Fuller's spelling and punctuation practices, or to modernize archaic spellings. The text is as close to Fuller's intentions as is possible. Some typographical features, such as the use of large and small capitals in the first word(s) of an article have been changed to regular upper- and lowercase let-

ters; however, we have retained large and small capitals appearing within an article because they may represent an effort at emphasis. We have not attempted to standardize accent marks in non-English words. Most of Fuller's book reviews begin with some publication information for the work under consideration; we have moved this to the notes, where a complete bibliographical citation is provided to the edition Fuller used. We follow the *Tribune*'s erratic practice of placing material quoted from the texts under review in either text-size type or extract-size type. Notes by Fuller are included in our notes, labeled as such. We have placed in brackets any titles we have supplied for essays or reviews. Fuller's writings in the *Tribune* begin with a paragraph indent; here, for stylistic reasons, we begin the first paragraph flush left. Also for stylistic reasons, the general layout of Fuller's articles in this volume differs slightly from how they originally appeared in the *Tribune*.

Like most mid-nineteenth-century book reviewers writing in an age when books were relatively quite expensive, Fuller was usually generous in quoting from the texts under review. As scholars have recently discovered, her decisions about which portions of the texts to include and which to omit often constitute as strong a critical statement as do her own words.[2] For this reason, and because so many of the works Fuller reviews are now hard to locate, we have printed the extracts unless the works of the writer are easily available in modern editions (such as those by Robert Browning or Frederick Douglass).

Our annotations provide complete bibliographical information for the book(s) under review, and information about the sources of texts that Fuller quotes, people or books she mentions, and other information that helps place the work within its historical context. For critical studies of Fuller's works or the people she wrote about and/or knew, readers are invited to consult the bibliographies by Joel Myerson.[3]

*Notes*

1. To the items listed in Joel Myerson, *Margaret Fuller: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978), 113–38, we have identified and added a review of Harro Harring's *Dolores: A Novel of South America*, published in the *New-York Daily Tribune*, 25 April 1846. Also, because of its importance, we have printed in an appendix of the electronic edition Fuller's "American Literature; Its Position in the Present Time, and Prospects for the Future" from her *Papers on Literature and Art* (1846).

Because Fuller nearly always signed her pieces with a star or asterisk ("*"), we have been reluctant to add unsigned essays in the *Tribune* to her list of writings solely on the basis of shared similarities in style and subject matter. The review of Harring's *Dolores* is the sole exception. In our work, we have identified as "possibly" by Fuller a translation from the *Deutsche Schnellpost* on 29 March 1845; a review of *Poems* by "Amelia" on 18 April 1845; translations from George

Sand on 24 April 1845 and from Madame de Stäel on 13 May 1845; items of foreign gossip on 8 August and on 23 August 1845; and brief comments on and extracts from advance sheets of Charles Burdett's *Wrongs of American Women* on 10 September 1845.

Information about the reprintings of individual *Tribune* essays may be found in Myerson's bibliography (above) or his "Supplement to *Margaret Fuller: A Descriptive Bibliography*," in *Studies in the American Renaissance 1996*, ed. Myerson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996), 187–240.

2. See, for example, Stephen Mailloux, "Misreading as a Historical Act: Cultural Rhetoric, Bible Politics, and Fuller's 1845 Review of Douglass's *Narrative*," in *Readers in History: Nineteenth-Century American Literature and the Contexts of Response*, ed. James L. Machor (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 3–31.

3. See Myerson, *Margaret Fuller: An Annotated Secondary Bibliography* (New York: B. Franklin, 1977); "Supplement to *Margaret Fuller: An Annotated Secondary Bibliography*," in *Studies in the American Renaissance 1984*, ed. Myerson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984), 331–85; and *Margaret Fuller: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism, 1983–1995* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1998).

# Margaret Fuller, Critic

# Emerson's Essays

At the distance of three years this volume follows the first series of Essays, which have already made to themselves a circle of readers, attentive, thoughtful, more and more intelligent, and this circle is a large one if we consider the circumstances of this country, and of England, also, at this time.[1]

In England it would seem there are a larger number of persons waiting for an invitation to calm thought and sincere intercourse than among ourselves. Copies of Mr. Emerson's first published little volume called "Nature," have there been sold by thousands in a short time, while one edition has needed seven years to get circulated here. Several of his Orations and Essays from "The Dial" have also been republished there, and met with a reverent and earnest response.[2]

We suppose that while in England the want of such a voice is as great as here, a larger number are at leisure to recognize that want; a far larger number have set foot in the speculative region and have ears refined to appreciate these melodious accents.

Our people, heated by a partisan spirit, necessarily[n] occupied in these first stages by bringing out the material resources of the land, not generally prepared by early training for the enjoyment of books that require attention and reflection, are still more injured by a large majority of writers and speakers, who lend all their efforts to flatter corrupt tastes and mental indolence,

1. *Essays: First Series* had been published on 20 March 1841. Fuller comments on the present review in a letter to Emerson: "Your book I have read quite through . . . but will not mar the effect by a few inadequate words. It will be a companion through my life. In expression it seems far more adequate than the former volume, has more glow, more fusion. Two or three cavils I should make at present, but will not, till I have examined further if they be correct" (*Letters*, 3:243).

2. Perhaps fifteen hundred copies of *Nature* sold between 1836, when it was published, and 1844; there was no British edition. Both *Man the Reformer* (1842) and *The Young American* (1844) were reprinted separately in England from the *Dial*, and other *Dial* essays were included with addresses in *Nature; an Essay. And Lectures on the Times* (1844) and *Orations, Lectures, and Addresses* (1844) for British publication.

necesarily [ necessarily

instead of feeling it their prerogative and their duty to admonish the community of the danger and arouse it to nobler energy. The aim of the writer or lecturer is not to say the best he knows in as few and well-chosen words as he can, making it his first aim to do justice to the subject. Rather he seeks to beat out a thought as thin as possible, and to consider what the audience will be most willing to receive.

The result of such a course is inevitable. Literature and Art must become daily more degraded; Philosophy cannot exist. A man who feels within his mind some spark of genius, or a capacity for the exercises of talent, should consider himself as endowed with a sacred commission. He is the natural priest, the shepherd of the people. He must raise his mind as high as he can toward the heaven of truth, and try to draw up with him those less gifted by nature with ethereal lightness. If he does not so, but rather employs his powers to flatter them in their poverty, and to hinder aspiration by useless words, and a mere seeming of activity, his sin is great, he is false to God, and false to man.

Much of this sin indeed is done ignorantly. The idea that literature calls men to the genuine hierarchy is almost forgotten. One, who finds himself able, uses his pen, as he might a trowel, solely to procure himself bread, without having reflected on the position in which he thereby places himself.

Apart from the troop of mercenaries, there is one, still larger, of those who use their powers merely for local and temporary ends, aiming at no excellence other than may conduce to these. Among these, rank persons of honor and the best intentions, but they neglect the lasting for the transient, as a man neglects to furnish his mind that he may provide the better for the house in which his body is to dwell for a few years.

When these sins and errors are prevalent, and threaten to become more so, how can we sufficiently prize and honor a mind which is quite pure from such? When, as in the present case, we find a man whose only aim is the discernment and interpretation of the spiritual laws by which we live and move and have our being, all whose objects are permanent, and whose every word stands for a fact.

If only as a representative of the claims of individual culture in a nation which tends to lay such stress on artificial organization and external results, Mr. Emerson would be invaluable here. History will inscribe his name as a father of the county, for he is one who pleads her cause against herself.

If New-England may be regarded as a chief mental focus to the New World, and many symptoms seem to give her this place, as to other centres the characteristics of heart and lungs to the body politic; if we may believe, as the

writer does believe, that what is to be acted out in the country at large is, most frequently, first indicated there, as all the phenomena of the nervous system in the fantasies of the brain, we may hail as an auspicious omen the influence Mr. Emerson has there obtained, which is deep-rooted, increasing, and, over the younger portion of the community, far greater than that of any other person.

His books are received there with a more ready intelligence than elsewhere, partly because his range of personal experience and illustration applies to that region, partly because he has prepared the way for his books to be read by his great powers as a speaker.

The audience that waited for years upon the lectures, a part of which is incorporated into these volumes of Essays, was never large, but it was select, and it was constant. Among the hearers were some, who though, attracted by the beauty of character and manner, they were willing to hear the speaker through, always went away discontented. They were accustomed to an artificial method, whose scaffolding could easily be retraced, and desired an obvious sequence of logical inferences. They insisted there was nothing in what they had heard, because they could not give a clear account of its course and purport. They did not see that Pindar's odes might be very well arranged for their own purpose, and yet not bear translating into the methods of Mr. Locke.[3]

Others were content to be benefited by a good influence without a strict analysis of its means. "My wife says it is about the elevation of human nature, and so it seems to me," was a fit reply to some of the critics. Many were satisfied to find themselves excited to congenial thought and nobler life, without an exact catalogue of the thoughts of the speaker.

Those who believed no truth could exist, unless encased by the burrs of opinion, went away utterly baffled. Sometimes they thought he was on their side, then presently would come something on the other. He really seemed to believe there were two sides to every subject, and even to intimate higher ground from which each might be seen to have an infinite number of sides or bearings, an impertinence not to be endured! The partisan heard but once and returned no more.

But some there were, simple souls, whose life had been, perhaps, without clear light, yet still a search after truth for its own sake, who were able to receive what followed on the suggestion of a subject in a natural manner, as a

3. Pindar (ca. 522–443 B.C.), the greatest of the Greek lyric poets; John Locke (1632–1704), English philosopher and founder of the sensationalist school.

stream of thought. These recognized, beneath the veil of words, the still small voice of conscience, the vestal fires of lone religious hours, and the mild teachings of the summer woods.

The charm of the elocution, too, was great. His general manner was that of the reader, occasionally rising into direct address or invocation in passages where tenderness or majesty demanded more energy. At such times both eye and voice called on a remote future to give a worthy reply. A future which shall manifest more largely the universal soul as it was then manifest to this soul. The tone of the voice was a grave body tone, full and sweet rather than sonorous, yet flexible and haunted by many modulations, as even instruments of wood and brass seem to become after they have been long played on with skill and taste; how much more so the human voice! In the more expressive passages it uttered notes of silvery clearness, winning, yet still more commanding. The words uttered in those tones, floated awhile above us, then took root in the memory like winged seed.

In the union of an even rustic plainness with lyric inspirations, religious dignity with philosophic calmness, keen sagacity in details with boldness of view, we saw what brought to mind the early poets and legislators of Greece—men who taught their fellows to plow and avoid moral evil, sing hymns to the gods and watch the metamorphoses of nature. Here in civic Boston was such a man—one who could see man in his original grandeur and his original childishness, rooted in simple nature, raising to the heavens the brow and eyes of a poet.

And these lectures seemed not so much lectures as grave didactic poems, theogonies, perhaps, adorned by odes when some Power was in question whom the poet had best learned to serve, and with eclogues wisely portraying in familiar tongue the duties of man to man and "harmless animals."

Such was the attitude in which the speaker appeared to that portion of the audience who have remained permanently attached to him.—They value his words as the signets of reality; receive his influence as a help and incentive to a nobler discipline than the age, in its general aspect, appears to require; and do not fear to anticipate the verdict of posterity in claiming for him the honors of greatness, and, in some respects, of a Master.

In New-England he thus formed for himself a class of readers, who rejoice to study in his books what they already know by heart. For, though the thought has become familiar, its beautiful garb is always fresh and bright in hue.

A similar circle of like-minded the books must and do form for themselves,

though with a movement less directly powerful, as more distant from its source.

The Essays have also been obnoxious to many charges. To that of obscurity, or want of perfect articulation. Of 'Euphuism,' as an excess of fancy in proportion to imagination, and an inclination, at times, to subtlety at the expense of strength, has been styled. The human heart complains of inadequacy, either in the nature or experience of the writer, to represent its full vocation and its deeper needs. Sometimes it speaks of this want as "under-development" or a want of expansion which may yet be remedied; sometimes doubts whether "in this mansion there be either hall or portal to receive the loftier of the Passions." Sometimes the soul is deified at the expense of nature, then again nature at that of man, and we are not quite sure that we can make a true harmony by balance of the statements.—This writer has never written one good work, if such a work be one where the whole commands more attention than the parts. If such an one be produced only where, after an accumulation of materials, fire enough be applied to fuse the whole into one new substance. This second series is superior in this respect to the former, yet in no one essay is the main stress so obvious as to produce on the mind the harmonious effect of a noble river or a tree in full leaf. Single passages and sentences engage our attention too much in proportion. These essays, it has been justly said, tire like a string of mosaics or a house built of medals. We miss what we expect in the work of the great poet, or the great philosopher, the liberal air of all the zones: the glow, uniform yet various in tint, which is given to a body by free circulation of the heart's blood from the hour of birth. Here is, undoubtedly, the man of ideas, but we want the ideal man also; want the heart and genius of human life to interpret it, and here our satisfaction is not so perfect. We doubt this friend raised himself too early to the perpendicular and did not lie along the ground long enough to hear the secret whispers of our parent life. We could wish he might be thrown by conflicts on the lap of mother earth, to see if he would not rise again with added powers.

All this we may say, but it cannot excuse us from benefiting by the great gifts that have been given, and assigning them their due place.

Some painters paint on a red ground. And this color may be supposed to represent the ground-work most immediately congenial to most men, as it is the color of blood and represents human vitality. The figures traced upon it are instinct with life in its fulness and depth.

But other painters paint on a gold ground. And a very different, but no less natural, because also a celestial beauty, is given to their works who choose for

their foundation the color of the sunbeam, which nature has preferred for her most precious product, and that which will best bear the test of purification, gold.

If another simile may be allowed, another no less apt is at hand. Wine is the most brilliant and intense expression of the powers of earth.—It is her potable fire, her answer to the sun. It exhilarates, it inspires, but then it is liable to fever and intoxicate too the careless partaker.

Mead was the chosen drink of the Northern gods. And this essence of the honey of the mountain bee was not thought unworthy to revive the souls of the valiant who had left their bodies on the fields of strife below.

Nectar should combine the virtues of the ruby wine, the golden mead, without their defects or dangers.

Two high claims our writer can vindicate on the attention of his contemporaries. One from his sincerity. You have his thought just as it found place in the life of his own soul. Thus, however near or relatively distant its approximation to absolute truth, its action on you cannot fail to be healthful. It is a part of the free air.

He belongs to that band of whom there may be found a few in every age, and who now in known human history may be counted by hundreds, who worship the one God only, the God of Truth. They worship, not saints, nor creeds, nor churches, nor reliques, nor idols in any form. The mind is kept open to truth, and life only valued as a tendency toward it. This must be illustrated by acts and words of love, purity and intelligence. Such are the salt of the earth; let the minutest crystal of that salt be willingly by us held in solution.

The other is through that part of his life, which, if sometimes obstructed or chilled by the critical intellect, is yet the prevalent and the main source of his power. It is that by which he imprisons his hearer only to free him again as a "liberating God" (to use his own words).[4] But indeed let us use them altogether, for none other, ancient or modern, can more worthily express how, making present to us the courses and destinies of nature, he invests himself with her serenity and animates us with her joy.

"Poetry was all written before time was, and whenever we are so finely organized that we can penetrate into that region where the air is music, we hear those primal warblings, and attempt to write them down, but we lose ever and anon a word, or a verse, and substitute something of our own, and thus

4. Emerson famously uses the phrase "liberating God" to describe "The Poet" in *Essays: Second Series*.

miswrite the poem. The men of more delicate ear write down these cadences more faithfully, and these transcripts, though imperfect, become the songs of the nations."

"As the eyes of Lyncæus were said to see through the earth, so the poet turns the world to glass, and shows us all things in their right series and procession. For, through that better perception, he stands one step nearer to things, and sees the flowing or metamorphosis; perceives that thought is multiform; that within the form of every creature is a force impelling it to ascend into a higher form; and following with his eyes the life, uses the forms which express that life, and so the speech flows with the flowing of nature."

Thus have we in a brief and unworthy manner indicated some views of these books. The only true criticism of these, or any good books, may be gained by making them the companions of our lives. Does every accession of knowledge or a juster sense of beauty make[n] us prize them more? Then they are good, indeed, and more immortal than mortal. Let that test be applied to these; essays which will lead to great and complete poems—somewhere.

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Review of Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays: Second Series* (Boston: James Munroe, 1844). *New York Daily Tribune*, 7 December 1844, p. 1; reprinted, *New-York Weekly Tribune*, 14 December 1844, p. 2.

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