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MARGARET FULLER:
A CONCORD STAY WITH THE EMERSONS

August 17-September 25, 1842

Freeing the Artist Within

REPORTED BY ALLEGRA WONG

I remember watching my grandmother water the coleus and the begonias in our Fall River, Massachusetts, kitchen when I was a young child in the late 1950's. The plant pot saucers would brim, overflow. She watered with the red metal teapot my Uncle Andrew bought her for Mother's Day when he was a little boy because it reminded her, she said, not of his being little so much anymore, but of her being little. Reminded her of lamps being fueled with whale oil instead of electricity. Lilac dusk settling in. Reminded her of peering out from corners while women tatted, of gardenias scenting hot summer nights in her nursery. Reminded her of the Sandwich glass lamp's glow caressing a paisley shawl lying along the back of a Victorian sofa. The lamp's parchment shade.

I remember being five years old and listening to my grandmother's Fall River stories of Victorian times: ice-skating and sleighing parties on the North Watuppa Pond. Phrenology, hydrotherapy, Christian Science healings exhibited, platformed, outside city hall, just downtown; monthly seances with Mrs. Calhoun in her green-and-gold damask parlor; the study clubs held in one another's homes—Wednesday morning Ladies' Reading Group, Saturday afternoon's Minerva gathering. But most of all, I remember how my grandmother read to me evenings. She'd put

aside the storybooks through which we'd be leafing together at the kitchen table, and say, "Now I'll take you into my world," and she'd spread out her father's books and read me of Whitman's America singing. "I'll show you my true world," she'd say. And she'd read me Thoreau … 'I've come to these woods to find myself.' "Come into my world," she'd command, and she'd read me the outcries of George Sand—'work, freedom, air to breathe, poetry, education, honor are all we women ask.'

In 1955 my sister died from measles and pneumonia. Temporarily, I lost my mother and my father to mourning. My grandmother was my sole companion.

"Come into my world," my grandmother would coax me, "for at present, I believe, as did Margaret Fuller, that 'women are the best helpers of one another.'"

Allow reading to change your life, my grandmother would advise me. "Grapple with it. Wrestle with it as Whitman said one must."

She'd sit in her rocker by the kitchen windows and tell of how she and her father read aloud evenings from Whitman in their front parlor after her mother's untimely death. She'd tell of the poet and reformist, Percy Stickney Grant, and of how during his brief time as minister at Fall River's Saint Mark's Episcopal Church, he would leave the parish office, cross County Street to Downing and spend his lunch hours talking of Emerson, Hedge, Fuller, and Whitman with her and her father in their greenhouses.

She'd tell of how she grew to identify, under Percy Stickney Grant's guidance, with Margaret Fuller because Fuller was a reader, a lover of literature, a promoter of androgyny (each person, intellectually, is half masculine and half feminine), and a believer that traditional marriage would be replaced by a union of equals.

BACKGROUND

Margaret Fuller, author of *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), was an integral part of the Concord, Massachusetts, writing community that was comprised of Waldo Emerson, Henry Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Bronson Alcott, Ellery Channing, and Henry Hedge, among others.

Fuller was born in 1810 at Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, and during her youth, she was the companion and confidante of William Henry Channing, James Freeman Clarke, and Frederick Henry Hedge of the Harvard Class of 1829 and the Divinity School Class of 1833.

Fuller's lifelong friendship with Waldo Emerson began in 1836, and during the next two years, Fuller taught in Bronson Alcott's Temple School.

From 1839-1844, Fuller was known for her Boston Conversations for women,

which she conducted as a series of questions and answers. She was editor, during some of these same years, of *The Dial*, a transcendentalist magazine founded by the Concord writers. By 1842, Fuller was anxious to move from editing other people's works to producing her own original writing.

Fuller also promoted the theory of androgyny, and she was instrumental in reform work for women and the mentally ill during her New York City years (1844-1847) when she worked as literary critic for Greeley's *New York Daily-Tribune.* In 1847, she left New York for Rome where she was foreign correspondent for Greeley's paper and a political activist. She gave birth to a son, in 1848, fathered by Giovanni Angelo Ossoli, another activist.

In 1850, Fuller, Ossoli, and their son died by shipwreck off of Fire Island on a visit to the United States.

BEGINNINGS

"Creative people…do not turn away from non-being. They knock on silence for an answering music; they pursue meaninglessness until they can force it to mean."[1]

For years, in the silence of her irregular diaries, Margaret Fuller gathered ideas, made observations on her writing style, and listed topic suggestions for possible future writings, "for bringing something new into being."[2]

The inscription in Margaret Fuller's brief 1836 gold-and-green diary reads: "Memoranda of interviews, conversations, and public discourse which may seem to me worthy of being recalled some fair, contemplative summer day."[3]

In 1840, Fuller inscribed her red-and-orange diary as follows: "I propose to keep a record…if ever to get through this life…something may come of it." [4]

She goes on to state what she wishes to write: a better formed book of fragments (sketches and short stories); a series of essays on the fine arts in the United States; a discourse on Petrarch's love letters. She mentions "it's proposed I

[1] Rollo May, *The Courage to Create* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1975) 93.

[2] May 39.

[3] Margaret Fuller, bMS Am 1086, Box 3, Miscellaneous (Cambridge: Houghton Library).

[4] Fuller 3.

should conduct a magazine,"[1] and feels her position of writing an introduction for the magazine (*The Dial*) will allow her to define the role of the critic. She also observes that her sketchy diary remarks may well serve as conversations for her West Street gatherings of women and continue to earn her an income.

"A woman of tact and brilliancy like me has an undue advantage in conversation with men,"[2] Margaret Fuller observes in another of her irregularly kept 1840 diaries. However, these men, who are charmed by her conversation, are surprised she doesn't write better. "That's because I've had a lonely apprenticeship," she says, but she is determined she will write well, "though never as well as I talk. Yet I won't be discouraged, for what men say is not gospel."[3]

In her 1840 green-and-orange paisley book, Fuller writes, "I will keep this book," and observes she must learn to be alive to "sensuous as well as to intellectual stimulus, for language is growth."[4]

But on August 10, 1842, Fuller writes Waldo Emerson a letter and says,

> I am tired to death of dissipation. I do not enjoy it nor find any repose in mere observation now I long to employ myself steadily. I have no inspiration now, but hope it might come, if I were once fixed in some congenial situation. Should you like (,) it should be with you, that I should come and really live in your house a month, instead of making a visit … I shall bring my papers, etc.[5]

Emerson responds,

> Well, now please to come, for this I have always desired that you will make my house in some way useful to your occasions and not a mere

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[1] Fuller 3.

[2] Fuller 3.

[3] Fuller 3.

[4] Fuller 3.

[5] Margaret Fuller, "Letter #383. To Ralph Waldo Emerson," The Letters of Margaret Fuller, ed. Robert N. Hudspeth (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).

> hotel for a sleighing or summering party.[1]

Was Fuller's request of Emerson an affirmation of her willingness, finally, to become a creative writer, to learn how to write, to submit to his guidance, and to acquire the sense of purpose and fresh thought that she sought? Instead of essays and criticism on other people's writings, instead of observing and recording, was Fuller ready to learn how to write "a thought so passionate and alive, that, like the spirit of a plant or an animal, it has an architecture of its own"?[2]

> There is much, much in all of us ... No one ever calls it out of us, unless we are lucky enough to know very intelligent, imaginative, sympathetic people who love us and have the magnanimity to encourage us, to believe in us, by listening, by praise, by appreciation, by laughing.[3]

When Fuller's stay with Emerson was over, Fuller produced "The Great Lawsuit: Man versus Men; Woman versus Women," *Summer on the Lakes*, and *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. Her writing brought her fame in the United States and abroad. Was Margaret Fuller's 1842 stay with the Emersons the climactic release in her creative journey?

THE CREATIVE MIND

The artist, like every human being, has a life comprised of eight stages: infancy, early childhood, play age, school age, adolescence, young adulthood, adulthood, and old age. For the artist, however, young adulthood and adulthood are the most crucial steps and are to be interpreted as psychological ones and not ones of physical maturation. In the creative (psychological) life cycle, young adulthood is a time of

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[1] Waldo Emerson, Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. Ralph L. Rusk (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939) 3:80.

[2] Waldo Emerson, "The Poet," Selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson, ed. Stephen E. Whicher (Boston: Houghton Miflin Company, 1957) 225.

[3] Brenda Ueland, If You Want To Write (Saint Paul: Graywolf Press, 1987) 148.

sublimation, of redirecting libidinal forces into psycho-social contexts.[1]

It is a time of intimacy with the self. The artist recognizes his inner, but mostly unexpressed creativity—and as it is a time of isolation, the artist fears remaining separate because being separate means being unrecognized and unproductive. In the creative (psychological) life cycle, adulthood consists of creativity and production versus self-absorption and decay.[2]

The artist must transcend his separation and meet with other artists, discuss ideas, share thoughts. The artist cannot survive in a vacuum. He requires a household or community of like-minded individuals in order to conceive, develop, and give birth to his distinctiveness. Through the influence of his peers, through his rejection of some of their ideas and through his reforming of their thoughts by mixing them with the freshness of his own mind, the artist finds a voice and subject matter of his own.

Therefore, Margaret Fuller's initial years of writing (1836-1841), years of producing essays and criticism, years of editorship, and years of recognizing her desire in the chaos and confusion of her irregular diaries, can be compared to early adulthood, while her request for a five-week stay with the Emersons and their artistic guests served as her initiation into adulthood.

If, as Henry Adams said, chaos is the law of nature and order the dream of man, and if the imposition of order on a corner of chaos is the function—or the illusion—of art,[3] Margaret Fuller, in Concord, would begin imposing discipline on herself to find order and a voice of her own.

The artist requires creative courage. Creative courage is the capacity to move ahead in spite of despair,[4] the capacity to listen to the self and to listen to the self speak to others. It is the capacity to mix with like-minded individuals.

But more importantly than possessing creative courage, the artist must have

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[1] Erik H. Erikson, The Life Cycle Completed (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985) 56.

[2] Erikson 56.

[3] Wallace Stegner, "The Writer and Adulthood," Adulthood, ed. Erik H. Erikson (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978) 232.

[4] May 12.

an encounter:[1] he must open himself to influence. Without influence, he will have no creation. To be influenced, the artist must pay attention with his five senses, undergo active listening, must have waited for the fertilization and growth process (entrance to adulthood) to have begun to move in its own organic time.[2]

The artist must be caught up in, totally involved with, completely absorbed by his adulthood's environment and its inhabitants. The duration of the influence may be long or short, but it must be intense, and it is the center of the new creative work. The artist will then "use everything at hand,"[3] will take possession of whatever he needs in his surroundings and will reconstruct and reshape it to fit his new creation.

Margaret Fuller, in Concord in 1842, met all the requirements of artistic preparation. She was ready for an encounter, ready to be influenced. She had the desire to balance her 'lonely apprenticeship,' her isolation, by mixing with a community of like-minded individuals for an extended period of time. She was eager to listen to and talk with her major choice of influence, Waldo Emerson, and perhaps she had the courage to face the changes which would develop from their exchanges.

INFLUENCES

For centuries, the word 'influence' has had a root meaning of inflow, and the prime meaning of 'to be influenced' means "to receive an ethereal fluid flowing in upon one from the stars and affecting one's character and destiny."[4]

Ben Jonson preferred the word 'imitation' over 'influence' and says 'imitation' means "to make a choice of one excellent man above the rest, and so to follow him till he grow … so like him as the copy may be mistaken for the original." [5]

One of Margaret Fuller's first influences was Mary Wollstonecraft and her

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[1] May 44.

[2] May 81.

[3] Howard E. Gruber and Doris B. Wallace, Creative People at Work (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) 5.

[4] Harold Bloom, The Anxiety of Influence (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973) 26.

[5] Bloom 27.

work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*.[1] Fuller's father had read Wollstonecraft while at Harvard and sought to educate his daughter broadly. Although Fuller, in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, would emphasize education for women as Wollstonecraft did in *Vindication*, the tone of Fuller's work is literary, hopeful, expectant, and expressive of transcendentalism (every person must make his own world), while Wollstonecraft's is angry, indignant, "a rational yet heated defense of Women's Rights and stamped with Locke's theory that man was a product of his environment."[2]

Charles Fourier was another of Fuller's influences; she subscribed to his ideas of androgyny, of diverse and equal employment for both sexes, and to his central psychological concept: "a person who is thwarted grows sullen and mischievous, an outward expression of the internal war of the frustrated self."[3]

Also, she was influenced by Goethe's preoccupation with the individual. Madame de Stael's presentation of a new image of woman in her novel, *Corinne*, as well as her critical studies of the influence of German literature, and literature as a product of a social environment, influenced Fuller. So, too, was Fuller influenced by George Sand's personal lifestyle and her tales of the individual woman in her struggle against social constraints, and especially the constraint of marriage.

But the influence separating *Woman* from other feminist works, and the influence separating Fuller from other writers is transcendentalism, and "of all of the figures associated with the transcendental movement, no one else affected Margaret Fuller's thinking as much as Waldo Emerson did."[4] With Emerson, Fuller shared a search for insight, intellectual and social independence, as well as an optimistic prophecy of a new age. Too, they shared a confident belief in moral change, intuitive knowledge, and emphasized each man's individualism, uniqueness, potential, and faith in the self. As Emerson's disciple, Fuller used all of the arguments Emerson "promulgated about the individual and applied them to

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[1] Marie Mitchell Olesen Urbanski, Margaret Fuller's "Woman in the Nineteenth Century" (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980) 48.

[2] Urbanski 47.

[3] Urbanski 62.

[4] Urbanski 100.

women."[1]

Fuller arrived in Concord seeking community, the next phase of her psychosocial development as an artist. She was a leader of Boston's West Street Conversations, she had been editor of *The Dial*, had written criticisms of other people's writings, had translated the letters of two German girls, and in one night, earlier in 1842, she had written her own Credo about good and evil. But Fuller was a woman who wanted to write. She wanted to write something original. However, she lacked clarity about subject matter, and she lacked confidence.

Either in her bedroom downstairs in the Emerson house or in Waldo Emerson's study, Fuller wrote a paper on Rhenish and Romaic ballads for a future issue of *The Dial*. She also did a piece on Tennyson. She read Emerson's journals and letters at his insistence; she read Ellery Channing's poems as well as those of Louisa M. Weston of Maine.

Fuller was determined to write something new, and by telling the truth about writing in her Concord diary, she demonstrated the courage needed to create. "Waldo brought me the inkhorn and pen … I began at once to write for him, but not with much success" (August 17)[2] "I kept at my writing almost all day, but with small success. I cannot get hold of my subject in a way to suit me" (August 19). "What a happy day … I cannot write about it" (August 21). "There is too much intercourse to write it down … my writing thrives but ill, though I spend the appointed time at it" (August 24). "I have thoughts but no room or time to write them" (August 28). "This week has been much rain and by my little fire in the red room, I have written to some purpose. Yet today I feel chill about what I am doing" (September 8). "I could not go on with my own work" (September 9).

All of some days were spent walking in the woods; all of other days were spent writing. Evenings were spent walking with Waldo to Walden, and there was much excellent discourse and exhaustive analysis. Margaret Fuller felt she wanted to write something big, something bigger than she had ever written. She also wanted to remember this experience in Concord.

Some afternoons were spent walking with the other guests at the Emerson household. Fuller observed Ellery Channing as he walked through nature as though searching for clues to himself, while Thoreau, with notebook in hand, seemed to be searching for clues to the universe. One afternoon was spent reading Kant in Sleepy

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[1] Urbanski 109.

[2] (August 17). Fuller, Box 1. Hereafter, it should be assumed that whenever Fuller's Concord Diary is mentioned in this text, this same source is applicable.

Hollow Cemetery and talking with Hawthorne of nature and Brook Farm. Some hours were spent in Lidian's room where Lidian Emerson and Fuller spoke of young Waldo's death. But beneath this façade of passing the days so idyllically, Fuller was beginning, through discourse, to acquire subject matter and confidence.

ELLERY CHANNING

Concord was a center of the American Renaissance, and Ellery Channing was an "integral part of the Concord group. His influence ranged from minor to major, from oblique to direct. He gave hours of freedom to Hawthorne, community to Alcott, inspiration to Fuller, and genuine friendship to Thoreau and Emerson."[1]

A guest in the Emerson household for most of 1842, Ellery Channing had been a careful, intelligent reader of Fuller's writings for some time. "I was struck with the length of the article about Bettine. I am glad it is so long. Your writings are most valuable in my eyes … your writings are as much above the mass of written appearances, as the sun is above choice …"[2] Channing wrote in a February 18, 1842 letter to Fuller. As Fuller did initially, Channing, too, created a mask behind which to write. He perceived that Fuller needed to rid herself of her mask (to his own artistic downfall, he did not see he needed to rid himself of his own sentimental one). "Goethe and Bettine are well enough. I want to see Margaret Fuller herself—not Gunderode—not others. But not always these, not forever German people and things. Why not American, why not what is here under our noses,"[3] wrote Channing in his March 20, 1842 letter to Fuller.

Fuller viewed Channing as a fellow transcendentalist in need of a community of like-minded individuals. "Cambridge and its people seemed very strange this evening after the ideal, the true community life at Concord … with Waldo and Ellery [I am] in community," wrote Fuller in her diary on September 17, 1842, upon her return to Concord after an afternoon visit in Cambridge. "For human beings are not so constituted that they can live without expansion. If they do not get it one way,

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[1] Robert N. Hudspeth, Ellery Channing (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1973) 142.

[2] Francis B. Dedmond, "The Selected Letters of William Ellery Channing the Younger (Part One)," Studies in the American Renaissance (1989): 164.

[3] Dedmond 171.

they must another, or perish,"[1] Fuller later wrote in *Woman*.

Channing's conversations released creativity in others for he had intelligence and perspective, and he was verbally astute. "In walking with Ellery," Emerson said, "you shall always see what was never before shown to the eye of man."[2] On August 18, 1842, Fuller wrote in her diary, "This evening Ellery called me out to the/east/clover slip, from which there is a wide view over the meadows. The moon was nearly at full … He got excited, as in painting a picture." Through his poetry's portrayal of harmonic colors and shapes in nature, Channing sought to affirm man's possibilities[3] of intellectual growth. "Ellery's dell … is a sweet place, the path through most luxuriant ferns, the landmarks tall asters, and the natural seat just long enough," wrote Fuller on September 8 when she sought a restful, safe place to recompose and develop her thoughts and to talk with Elizabeth Hoar. "Every relation, every gradation of nature, is incalculably precious, but only to the soul which is poised upon itself … for it is in harmony with the central soul,"[4] Fuller wrote in "Lawsuit."

"…The gain of creation consists always in the growth of individual minds, which live and aspire, as flowers bloom and birds sing,"[5] Fuller wrote in *Woman* about the development of thought in the individual. Thus Fuller learned to see society ideally as a reproduction of man's definition of harmony. "Harmony exists in difference, no less than in likeness, if only the same key-note govern both parts."[6]

"When we found a snake in the path, Ellery said (on August 28) that it was the criticism in the universe … handsome and adroit in its motion, but it made you cold." "When the same community of life and consciousness of mind begins among

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[1] Margaret Fuller, Woman in the Nineteenth Century, The Essential Margaret Fuller, ed. Jeffrey Steele (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992) 260.

[2] Hudspeth 78.

[3] Hudspeth 90.

[4] Perry Miller, The Transcendentalists, An Anthology (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950) 461.

[5] Fuller, Woman 253.

[6] Fuller, Woman 288.

men, humanity will have, positively and finally, subjugated its brute elements and … criticism will have perished … all will have entered the harmony of common growth."[1] Channing realized "that only he who had command of his own powers can make an impression of the world around him,"[2] can transform his potential into experience. "… He began by railing at me as artificial," wrote Fuller of Channing on August 28. Fuller later reinterpreted Channing's theory of self-command in *Woman*: "The highest ideal man can form of his own powers, is that which he is destined to attain. Whatever the soul knows how to seek, it cannot fail to obtain."[3] Yet, also on August 28, Channing ridiculed Fuller's constant idealism. But as an artist beginning to have confidence in herself, Fuller decided, "I cannot but see, that what they say of my or other obscure lives is true of every prophetic, of every tragic character … I must not let them disturb me."

Channing lamented over the spiritual and intellectual waste of most men's lives.[4] Fuller saw for woman the type of ideal life Channing prescribed – a chance to grow and think and unfold: "What woman needs is not as a woman to act or rule, but as a nature to grow, as an intellect to discern, as soul to live freely and unimpeded, to unfold such powers as were given her when we left our common home.[5]

Channing, as a poet, was not a direct competitor to Fuller. As he was not an essayist or a critic or an orator, Fuller could respond to him without defensiveness, and could absorb some of his freshness. "[Waldo] does not read E's poems … well … [Waldo] neutralizes[s] … what is so delicate, so subtle in its nature." This journal entry of August 25 also hints of Fourier's theory of androgyny by suggesting the feminine delicate part of Channing's mind as displayed though his work. "I wish I could retain Ellery's talk last night: it was wonderful…absurd as was what he said on one side, it was the finest poetic inspiration on the other." Fuller's mind moved from Channing's words to fresh speculation on duality and androgyny. Instead of composing rebuttals as she did with Emerson and Hedge, Fuller thought, tested her

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[1] Fuller, Woman 311.

[2] Hudspeth 94.

[3] Fuller, Woman 249.

[4] Hudspeth 130.

[5] Fuller, Woman 261.

ideas, and clarified her thoughts. Later, in *Woman*, Fuller wrote, "Male and female represent the two sides of the great radical dualism. But, in fact, they are perpetually passing into one another. There is no wholly masculine man, no purely feminine woman."[1]

Channing and Fuller saw literature as expressive of life containing both good and evil, life worth living. On September 19, Fuller wrote in her diary, "[Ellery] said Mr. E. is quite wrong about books: He wants them all good, now I want many bad … Literature is not memely [sic.] a collection of gems, but a great system of interpretation."

The androgynous qualities of Channing's poetry along with his theory that every man had the potential for intellectual and spiritual growth were applied directly by Fuller to her subject of woman in the nineteenth century. Fuller's "Lawsuit" and *Woman* themselves are systems of interpretation. As a result of Channing's influence, Fuller learned to look past life's immediacy and surfaces to the less obvious realities of woman's predicament in the nineteenth century. She went beyond Channing's advice to write about things American and instead wrote about all women in all ages as a way of interpreting the mostly stifled American woman in the nineteenth century. In Appendix D of *Woman*, Fuller included Channing's poem, "Reverence," for its wisdom and beauty and description of woman as man's companion. By observing Channing, Fuller found the determination to voice her truest concerns about women, literature, and reform; she found the same freeing determination that had prompted Channing to seek new values in rural America in Concord.

HENRY HEDGE

Henry Hedge, a Unitarian minister in West Cambridge, and then in Bangor, Maine, from 1829 to 1850, was an established figure among the Concord transcendentalist group. It was Hedge, along with Fuller, who had initiated, through conversation, the Transcendentalist Club in 1836. In 1840, Hedge had been considered for the role of editor of *The Dial*, the club's literary magazine. In 1842, Henry Hedge was a frequent visitor in the Emerson household.

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[1] Fuller, Woman 310.

Hedge possessed a love of intellectual discourse.[1] On September 17, 1842, Fuller noted in her Concord diary that Hedge's conversation with Samuel Ward and Waldo Emerson is "glassy and elaborate in manner," but when he is alone with her, his talk changes, becomes "full of soul, the tones of his voice entirely different. We had an excellent talk on all the great themes before men at this present."

The development of the mind and the role of the scholar in society were Hedge's special interests. One of Hedge's major theories … that the difference between the learned man and the unlearned man consisted in different arrangement of knowledge to both,[2] would be reinterpreted by Fuller in "Lawsuit" and then in *Woman* to demonstrate that all people had the inclination and potential to change. (Here, too, is a suggestion of Channing's theory that he who has command of his own powers can turn potential into experience.) "No doubt, a new manifestation is at hand, a new hour in the day of man. We cannot expect to see him a completed being, when the mass of men lie so entangled in the sod…yet something new shall presently be shown after life of man, for hearts crave it now, if minds do not know how to ask it."[3] "It should be acknowledged that [women] have intellect which needs developing, that they should not be considered complete otherwise."[4]

Hedge was concerned with the dualities of the scholar: the scholar found his knowledge in private (the writer/artist finds his need to write in private), then sounded out his findings in society (the writer/artist temporarily joins community to find confidence and further subject matter).

By 1842, Hedge's emphasis on the reclusiveness of the scholar had changed to the importance of the scholar's growth and influence being determined by community. He felt the scholar would be stifled if shut off from similar blood,[5] eradicated if shut off from time with the self. "If any individual live too much in relation, so that he becomes a stranger to the resources of his own nature, he falls

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[1] Alfred G. Litton, "The Development of the Mind and the Role of the Scholar in the Early Works of Frederic Henry Hedge," Studies in the American Renaissance (1989): 95.

[2] Litton 100.

[3] Miller 458.

[4] Fuller, Woman 297.

[5] Litton 107.

after a while into a distraction, or imbecility … with a society it is the same … minds … must find help in self-impulse or perish,"[1] wrote Fuller in "Lawsuit." Hedge also believed that religion forms man's mind, whether or not man accepts the religion he was born into.[2] "H. emphasized the Church and the Race," wrote Fuller in her diary on September 17. In "Lawsuit," she wrote, "There is but one law for all souls, and, if there is to be an interpreter of it, he comes not as man, or son of man, but as son of God."[3] "It…is the birthright of every being capable to receive it, … the intelligent freedom of the universe, to use its means, to learn its secret … with God alone for their guide and their judge."[4] "The intellect … is to be cultivated … because the Power who gave a power, by its mere existence, signifies that it must be brought out towards perfection,"[5] Fuller wrote in *Woman*.

At the same time, on September 17, Fuller, a writer and thinker now gaining confidence, decided religion was in her own heart. "What is done here at home in my heart is my religion … I belong nowhere. I have pledged myself to nothing … I have my church where I am by turns priest and layman." In *Woman*, she wrote "Religion (I mean the thirst for truth and good, not the love of sect and dogma)…"[6]

On September 18, Fuller listened to Hedge's sermon given in Brookline and found it wonderful to hear a student of German literature and philosophy speak, "wonderful for a disciple of Hegel to preach, and to encourage the good in oneself." Thus, Fuller felt reassured to use Goethe as examples in her own writings. "Those who know him [Goethe], see, daily, his thought fulfilled more and more, and they must speak of it …"[7] In *Woman*, Fuller wrote, "Germany did not need to learn a high

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[1] Miller 461.

[2] Litton 109.

[3] Miller 459.

[4] Miller 459.

[5] Fuller, Woman 298.

[6] Fuller, Woman 344.

[7] Miller 462.

view of woman; it was inborn in that race,"[8] and Goethe, Fuller felt, wrote deeply and truthfully of woman.

In 1842, Hedge was concerned with the benefits of reform, and saw a true reformer as one who accepted the soul's eternal process and worked cooperatively with it. Beginning on page 329 in *Woman*, Fuller gives sympathetic understanding in her concern for the reform of prisoners, prostitutes, and the mentally ill. Hedge felt guidance from past thinkers strengthened modern man's attempts to highlight reform's needs. Fuller, in *Woman*, included examples of women's circumstances in history to spotlight the needs of women in the nineteenth century.

Hedge believed in cultivating the self first in order to produce a better society. In *Woman*, Fuller wrote "Could you clear away all the bad forms of society, it is vain, unless the individual begins to be ready for better. There must be a parallel movement in these two branches of life."[9] By cultivating the self, Hedge felt, man could apply his beliefs equally to penal reform, education, woman's suffrage, and the anti-slavery movement.[10] Fuller wrote in "Lawsuit," "As the friend of the Negro assumes that one man cannot, by right, hold another in bondage, so should the friend of woman assume that man cannot, by right, lay even well-meant restrictions on women."[11] When man has educated himself, cultivated his inner self as prescribed by Hedge, Fuller felt "we would have every arbitrary barrier thrown down; … We would have every path laid open to woman as freely as to man."[12]

Hedge's belief in self-cultivation and his belief in the individual's potential to change and thus understand women's need for freedom influenced Fuller most in her new creative works, "Lawsuit" and *Woman*. Hedge's theory of the scholar's need to balance a lifestyle comprised of isolation and community influenced Fuller's new confident approach to the writing life.

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[8] Fuller, Woman 273.

[9] Fuller, Woman 286.

[10] Bryan F. Le Beau, "Frederic Henry Hedge, 1835-1890: Toward 'Reason in Religion,'" Studies in the American Renaissance (1988): 264.

[11] Miller 457.

[12] Fuller, Woman 260.

LIDIAN EMERSON

In her Concord diary of 1842, Fuller depicted Lidian Emerson as a woman close to hysteria most of the time. She viewed her as an example of Fourier's concept that the thwarted person grows mischievous and sullen and so outwardly expresses his inner misery and frustration. Fuller endeavored to separate Lidian's opium-induced fits from her true fits of jealousy. Lidian's son, Waldo, died in January of 1842; in August, Lidian was still in mourning, of course. And in August, Lidian was also enduring a swollen face as a result of dental operations[1] and so was taking opium for her nerves and her pain. Fuller was sympathetic with Lidian, and on August 17, she wrote that when Lidian came in to see her "and wept for the lost child … I felt for her … and she liked to have me." However, Fuller was harshly critical of the Lidian who was jealous of her husband's friends and who did not try to rise above her feelings of isolation in her marriage. She was critical, too, of Lidian because she did not try to understand her husband's need of only friends who loved discourse and so inspired him.[2] "Women can't bear to be left out of the question. And they don't see the whole truth about one like me,"[3] wrote Fuller in her diary about her friendship with Waldo.

Fuller's critical tone toward Lidian can be felt in Fuller's published writing. Fuller thought Lidian should be like other women, who "are considering within themselves what they need that they have not, and what they can have, if they find they need it."[4] In *Woman,* Fuller irately hopes for the time "when inward and outward freedom for woman as much as for man shall be acknowledged as a right, not yielded as a concession."[5] Fuller wishes for all self-pitying and inwardly miserable women the same opportunity she wished for Lidian: "Grant her, then for a

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[1] Joel Myerson, "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal: At Concord With the Emersons," Harvard Library Bulletin Vol. XXI, #3 (July 1973): 322, note 12.

[2] George Sebouhian, "A Dialogue with Death: An Examination of Emerson's 'Friendship,'" Studies in the American Renaissance (1989): 224.

[3] Myerson 332.

[4] Miller 458.

[5] Fuller, Woman 261.

while, the armor and the javelin."[1] She admonishes, then reminds "the time is come when Eurydice is to call for an Orpheus, rather than Orpheus for Eurydice: … woman needs now to take her turn [to lead]."[2]

On September 2, Lidian asked Fuller about her evenings spent with Waldo. "I said I was with Ellery or Henry [Thoreau] both of the evenings and that W. was writing in his study," wrote Fuller in her diary. Were women "free, were they wise fully to develop the strength and beauty of women … [they would] not complain,"[3] Fuller suggests in another reply in "Lawsuit." Fuller saw Lidian as unhappy, but dutifully accepting her husband's ways. "She is too amiable to wish what would make me unhappy, and too judicious to wish to step beyond the sphere of her sex," the trader says of his Lidian-like wife in *Woman*.[4]

Fuller saw Lidian as a self-made victim, as a woman who did not try to change and therefore she deserved no sympathy or respect.[5] Yet in "Lawsuit," Fuller contritely says of her harsh criticism of some women, "it is love that has caused this [her criticism], love for … souls, that might be freed could the idea of religious self-dependence be established in them, could the weakening habit of dependence on others be broken up."[6]

On September 19, Fuller wrote that "nothing makes me so anti-Christian and so anti-marriage as these talks with L. She lays such undue stress on the office of Jesus and the demands of the heart." "The lot of woman is sad," wrote Fuller in *Woman*. "She is constituted to expect and need a happiness that cannot exist on earth … She will be very lonely while living with her husband."[7] On page 298 of

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[1] Fuller, Woman 303.

[2] Fuller, Woman 252.

[3] Miller 459.

[4] Fuller, Woman 256.

[5] Sebouhian 227.

[6] Miller 461.

[7] Fuller, Woman 336-337.

Woman, Fuller suggests that women, Lidian-like women who are good mothers and dutiful wives, should be allowed to be their husbands' intellectual companions. "I would have her [woman] free from compromise, from complaisance, from helplessness, because I would have her good enough and strong enough to love one and all beings, from the fullness, not the poverty of being."[1]

Lidian Emerson and Margaret Fuller also knew some moments of closeness. They spent the evening of September 9 together waiting for Ellery Channing to return from Naushon where he was visiting his former love, Caroline Sturgis, and both Lidian Emerson and Fuller seemed to understand Ellery's need to visit Caroline even though his wife, Ellen, was due at the Emerson household at any hour. On September 25, Fuller and Lidian Emerson "had a thorough talk" and Fuller said, "I shall never trouble myself anymore—it is not just to her. But I will do more attending to her, for I see I could be of real use." Later in *Woman*, Fuller wrote "I believe that, at present, women are the best helpers of one another."[2]

Lidian Emerson clarified for Fuller the role of the self-pitying woman in the nineteenth century. Such a woman was too meek to disobey her husband and endeavor to become his intellectual companion. Yet it is through Lidian that Fuller realized only other women and truly educated men such as Henry Hedge could help all women.

EMERSON AS AN INGREDIENT

Fuller sought Emerson as her mentor during her first Concord stay of three weeks in 1836. During the next five years as her critical writing abilities developed, she became his discerning audience and also stimulated his reading. During Fuller's five-week stay in 1842, her choice of Emerson as her primary influence turned their relationship into one of creative equals. Fuller and Emerson had been friends for several years. True friendship produces self-reliance, Emerson believed.[3]

"Then the influence of anyone with him [Emerson] would be just in proportion to independence of him," wrote Fuller on September 2. By observing others, man

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[1] Miller 461.

[2] Fuller, Woman 344.

[3] Hudspeth 143.

understands and trusts himself; by observing others, man is influenced, felt Emerson. But conversation was the core of genuine friendship, said Emerson: "The office of conversation is to give me self-possession … A safe and gentle spirit … spreads out in order before me his own life and aims…Straightway … I regain, one by one, my faculties, my organs."[1] For Emerson, conversations became journal entries, and these in turn became essays.[2] Written at the top of Margaret Fuller's 1842 Concord diary, in pencil, is: "Will Mr. E mark the parts he intends to use. After Mr. E has used this, I would like it again."[3] Portions of Fuller's Concord journal were later used by Emerson in his sections of *The Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*. [4]

Emerson's influential concept of self-reliance especially was reiterated and broadened by Fuller in *Woman*. Based on Harold Bloom's theory of influence,[5] I suggest Margaret Fuller adapted Waldo Emerson's concept of self-reliance and made it her own as follows: First, Fuller misreads Emerson's concept of self-reliance. Misreading means not understanding completely or misinterpreting passages, and so Fuller takes a swerve on Emerson's words and makes them into her own. Man's self-reliance becomes woman's self-reliance in "Lawsuit" and *Woman* … and Fuller applies the term so richly to women and their need to break with constraints that her adaptation of the concept sounds better. Because her adaptation sounds better, she makes it appear that Emerson had not developed his concept enough. However, in order to handle her adaptation, Fuller has to empty herself of her adulation for her influence. Fuller then opens herself to the power of self-reliance as though it is not Emerson's concept but is a truth which was always just beyond Emerson and accessible to anyone capable of perceiving it. Fuller's use of self-reliance obliterates the uniqueness of the concept in Emerson's work. Next Fuller attains a state of solitude, psychological and creative, separates herself from others by returning to Cambridge on September 25, and thus truncates her precursor's endowment. Lastly, Fuller confidently holds her concept of self-reliance

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[1] Hudspeth 144.

[2] Sebouhian 232.

[3] Fuller, Box 1.

[4] Myerson 322.

[5] Bloom 14-16 and relative chapter sections.

open now to her precursor's, uses it in her own "Lawsuit" and Woman, and it seems as though Emerson has not influenced Fuller's theory of self-reliance, but that Fuller herself developed the concept for her specific use. For a somewhat different take on the topic, see W.J. Bate's *The Burden of the Past and the English Poet*.

EMERSON, FULLER & THE COURAGE TO CREATE

Art, for Emerson, is speaking and writing. Action or life itself is the raw material of the intellect, said Emerson, and language is the medium which converts thought or raw material into utterance.[1] Utterance is speaking or writing. Utterance is literature or art. Literature serves mankind by making them think and reveals for them what they haven't seen.[2]

Emerson and Fuller both enjoyed rhetorical conversation, which is a presentation and critical judgment of individual interpretation for revising and extending shared knowledge.[3] It is the art of the effective and persuasive use of language. On September 21, Fuller wrote in her diary: "My time to go to him [Emerson] is late in the evening. Then I go knock at the library door, and we have our long word talk through the growths of things with glimmers of light from the causes of things." Their rhetorical conversations, as well as their letters, were used for generating lectures and texts. Fuller and Emerson searched each other for the best thoughts as resources for writing: in their conversations, they would discuss, utilize each other, sound and teach each other, but never merely enjoy. "A writer must look for the best thought and use it wherever it's to be found.[4] On September 1, Fuller wrote in her diary, "There seems to be no end to these conversations … we [Emerson and Fuller] enjoy them, for we often get a good expression."

Emerson, through conversation, taught Fuller how to refine her thought and

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[1] Merton M. Sealts, Jr., "Mulberry Leaves and Satin: Emerson's Theory of the Creative Process," Studies in the American Renaissance (1985): 85.

[2] Sealts 88.

[3] Judith Mattson Bean, "Texts from Conversation: Margaret Fuller's Influence on Emerson," Studies in the American Renaissance (1944): 227.

[4] Bean 227.

writing. "But he stops me from doing anything and makes me think."[1] When she knew how to think—how to convert raw material into utterance—Fuller also knew how to write and about what to write.

The coldness of the Emerson household from August 17 to September 25, 1842, was due, in part, to the death of the Emersons' firstborn which helped to cause some of the isolation of Waldo Emerson from his wife. Each of them had chosen a different form of bereavement. Due to this isolation, Emerson placed emphasis on the friendships of that summer and so in Channing's words, got "on agreeably with everybody, [but could] not establish a personal relationship with anyone."[2] Fuller attributes Emerson's coldness to his god, which was truth, while her god was love. [3] On September 1, after Emerson read verses to Fuller, Fuller named Emerson's life "Dichtung und Wahrheit," (poetry and truth) because Emerson cared only for the immortal essence which can be distilled from facts. Thus Fuller seemed to attribute Emerson's coldness to his idealism during his bereavement, "[Emerson believes he] will meet him [young Waldo] again … to me he [young Waldo] seems lost … that is [my] weakness.[4] "Pure love, inspired by a worthy object, must ennoble and bless, … the love of truth, the love of excellence will have power to save you," Fuller wrote later in *Woman*[5] to assure timid women that independence would not necessarily lead them into prostitution.

The subject of marriage was discussed most by Fuller and Emerson as Emerson was working on an essay on marriage. "Ask any woman whether her aim in [marriage] is to further the genius of her husband, and she will say yes, but her conduct will always be to claim a devotion that will be injurious to him if he yields," said W. Emerson on September 1.[6] In a true union of equals, however, a wife and a

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[1] Fuller, Letters #387.

[2] Myerson 326, note 28.

[3] Fuller, Box 1.

[4] " W.H. Channing, J.F. Clarke, R.W. Emerson, Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli II (Boston: Brown, Taggard, and Chase, 1860) 62.

[5] Fuller, Woman 325-326.

[6] Fuller, Box 1.

husband would further each other's calling and well-being. "Such a woman is the sister and friend of all beings, as the worthy man is their brother and helper," Fuller wrote in *Woman*.[1] Yet if a woman wished to live alone," her thought may turn to the centre, and she may … [enter] into the secret of truth and love, use it for the use of all men, instead of a chosen few."[2]

Lidian hoped that Waldo's character would alter, that he would be capable of intimacy, but on September 2, Fuller wrote that "it will never be more perfect between them." And so it is from the qualities lacking in the Emersons' marriage that Fuller built her four-point union of equals theory in *Woman*. At the initial level in such a union, the man and the woman have a "relation of mutual esteem, mutual dependence."[3] The man might be called a good provider, the woman might be called a good housekeeper. They care for each other's needs. At the next level is "mutual idolatry"'[4] or physical attraction. At the third level is intellectual companionship which "has become more and more frequent" wrote Fuller in *Woman*.[5] "Men engaged in public life, literary men, and artists …" "In our country, women are, in many respects, better situated than men. Good books are allowed, with more time to read them."[6] "Not unfrequently, [women] share the same employment [as men]" as the intellectual development of women has grown. "The fourth and highest grade of marriage union, is the religious, which may be expressed as pilgrimage toward a common shrine. This includes the other [three]."[7]

On September 9, Waldo talked with Fuller of his latest thoughts on marriage. That "marriage should be a covenant to secure to either party the sweetness and the

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[1] Fuller, Woman 291.

[2] Fuller, Woman 291.

[3] Fuller, Woman 282.

[4] Fuller, Woman 282.

[5] Fuller, Woman 283.

[6] Fuller, Woman 306.

[7] Fuller, Woman 289.

handsomeness of being a calming, continuing, inevitable benefactor to the other," seems to summarize Fuller's four-point union of equals theory. On August 24 and September 18, Waldo Emerson and Fuller talked much about Emerson's new poem, "Saadi." Emerson admired Persia's poet, Sa'di, because of his preference for practical wisdom.[1] Also, both men loved solitude. Both men appreciated society but sought to dwell alone as individuals, or in isolation, in society.

On August 24, after discussing "Saadi" with Fuller, Emerson said "he will no more plague himself with the mysteries of another sphere from his." This may be interpreted as Emerson's self-permission to enjoy isolationism, and not to feel guilty about his own marriage, about his preference for writing and thinking. "Saadi," for Emerson, "is one acceptance throughout," said Fuller in her diary on August 24. She equated Emerson's tone of acceptance to one of his journal-keeping habits: "Whenever in his journal he speaks of his peculiar character and limitations he has written in the margin, 'Accept.'" On September 18, Fuller cried over the new lines Emerson added to "Saadi" … "As Saadi, the joygiver, can also walk in grief," said Fuller in her diary. At this time, Fuller, by borrowing Emerson's theory of acceptance, likewise may have granted herself permission to love solitude and individualism, writing and thinking. By recognizing the artist's joy and grief inherent to isolationism and community, Fuller gained confidence as a thinker and a writer. She acquired the courage to believe she would "not be pitied as a madwoman, not shrunk from as unnatural."[2] For "women of genius, even more than men, are likely to be enslaved by an impassioned sensibility. The world repels them more rudely, and they are of weaker bodily frame."[3]

Thus, Fuller had finally found the courage to create.

Fuller's borrowing of Emerson's concept of self-reliance, the evolution of her four-point union of equals theory, and her learning how to think (through conversation) were Fuller's primary gains from Emerson's influence.

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[1] Gay Wilson Allen, Waldo Emerson (New York: The Viking Press, 1981) 481.

[2] Fuller, Woman 303.

[3] Fuller, Woman 302.

THE SUM OF THESE PARTS

Ellery Channing, Henry Hedge, Lidian Emerson, and Waldo Emerson are to be credited most for providing Fuller with conversation and dialogue on philosophical concepts and contemporary social conditions. After five weeks of such exposure to her peers in Concord, Fuller was freed, through her friendships. "For Emerson, friendship becomes a process whose end is freedom."[1]

She returned to Cambridge to rest, to assess her subject matter. She left Concord because the sense of community there made her confident that she thought as well as her peers, that she had her own perspective. She felt confident that she had advanced beyond Emerson's studied love of nature and his inability to go forth and learn of the world.[2]

She had advanced beyond Channing's capriciousness and artistic flaws beneath his conversational stance, advanced beyond Hedge's controlled transcendentalism and thoughts on reform. She had interpreted Lidian Emerson's shortcomings as representative of so many women.[3]

I suggest that the Concord setting fulfilled its mission as household during Fuller's initiation into adulthood and that Fuller completed the creative cycle. Fuller had an encounter by opening herself to influences, and she fed her encounter with discourses and analyses and rhetorical dialogues. She found her subject matter and so gained confidence in her ability as a writer. She then claimed her own vision, as separate from her major influences. She rejected the community setting, and acknowledging "my own path," left the setting to return to Cambridge for rest (rest serves to release the artist from intense efforts and inhibitions, so the creative impulse can now fully and easily express itself). In Cambridge she readied herself for the early draft of her artwork ("Lawsuit" which would become *Woman*).

WOMAN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Orestes Brownson, in his quarterly review in April, 1845, said that *Woman in the*

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[1] Hudspeth 116.

[2] Madeline B. Stem, The Life of Margaret Fuller (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991) 165.

[3] Based on Rollo May's theory of the nature of creativity, May 81.

Nineteenth Century has “neither beginning, middle, nor end and may be read backwards as well as forwards.”[1] However, “*Woman*'s basic structure is that of a sermon which is appropriate, because its message is hortatory.”[2] Its ostensible formlessness and exhaustiveness are due to its dual nature. Within the sermon framework or form (probably influenced by the sermons of Hedge, the orations of Emerson), *Woman* includes the spiraling and optimistic transcendentalist literary form (probably influenced by the essays of Emerson and the poetry of Channing). *Woman* developed from “Lawsuit,” but forty-nine pages of new material were added.

Woman's structural framework reflects mostly the sermon or oration. Within the framework, Fuller positions her ideas on liberating women ... and men. Fuller begins her work with the classic exordium. Using German and Latin quotations, and preliminary conciliation, her proposition is not introduced until the tenth page ... woman needs her turn, improvement in woman's lot can aid in reformation of men. Her sermon topic is announced: “Be ye perfect.” Having established her thesis, she continues with partitio and presents her analysis in a debate style: she raises men's popular arguments about women’s rights and then rebuts them. To accentuate points, she employs her conversational questions-and-answers approach.

In a digresio, Fuller presents all that is known of woman and her story through myth, folklore, the Bible, literature, history, and the social circumstances and environment of her own time. She concedes that women have some power, but want freedom from men to learn about the universe themselves. In the form of a reprehension she admonishes men who refuse to grant women freedom, men who call strong women ‘manly,’ and women who misuse what power they have.[3]

Woman next takes the form of an applicatio in a departure from the main argument. She admonishes women to save themselves in the present time, explore themselves, become self-reliant. “In a peroration, Fuller outlines the major points of her argument and of her vision of the harmonious world that an ideal man/woman relationship would bring.”[4] She addresses a prayer to God, prophesies a day of glory, and admonishes to cherish hope and act. She closes with Biblical poetry, and

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[1] Urbanski, “Genesis" 268.

[2] Urbanski, “Genesis" 268.

[3] Urbanski, “Genesis" 271.

[4] Urbanski, “Genesis" 272.

envisions (so shalt thou see what few have seen). When recognized and appreciated as a sermon form, her work has thematic and structural soundness.

The transcendental influence on *Woman*'s form is detectable through the movement of her treatise which is not parallel, but is soaring and circular. It is an unfolding from the subconscious, "a form of spiraling"[1] thought patterns. Another of its transcendental qualities is the concept of the individual as the center of the world and seeking enlargement in the universe. Fuller uses her own experience and observations as representative of the experience of all women. "And she begins her text with 'we' changes to 'I' after fifteen pages, and later reverts back and forth between 'we' and 'I'."[2] This is a transcendentalist point-of-view technique.

Woman's tone is conversational. The text questions and answers (like Emerson and Fuller, like Channing and Fuller). It is sometimes dramatic with breathless phrases as though someone is talking. "Her writing sounds as if she is talking to a small group and studying the reaction of her audience."[3]

From her Concord influences, Fuller received not only the seeds of the messages and ideas she set forth in *Woman*, but also the seeds of the form her writing style took.

ANALYSIS

Would Margaret Fuller's writing have had the same impact had she not been led through the creative process by Emerson during her five-week stay in Concord in 1842? Margaret Fuller offers answers herself in her letters. In an August 25, 1842 letter, she writes to William Channing,

> What did you mean by saying I had imbibed much of his (Emerson's) way of thought? I do indeed feel his life stealing gradually into mine, and I sometimes think my work would have been more simple, my unfolding to a temporal activity more rapid and easy, if we had never met. But when I look forward to eternal growth, I am always aware that I am far

[1] Urbanski, "Genesis" 273.

[2] Urbanski, "Genesis" 274.

[3] Urbanski, "Genesis" 274.

> larger and deeper for him ...[1]

Emerson and Fuller often exchanged letters, room-to-room, to assist with their writing, during Fuller's Concord stays. In a September 1842 letter, she writes Emerson,

> Yet I deeply wish to keep some record of these days; for if well done, though not as beautiful and grand, yet they would be as significant of the highest New England life in this era, as Plato's marvelous Dialogues were of the life of Attica, in his time.... Nor are ours inferior in quality to that. But, alas, I cannot reproduce this life, while I am in it...[2]

From Cambridge, on October 16, 1842, Fuller writes Emerson:

> I can hardly believe that it is a month this day since I passed a true Sabbath in reading your journals and Ellery's book, and talking with you in the study. I have not felt separated from you yet... I understand the leadings of your thoughts better and better, and I feel a conviction that I shall be worthy of this friendship.[3]

I suggest that Margaret Fuller's 1842 stay with the Emersons was the climactic release in her creative journey. In Concord, she adapted influence, learned that art is produced through a balance of isolation and community, gained confidence as a writer, acquired subject matter and writing style, and consummated the creative cycle from encounter to breakthrough or first draft. Through her completion of these five processes and through her subsequent fame for "Lawsuit"/*Woman*, Fuller emerged as a commanding writer and as a representative intellectual of the nineteenth century.

Margaret Fuller had freed the artist within.

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[1] Fuller, Letters #387.

[2] Fuller, Letters #388.

[3] Fuller, Letters #392.

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ELIZABETH I CEO:

STRATEGIC LESSONS FROM THE LEADER WHO BUILT AN EMPIRE

by Alan Axelrod

Prentice Hall Press
ISBN: 0-7352-0189-7

Review by Tamara Vishkina

It's hard to find a niche for *Elizabeth I CEO*. Neither another quality management manual nor biography, Alan Axelrod's work is an attempt to relate the skill of managing a sixteenth-century nation to a modern corporate world. It's a potpourri of rules on how to influence people interspersed with perennial wisdom to be applied in day-to-day life; a bit of history seasoned with leadership lessons and put in a pocket-size format.

At twenty-five, Queen Elizabeth took over the failing business that was England in 1558. A charismatic beauty, she presented herself in a way that put all doubts aside. During time spent in prison and under house arrest, she developed characteristics inherent to political and spiritual survival. She made an image of a Virgin Queen substitute for the diminishing image of Christ's mother; indeed, she made this image stand for the earthly embodiment of the Virgin wedded to England itself. Having chosen to stay out of marriage, she made the most of her status. Hers was an image that fulfilled the spiritual needs of her subjects.

Perhaps due to scarce information about the "hero" of the book, those rules and lessons that revive the Queen's personality demand the most attention. At the age of thirteen, Queen Elizabeth already knew how to discern between outward values and inner truth. At sixteen, she learned not to be panicked in a life-threatening situation, to keep her presence of mind even under extreme circumstances. She never forgot that she was in a people business. She appealed to

the imagination with theatrical effects and made a strong impression even in difficult situations, for she knew that people wanted to see strength and self-confidence. She stayed in good shape and was willing to demonstrate her health and vigor. Her boldness in decision making was well balanced by an ability to read human character.

Based on lessons taught by Elizabeth, Mr. Axelrod urges leaders to put the issues of "universal humanity" ahead of the letter of the law, to be sympathetic to the feelings of others, to make personal contact with people whenever possible, and to complete identification of your well-being with the people's well-being. In this sense, leadership is selflessness. "Few acts of care, concern, and kindness are so small as to escape notice." The leader should be ready to explain or even justify his actions, as well as to express and explain his understanding, creating trust and sense of unity of goals. In short, the leader should be a good motivator, as Elizabeth was when she sent her troops to help the Protestants of the Netherlands in their struggle against Spain. Present a purpose, explain the reason, treat subordinates as intelligent workers, and you will get more creativity from them than you would expect.

Queen Bess practiced a tactic for avoiding hasty responses to buy more time to think through the matter. Also, she didn't thrust sudden changes on her subjects, but allowed enough time for them to gain confidence and comfort. She avoided quick fixes and impulsive decisions; this principle is well illustrated by her decision on Mary's (Queen of Scots) indictment in the murder of her husband. Elizabeth didn't worship absolutes and believed that applying a principle in changing circumstances required proper timing. Acting for the long-term, she didn't marry Philip II to ensure an alliance with Spain and temporal peace. Instead, she kept a long-term goal in mind: the foundation of a Protestant state.

In every situation she staved off vengeance and dealt with problems, not people. Queen Elizabeth discerned between constructive criticism and faultfinding. She learned early to make a request and not a demand, proposing positive actions and aiming for positive solutions. Through her forty-five-year rein, Elizabeth treated crises as new opportunities and transformed those conflicts which she could not avoid into cooperation.

Many credit Elizabeth's great achievements to her adherence to freedom of conscience. She made no attempt to control individual thinking, although she considered allowing each person to make his own judgement dangerous. Nevertheless, she valued unconventional decision-making.

A large part of defeat consists in accepting defeat. Elizabeth did not admit herself a prisoner when entering the Tower of London. *What little power is left to you,*

use it! Living from day to day, going with the flow in order to survive, she stayed alive, for "there is no such thing as a dead leader." A gifted leader, as Elizabeth was, can control her ego and turn seeming defeat to victory.

Mr. Axelrod states "today's effective leader must learn to make a bargain with the Machiavellian devils, yet without selling out the core of morality." Nevertheless, some rules deviate from the managerial-manipulative schematic and may be well used in a spiritual textbook. Do not identify yourself with what you do or with the leader's title: "Without my position I am still me, Elizabeth … " Presenting Elizabeth's biography in case-studies form, Mr. Axelrod uses facts of her life as demonstration tools. However, some statements seem poorly grounded, assigning to her attributes that perhaps were not always there; actual facts are retold in an overly concise and sketchy manner. Mr. Axelrod uses Elizabeth's words, "In being, not in seeming, we may wish the best," from her speech before Parliament in 1572 as a proof of her pragmatism, although a less success-bent reader may see it as her belief in that we must be who we are rather than who we wish to be. Mr. Axelrod doesn't linger on each assertion, thereby making them less convincing. On the other hand, he employs the same illustrations for different rules. Perhaps one can use merely any story for the illustration of someone's belief?

As Mr. Axelrod underlined in one of the conclusive chapters, Elizabeth always remembered that virtue is a matter of choice. Her morality was based not on a stuffy religion, but on the notion that good ends do not justify evil means and on her full acceptance of responsibility. This is an invaluable rule for identifying core principles to act upon in everyday life, not only in the realm of management.

THE WIND-UP BIRD CHRONICLE

by Haruki Murakami

The Harvill Press, 1998
ISBN: 1-86046-581-1

Review by Maya Mirsky

When we speak of the "surreal" we tend to mean a watered-down version, not the directly unconstructed version of the French Surrealists. Perhaps "influenced by surrealism" is a more precise expression; however, this derivative of original surrealism and its widespread influence on literature can also be called modern surrealism and left at that. Modern surrealism classifies books (or any other works) that while rooted in the rational, extend branches into the world of the surreal. "Surreal" as a term is often misapplied as meaning something unusual, or non-rational, but there is also a sizable amount of literature that can truly be described as modern surreal, that owes a debt to the original un-realists. *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle*[1] is this kind of book. It is an excellent book, clean and clever and full of interest. It is a sturdily crafted story that contains a labyrinth of realities Haruki Murakami creates by combining the modern surreal with a matter-of-fact style and approach.

In the beginning of the book our protagonist, Toru Okadu, receives a phone call. This phone call is an initiation for the reader—and Toru—into the way things are going to happen in the chronicle. The caller is woman with an unknown voice who seems to know Toru. She calls again and again, in fact, and behaves intriguingly and sexually on the phone with politely uncomprehending Toru. Toru is at home to answer all these calls because he has quit his not particularly interesting job for no especial reason. Although he is thinking of looking for work, he is increasingly content to stay at home and cook and clean while his wife Kumiko spends long hours

[1] First published as *Nejimaki-dori kuronikuru* by Shinchosa Ltd.

at work. Toru's calm life is not left untroubled, however, as the chronicle unfolds. For one thing, his cat—Noboru Wataya—has disappeared. Noboru Wataya is also the name of Kumiko's brother, and it is Kumiko who tells Toru to talk to the strange, precise woman in the red vinyl hat about how to find the cat. Soon it is more than the cat that Toru is looking for. The story of the *Wind-up Bird Chronicle* progresses through the appearance, disappearance and reappearance of numerous characters. The plot advances using Toru's dreams, the lengthy war tale of a lieutenant, and the absence of Toru and Kumiko's cat. The players in this chronicle are not simply a "gallery of eccentrics," however, and the plot—however surreal in incident—defines a real story.

The first sentence of *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle* encapsulates two important aspects of the book, one on the general level and one specific. "When the phone rang I was in the kitchen, boiling a potful of spaghetti and whistling along to an FM broadcast of the overture to Rossini's *The Thieving Magpie,* which has to be the perfect music for cooking pasta." This pleasant, compact sentence gives a picture of the cultural atmosphere of Toru (and the book), as well as showing Toru's temperament—his laid-back nature is a major element of the novel. Mr. Murakami is known for saturating his works with references to non-Japanese culture, and *Wind-up Bird* is no exception. Not only are Toru's references often outside of Japan, he himself is outside of his culture in a way: he doesn't work, and doesn't particularly want to. This is strange, and Toru knows it. Yet it is impossible to say that this book is "un-Japanese." Rather, Murakami, an admitted pop culture junkie, shows us that subtle thing, how someone can see his own culture even more clearly when his views are tempered with "otherness"—when he has an outside perspective. Mr. Murakami wrote *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle* while living in the US. In a *Salon* interview, Mr. Murakami framed the way he combined his viewpoints. "When I was writing my other books, in Japan, I just wanted to escape. Once I got out of my country, I was wondering: What am I? What am I as a writer? I'm writing books in Japanese, so that means I'm a Japanese writer, so what is my identity?"

Although this inside-outside view (in terms of culture) permeates the book, it is not the driving force. What takes us through the chronicle is the chain of successive events that happen to Toru. These events are far from ordinary—or, more specifically, more than ordinary. This is a book where (just as an example) no less than three characters spend more than a little time at the bottoms of wells. Toru is a thoughtful, often passive hero who takes things as they come, rather than charging from event to event. There are many active characters as well; there even seems to be some rule that the more active a character, the more impenetrable his or her motives. They come and go, speak and fall silent, while the plot envelops Toru.

The shape of the book is so clean even in its intricacy that it gives the impression of effortless simplicity—but the fact that the book doesn't fall apart should be regarded as a great feat of writing by Mr. Murakami. The possibility of flimsiness is there, its potential can be felt, but Mr. Murakami holds it at bay. Things like the red vinyl hat of Malta Kano are never used as mere embellishments, little flourishes of weirdness. This self-discipline is one of the reasons the book hangs together as well as it does. *Wind-up Bird* was translated from the Japanese by Jay Rubin, and to him must also go some of the credit for the comfortable language. The work, at 607 pages, reads like a short book; the touch is light throughout.

The title of *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle* in the beginning half of the book seems more decorative than explanatory, a device to link different elements. But by the end of the book the title is perfect, the spine of the work. (This is really quite impossible to imagine without having read the novel.) This is the kind of writer Mr. Murakami is: a writer with a sense for the simple and the surreal, and one with a gift for putting these two things together.

IN THE HEART OF THE SEA:

THE TRAGEDY OF THE WHALESHIP *ESSEX*

by Nathaniel Philbrick

Viking, 2000
ISBN: 0-670-89157-6

Review by Elizabeth Routen

The obsessive pathos in *Moby Dick* has cast a stern, lurid shadow over the field of American literature since its publication in 1851. American authors, whether fans or critics of Melville's classic, are inevitably engaged in a losing game of Top This. Noble attempts, of course, have been made. But does another work match the novel's intensity, strength, class? Though this is not the time for yet another interpretation of the heady classic, it is enough to say that *Moby Dick*, like the stone tossed in the pond, altered both the past and the future. It shapes our expectations of modern literature and our ideas about history. We judge Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years before the Mast* against the work as surely as Nathaniel Philbrick's *In the Heart of the Sea* is shadowed, though not overshadowed, by Melville's formidable rod.

Mention of the ocean conjures images of uncompromising bravery, modern technological disasters, and *Bounty*-esque matches of wisdom against the blackness. For the American reader the sea is an engaging icon. It is perhaps the most emblematic and inclusive symbol of our history; the sea, long before the West and Alaska, promised something better. Today, the threat of the ocean still quickens communities on the New England and mid-Atlantic coasts. Collective memory is a singular thing, and does not forget the lives lost in an unenviable match between the dollar and the unforgiving deep.

Mr. Philbrick is eager to tap that memory for his exploration of the *Essex* disaster that precipitated Melville's transformation of the ship-killing whale into the formidable, folkloric Moby Dick. More than backstory or literary panegyric, Mr. Philbrick's work runs like a stream below Melville's imaginings. For the men of the

Essex, set forth into the Pacific on an ill-fated 1819 voyage, were consigned to attack by not one but two whales.

Mr. Philbrick gives us the rich culture of Nantucket, the staid Quaker beliefs that, as the author exhumes, were not so quaint nor so pure. He gives us the ambitious young Captain Pollard, whose bad luck is exasperated by a lack of experience and imagination. He gives us a first mate whose quick temper and leadership style is better suited for command than a strange sort of commissioned sergeantcy. He gives us a racial dynamic. The African-Americans who served aboard *Essex* were twice cursed—first by their lack of membership in the Ol' Boys club that pitted Nantucketers against everyone else, and second by their physical state, the lack of body fat due in part to genetics and in part to poor diet aboard ship and on land, which committed each of them to swifter deaths than their Caucasian mates.

But first to the matter of this whale. As Mr. Philbrick tells us, the *Essex* was, like every other whaleship, on a mission to fill its casks with precious whale oil and spermaceti. This cruise, however, had met with bad fortune since departing Nantucket. An early storm stole a boat and equipment; a whale surfaced under another vessel during a hunt off the Falkland Islands, leaving them pitifully short of the necessary tools of their trade. A man deserted in Chile. Captain Pollard and First Mate Chase became entangled in a battle of wills that cost them respect in each other's eyes and in the eyes of the crew. Finally, the exasperated captain, desperate for success with his first command, turned the *Essex* to the Offshore Ground, a rich whaling area off the South American coast.

At this point it is difficult to see where better fortune or a more competent captain would have saved the *Essex* from disaster. For those who had the time and inclination, the Offshore Ground was almost a sure thing. A ship returning to Nantucket in 1820 carried with it 2000 casks of oil, a treasure trove in a time when whaleships were beginning to realize the cost of their venture. More ships alone, barring over-hunting and natural changes in population, meant less oil to go around—and longer voyages for the homesick crew. The decision to make for the Offshore Ground was almost inevitable.

On November 20 the men of the *Essex* were eager to take another body from that still water; every kill brought them ever closer to the promise of a warm, dry bed. First Mate Chase remained aboard ship while other crews went out in the boats.

"It was a whale—a huge sperm whale," Mr. Philbrick tells us, "about eighty-five feet long … It was acting strangely. Instead of fleeing in panic, it was floating quietly on the surface of the water, puffing occasionally through its blowhole, as if it

were watching them. After spouting two or three times, the whale dove, then surfaced less than thirty-five yards from the ship." Chase shouted to cabin boy Thomas Nickerson to "Pull the helm hard up!" but "the whale rammed this ship just forward of the forechains." The enormous whale, stunned by the blow, floated beside the ship for a few minutes. Chase quickly decided not to stab the bull, for laid close to the ship. Damage to the rudder would be perilously difficult to repair.

But the whale wasn't finished with the *Essex.* Incited by pain, the animal attacked the ship once more with a violent frenzy that shocked the men. "The force of the collision caused the whalemen's heads to jounce on their muscled necks as the ship lurched to a halt on the slablike forehead of the whale." A call was issued from below: "The ship is filling with water." The whale was never seen again.

Thus began an odyssey of tremendous proportions. Twenty men were set to sea in three small boats with what hardtack and water they salvaged from the drowning wreck. Soon, one of the boats was attacked, though not severely, by a killer whale. It must have seemed a poor joke in the nightmare of starvation, delirium, and bad management in which the *Essex*' crew found itself engaged. Captain Pollard made mistake after mistake in his quest to keep his men safe. Fearing cannibalism in the Marquesas Islands, Pollard set his men for the South American coast. Nickerson, writing in his old age, asked of the captain's error, "How many warm hearts have ceased to beat because of it?" Time after time they were turned farther from their course by prevailing winds until, consumed by hunger and fear, human flesh became more palatable.

Ninety-four days after the *Essex* was stove, Pollard and the remaining man in his boat were found by a whaleship nibbling the marrow out of their fellows' bones. In a roundabout sort of way, they had accomplished a feat of nearly perfect navigation. In the end, eight survivors of the *Essex* returned to Nantucket. Yet they were not the men who had left their families with promises of riches, or at least a lay sufficient to keep them home for a few months. The lives they led after that time were reflective of the physical and mental exhaustion that had broken their bodies and nearly broken their spirits. Owen Chase, for one, suffered excruciating headaches supposedly stemming from ongoing anguish related to the *Essex.* In his last years, he took to hoarding food in the attic of his house.

In the Heart of the Sea is a noble story that earns a deserving slot beside the *Bounty* trilogy in the annals of sea literature. And Mr. Philbrick is in good company: Ralph Waldo Emerson and Edgar Allan Poe were also moved to write of the disaster. But it was Melville who committed the ghoulish tale to the pantheon of American folklore. Like Captain Pollard and other *Essex* survivors, he died thinking himself a failure at the profession he most esteemed. Their plaited histories seem

an unfortunate case of poetic justice.

In the Heart of the Sea stands alone; a thorough reading of *Moby Dick* is not necessary to understand the implications of the tale, nor is a reading of Mr. Philbrick's work necessary for an appreciation of the novel. The author handily interprets whaling nomenclature while splicing the book with modern knowledge on the physiology and behavior of the whale and a retrospective look at the importance and transformation of the industry. Yet if the book is to be faulted for any shortcoming, it is that its pages are not crammed full of enough encyclopedic facts to give texture and believability to a way of life removed from today's reality.

But human nature does not change so quickly or easily as lifestyles and conventions, and it is in the field of psychology that *In the Heart of the Sea* truly shines. One may read it as a scholarly look at the truth and fiction behind *Moby Dick* or as an adventure tale of epic proportions. No one will escape, however, the starkness of the human heart laid bare, as exhibited by the actions of the *Essex*' crew. When the contrivances of personality and habit are removed what remains is an animalistic will to survive. That nakedness, like *In the Heart of the Sea,* is both chilling and inspiring.

LIGHT ACTION IN THE CARIBBEAN

by Barry Lopez

Knopf, 2000
ISBN: 0-679-43455-0

Review by Paul Holler

A few years ago, I had the opportunity to hear Barry Lopez read from his book, *Crow and Weasel,* that had just been published. The audience consisted mainly of schoolchildren, one of whom asked the author what his favorite animal was. Without missing a beat, Lopez answered, "People."

At the time I considered his answer a little too pat. But looking back now, and considering the work he has done since that time, I think his answer was at least sincere and at most revealing.

Barry Lopez is often considered one of America's premier nature writers. But where other authors of that genre focus on the natural world as their subject, Mr. Lopez more often chooses to examine the place of human beings within the natural world.

That is certainly true of his new collection of short fiction, *Light Action in the Caribbean.* In it, Mr. Lopez explores themes of landscape and how it shapes character and memory, the debilitating effect of violence, and the transcendent power of imagination. Whatever the theme or subject matter of each story, its importance resides in its relationship to the lives of individuals.

The idea of landscape and its relation to memory and individual attitudes is a common one in Mr. Lopez's work. It recurs in various ways in this collection. In "Remembering Orchards," a man recalls his stepfather and how he had a deep and instinctive understanding of the filbert orchards he tended. In his youth, the man has no esteem for his stepfather's wisdom. But as he grows older, he comes regret the differences between them that were never resolved. He learns to admire his stepfather not only because he worked with the land but also because he acquired

wisdom from that work.

This idea appears in a slightly different way in "The Mappist." In this story, a man encounters a book about Bogata, Colombia that is so perfectly written it captures the soul of that city. The narrator seeks out the author and finds that he, like the stepfather in "Remembering Orchards," understands the physical world in a very profound way.

One of the most revealing illustrations of Mr. Lopez's view of man's place in the world appears in "The Bend in the Souris River." One day, while on horseback exploring his family's ranch, the narrator encounters a Native American man, also on horseback. In describing this encounter, the narrator refers to "the four of us," meaning himself, the other man and the horses on which they were mounted. Once again, we are presented with the view that people are not at the center of the landscape. They are merely a part of it.

Two of the stories in this collection deal with violence, both as a consequence and as a force in people's lives. In "The Deaf Girl," a young woman who has already lost her hearing in an accidental shooting encounters a young man who has a strange fascination with her wound. Ultimately, this fascination leads him to shoot her a second time. In "Light Action in the Caribbean," a young couple's vacation to the Caribbean ends horribly with the rape and murder of both husband and wife.

Mr. Lopez's prose style serves these stories well. His descriptions of violence are very matter-of-fact, almost reportorial. By avoiding heavily graphic language, he allows the true horror of these events to present themselves to the reader.

Alongside stories about the depths of human nature are two stories that revel in the heights. In "Emory Bear Hand's Birds," a prison inmate recalls a day when a flock of birds gathered in the prison yard and eventually flew away as one. In the end, the prisoners are afforded a kind of vicarious, and perhaps even real, escape.

"The Construction of the *Rachel*" continues the theme of imagination, transcendence and escape. In this story, a man recovering from a painful divorce joins a monastery to find order in his life. He begins to build a model of a nineteenth century sailing vessel called the *Rachel*. Little by little, his model comes closer to being a perfect replica of the ship. In the end, it becomes so perfect that it ceases to be a mere model.

Barry Lopez once said that it is possible for a writer to create a character that knows far more than he or she does. Many of the characters and situations in these stories are far removed from any experience the author could have had but their voices ring true nevertheless. As a result, we are left with stories that can speak to us again and again, always changing as we change, and always growing deeper and more meaningful with each reading.

LITERATURE LOVER'S COMPANION

by The Editors of Prentice Hall Press

Prentice Hall Press, 2001
ISBN: 0-0-7352-0229-X

Review by Clarissa Aykroyd

In the Biblical book of Ecclesiastes, King Solomon made the comment: "Of making many books there is no end." Those words have never been as true as they are in the age of e-books, mega-bookstores, and countless writing genres of which Solomon would never even have dreamed. With such a massive number of books to choose from, readers can only welcome guides that give them some idea where to start.

Prentice Hall's *Literature Lover's Companion* is yet another guide that claims to be absolutely indispensable to the serious reader. It includes entries on authors from about 1000 BC to the present. The book is eclectic but not wilfully obscure, including writers of a truly "literary" nature as well as those who belong more to the realm of pop culture. Its author biographies are clear and concise. However, the guide has failings as well as advantages.

An excellent feature of the *Companion* is the short description of the author that appears by each name, telling the reader where the author comes from and what genres they write in. For example, A.S. Byatt is listed as "English novelist, biographer, and critic," while Dean Koontz is an "American horror writer." Dates of birth and death are also included. The short biographies contain some interesting anecdotes and insights. Readers may not have known that the science fiction writer Harlan Ellison sometimes likes to write short stories while seated in a shop window. The biography of the 19th century horror writer Ambrose Bierce offers the bizarre fact that his father gave all 13 children in the family names beginning with 'A.'

Unfortunately, the brevity of the entries sometimes results in errors and

omissions. For instance, Chrétien de Troyes is said to be "the first to write down the legendary stories of King Arthur and his knights of the Round Table." In fact, Chrétien was preceded by other Arthurian writers, including the well-known Geoffrey of Monmouth. The lists of published works are useful, but incomplete, a fact which not everyone might notice. They tend to give too much emphasis to the authors' best-known works, forgetting lesser-known books which are just as good or better. The list for Astrid Lindgren, the Swedish writer of books for children, includes her famous Pippi Longstocking books but overlooks her hard-to-find masterpiece *The Brothers Lionheart*. The entry for Arthur Conan Doyle includes only his Sherlock Holmes stories, and none of his other fiction or non-fiction.

The *Literature Lover's Companion* is a good basic guide to world literature. It might lead the reader to other authors that he or she would not otherwise have found and it is generally clear and well-written. Like many reference works of this sort, however, it is best consulted alongside other, similar guides, so as to get a more complete picture.

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