JUNE 1833

TO RUTH HASKINS EMERSON AND CHARLES CHAUNCY EMERSON

MILAN, JUNE 10, 1833

[Charles Emerson to William, Sept. 6 (1833; owned by Dr. Haven Emerson): “I mean to enclose in this envelope a letter or two of Waldo’s—Have you recd. the Paris & Milan twain?” Emerson was in Milan June 8-11 (Journals, III, 142-147).]

TO CHARLES CHAUNCY EMERSON, PARIS, JUNE 25 AND 26, 1833


Dear Charles

I have been here 5 or 6 days & am very little enamoured of the gay city x x x x x x x x x x x. In my opinion it is very vulgar to make such a fuss in praising it as men do. It is because it abounds in all conveniences for leading an easy, fat, amused life. You may have always fragrant coffee, polished shoes, the newspaper, a coach a theatre, superb shops, the daintiest pastry cooks, & even without walking out of your way; & then over all there is what young persons admire, far too large a population for anybody to concern himself with what you please to do. x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x. Yet young men must live, & the present generation as well as Trajan & his contemporaries & far be from it to repine at the symptoms of prosperity & comfort. x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

P. S. 264. My habits of perpetual docility are perfectly suitable to my faith, that I am in the world to be taught, but with anybody else’s they would be pitiful or ridiculous enough. Do the men of this world crow? Nothing is a match for pride but humility & thus I outgrow them. How I shall dogmatise when I get home! How I shall dogmatise — for do you know that my European experience has only confirmed & clinched the old laws wherewith I was wont to begin & end my parables.

x x I spent a few days in Geneva & x x, & saw Gibbon’s house & Calvin’s & fell in with worthy orthodox people who gave me arguments & good advice both in French & English.

x Paris, all modern, cannot compare with Rome or with Florence, whose glory is departed or departing. Viewed after those famous towns

83. MS owned by RWEMA; ph. in CUL. This is an incomplete copy, partly in Cabot’s hand, but mostly in another hand, which was presumably responsible for an unorthodox spelling in the second paragraph.
84. According to Journals, III, 155. Emerson had arrived in Paris on June 20. The two letters immediately following have much more to say about his visit there.
Theatre & I admire the liberality with which every door is opened to me; but in the arts Paris is poor compared with any Italian city. I suppose I am walking only on the crust. There are numberless institutions here which I ought to acquaint myself with, & many great men. I shall stay here, perhaps, three weeks more & will try to keep my eyes & ears open. I am at 'pension' in a family where unfortunately there are several Americans, & so the language thrives less.

5 July, I learn Aunt Mary's habits of letter writing & contempt of posts & dates. you see. I dined yesterday with 98 Americans at Lointier's.49 There was the grand Lafayette, but not much else. Unluckily there was nobody here who could make speeches & toasts & therefore nothing was said worth remembering, except his own speech which like all of his was idiomatic simple & happy. He had been for 50 years, he said, endeavouring to import liberty into Europe, & his son made a speech, & the grand son also being toasted — gave "Independence of character." "If my grand father had been a courtisan, he would not have been a citizen of the United States."

I was surprised to find many acquaintances there John Gray, William Pratt, & others. Most of the Bostonians here, & there are many, I had already met. But you may live in Paris long & never meet your countryman, which is impossible in any city of Italy. I wish I had not taken my place here for a month. I am quite satiated & ready to part for London tomorrow & certainly without being insolent to the advantages of living here. It would be desirable to many. It is not to me. For libraries & lectures — my own library has hitherto always been too large & a lecture at the Sorbonne is far less useful to me than a lecture I write myself; then for literary society & all that, — true it would be inestimable if I could get at it,10 but no man can dive into literary society even in Paris & I cannot wait the long initiation — no nor the doubtful result. Probably in years, it would really avail me nothing. My own study is the best place for me, & there was always more fine society in my own little town than I could command. So, si le roi m'avoir donné Paris sa grande ville,93 Je dirois au roi Louis, je préfère ma ménage.111 I spend much

90. Cf. John T. Morse, Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes (n. d. c. 1891), I, 109, cited by the editors of Journals. Morse, I, 109-104, prints Holmes's letter of June 9th, 1833, the writing of which was interrupted by a call from Emerson.
91. These lines are adapted from the old song which Alceste repeats and praises in Molière's Le Misanthrope (Act I; scene II). Emerson copied the whole of it on the cover of a notebook of 1844 (typescript Journals), but the date of this irregular entry is uncertain.

92. John A. and William Galignani of Paris had long been well known for their activity as publishers. The spelling "Bennis's" is somewhat doubtful, and I have not found that name in Paris guides of this period.
93. MS owned by Professor James B. Thayer; ph. in CUL.
94. The "Three Glorious Days" — "les Trois Glorieuses" — of July, 1830, had brought Louis Philippe into power.
The charm of Paris to so many people seems to consist in the boundless domestic liberty which releases each man from the fear of the eyes & ears of all his neighbors, opens a public parlour for him to take his coffee & read his newspaper, in every street; go where his business may lead him he can always find an ice, a bath, a dinner, & good company, at the next corner; and next in the ample provision for what the newspapers call ‘nos besoins recreatifs.’ From 15 to 20 theatres open their doors to him at a small price every evening—the best of them splendid beyond a Yankee’s belief. I saw at Malta a masked ball given by the English Governor in the ancient Palace of the Grand Masters. Yet it did not compare for good taste & imposing effect with a masked ball introduced by way of ballet into the Opera of Gustave on the stage of the French Opera. Yet the Englishman had half a dozen grand saloons each of which seemed half as big as Fanueil hall. Ah they understand here the powers of the looking glass; and all Paris is a perpetual puzzle to the eye to know what is object & what is reflection. By this expedient reading rooms & cafes have all a bewildering extent & the wealth of the shops is multiplied. Even on the dessert service at the dinner table they set mirrors into the fruit-stands to multiply whips cherries & sugar plums, so that when I took one, I found two were gone. Then the poorest Frenchman may walk in the king’s garden every day; he may go read if he chuse, in the king’s library—wide open—the largest in the world, or in the Mazarine library, or in several more. He may go hear lectures on every branch of science literature at the Sorbonne, or the College of France, or the College of Law, or the Garden of Plants. If he love botany he may go to this last place & find not-quite-all plants growing up together in their scientifick classes; then by a public placard, Jussieu gives notice that next Sunday he goes out on a botanical excursion & invites all & sundry to go with him naming the village of the rendezvous. But if the Frenchman prefer natural history of animals he has only to turn down a green lane of this garden of Eden, & he shall find all manner of lions bison elephants & hyenas the giraffe 17 feet high and all other things that are in the dictionary but he did not know were in the world—large & small ostriches white peacocks golden pheasants & the like—not to mention the museums & cabinets which in this garden & elsewhere on certain days of every week are thrown open. So [is] the

96. Probably Gustave III, ou le bel masqué, Auber’s opera, which had been first performed on Feb. 17 of this year. [Grove’s Dictionary of Music, 9d ed.]

97. This word, carried away with the seal from the left side of the page, now stands in the right-hand margin.

Louvre, so is the Luxembourg. What strikes a stranger most of all is the splendour of the shops—such endless profusion of costly goods of every sort that it is a constant wonder where they find purchasers. This is accounted for by the idolatrous love which Frenchmen all over the earth have for Paris. The merchant in Montreal & the planter in Louisiana are toiling patiently, they say, in the expectation of coming to Paris to spend their gains. Mr Horace Gray told me of an acquaintance of his in Florence who as often as he earns a hundred louis goes to Paris to spend them. He is a French teacher & now 75 years old. “He did not think that this year he should be quite able to make the sum complete, but next winter he should.” Yesterday I went to the Institute & saw Biot, Arago, Gay Lussac, Jussieu, Thenard—

But whilst I see the advantages of Paris they are not very great to me. Now that I have been here fifteen days I find I spend most of my time in the reading room & that I can do at home. So I promise myself soon the pleasure of seeing you & earnestly hope to find you both in the best health. I send my love to all my little grandchildren & flatter myself that I shall have an iliad of stories for them that will rival Peter Parley. At least I have had the honor of travelling with this last gentleman.98—I saw Lewis Stackpole at Rome. Very respectfully & affectionately yours, Waldo E.

To ————, London, July 30, 1833

[In the letter of July 31, 1833, to William, Emerson said he had just written up all he had for Boston and added: “You shall open the letters on their way if you wish . . . .” This would indicate at least two letters about this time.]

To Charles Chauncy Emerson? London, July, c. 31, 1833

[See the note on July 30, 1835. One of the letters for Boston was most probably to Charles Emerson or, if not to him, to his mother.]

98. There is a mark over the last letter which may have been meant for an acute accent.

99. Apparently the allusion is not to Goodrich but to Samuel Kettell or, possibly, S. F. Hollbrook. Cf. a note on Dec. 14, 1832.
To Lidian Emerson, Paris, May 17, 1848

1Paris May 1848

Dear Lidian, I came to Paris by Boulogne Saturday night May 6th & Sunday morning & after spending a couple of days at the Hotel de Montmorency, 11 I have been at lodgings ever since in the Rue des Petits Augustins, where I manage to live very comfortably. On Monday, (day before yesterday) as you will read in the papers, there was a revolution defeated, which came within an ace of succeeding. 266 We were all assured, for an hour or two, that the new government was proclaimed, and the old routed, & Paris in terror seemed to acquiesce; but the National

261. MS owned by RWEMA; ph. in CUL. Excerpts I-VII are in Cabot, II, 541–544. 262. The Montmorency was on the boulevard des Italiens, 20 bis (Annuaire général, 1849, p. 284). A letter from Anne Knight dated May 18, 1848, is addressed to Emerson at rue des Petits Augustins, 15, and the same address appears in Journals, VII, 450.

263. Emerson’s account of the events of May 15 seems to tally pretty closely with the main outlines of the dramatic and detailed record in Le Monteur universel of May 16. Toward one o’clock on the 15th, says this official paper, a crowd, which soon grew to several thousands, invaded the National Assembly on pretext of presenting a petition in favor of Poland. A frightful tumult ensued when the “clubistes” suddenly revealed their power. “Confusion générale,” say the official proceedings at this point, with Citizen Barbés crying out, “Je demande que l’on laisse pénétrer ici des délégués des clubs pour remettre leur petition.” Then came, says the same record parenthetically, “(Interruption qui dure plus de deux heures).” The National Guard meantime rallied to the support of the Assembly. The conspirators, ejected thence, retreated to the Hôtel de Ville, where they proclaimed a new government but were able to hold their ground for only a short time. Towards five o’clock the whole affair was over, and the Assembly was again functioning. Courtois was accused as a traitor and was arrested, together with Barbés, that day. This Armand Barbés, who had not long since been released from prison, was soon sent back, this time to remain for some years.

Emerson tells of his visits to the clubs of both Barbés and Louis Auguste Blanqui in Journals, VII, 454 ff. and 459. And W. E. Forster, then in Paris, made some interesting notes on Emerson’s movements at this time (T. Wemyss Reid, Life of the Right Honourable William Edward Forster, 2d ed., 1888, i, 297–299 passim). Forster had preceded Emerson to Paris, coming over on Apr. 30 with Miss Jewbury and the Paullets. On May 8 Emerson, he says, turned up at breakfast. On the 9th, Emerson went with Forster and Mrs. Paullet in search of the Barbés club, but found it put off till next day and so went instead to the first sitting of a free trade club. On May 10 they saw, from a side box, the Barbés club in such stormy action that even Emerson’s equanimity was disturbed. On the 11th, Emerson, still in the same hotel where he had joined Forster and his friends, brought to breakfast with them Doherty, the Irish radical who had found England too hot. On the 14th (Sunday) Emerson went with Forster to Blanqui’s club — its last sitting with that leader. On the 15th, “all seemed over, and Emerson joined us from a lecture of Michelet’s, quite innocent of the émeute.”

264. Badly blotted and possibly meant to be canceled.

265. Cf. May 4 and 5, 1848. For Emerson’s attendance at the Assembly on May 23, see the letter of May 24 and 25, 1848.

266. Le Monteur universel of May 9 and May 13 had announced performances of Théâtre for those dates at the Théâtre de la République, but not the names of the actors.

Guards,* who are all but the entire male population of Paris, at last found somebody to rally & lead them, & they swept away the conspirators in a moment. Blanqui & Barbés, the two principal ringleaders, I knew well, as I had attended Blanquis Club on the evenings of Saturday & Sunday, & heard his instructions to his Montagnards, & Barbés Club I had visited last week; And I am heartily glad of the Shopkeepers’ victory. I saw the sudden & immense display of arms when the ravel was beaten on Monday afternoon, the streets full of bayonets, and the furious driving of the horses dragging cannon towards the National Assembly; the rapid succession of proclamations proceeding from the Government, & pasted on the walls at the corners of all streets, eagerly read by crowds of people; — and, not waiting for this, the rapid passage of messengers with proclamations in their hands which they read to knots of people, & then ran on to another knot & so on, down a street; — the moon shone as the sun went down; the river rolled under the crowded 264 bridges along the swarming quays; the tricolor waved on the great mass of the Thilleries which seemed too noble a palace to doubt of the owner; but, before night, all was safe; and our new government, who had held the seals for a quarter of an hour, were fast in jail. I brought a letter to Mr Rush, from Mr Bancroft, & he has promised me the loan of his ticket to the National Assembly 266 next Wednesday. I have seen Rachel In Phedre 266 & heard her chant the Marseillaise. She deserves all her fame, and is the only good actress I have ever seen. I went to the Sorbonne, & heard a lecture from Leverrier on Mathematics. It consisted chiefly of algebraic formulas which he worked out on the blackboard, but I saw the man. I heard Michelet on Indian Philosophy. But though I have been to so many places I find the clubs the most interesting — the men are in terrible earnest. The fire & fury of the people, when they are interrupted or thwarted, are inconceivable to New England. The costumes are formidable. All France is bearded like goats & lions, then most of Paris is in some kind of uniform red sash, red cap, blouse perhaps bound by red sash, brass helmet, & sword, and every body supposed to have a pistol in his pocket. But the deep sincerity of the speakers who are agitating

* Their General had proved a traitor, this day, Courtois.
social not political questions, and who are studying how to secure a fair share of bread to every man, and to get the God’s justice done through the land, is very good to hear. — Tom Appleton I see here again, as I saw him in London & he is to carry me to some good people: Sidney Bartlett, too, who is just gone back to London; & with Dr Bigelow I have exchanged calls. Clough, my Oxford friend, is here & we usually dine together; as I kept the company of the Paullets (my Liverpool friends) as long as they were here, at that sacred hour. I have just sent my Programme of lectures to London, but am not to begin until 6 June; thence count 5 long weeks for the course to fill, and I do not set out for Boston until almost 1 July — By that time, you must make up your minds to let me come home. And I am losing all these weeks & months of my children, which I daily regret. I shall bring home, with a good many experiences that are well enough, a contentedness with home, I think, for the rest of my days. Indeed, I did not come here to get that, for I had no great goodwill to come away, but it is confirmed, after seeing so many of the “contemporaries.” I do not know whether I told you that I saw Tennyson in London twice, and was content with him. He has a great deal of plain strength about him, and, though cultivated, is quite unaffected. Take away Hawthorn’s bashfulness, & let him talk easily & fast & you would have a pretty good Tennyson. There is an air of general sanity & power in him that inspires confidence. He was very good humoured, and, though he affected to think that I should never come back alive from France, which he, in common with all his countrymen, distrusts & defies, yet he promised to be in the same lodgings, for his own part, after my three weeks should be spent, & I should come to see him. So now, dear Lidian, from whom I have no letter now for three weeks, you will please to be very peaceful & happy in mind, body, & estate, & to guard well those three dear children to whom Papa sends hearty love; they cannot comprehend how impossible it is for me to write, nor you, & yet is no question for me. Then send my love to Mother, & to William & Susan, to Aunt Mary, with kindest respect; to Elizabeth, to Mrs Ripley, to Henry Thoreau, to Ellery Channing, but I shall not go another step, lest I should supersede the college catalogue.

268. See May 6, 1848.
269. Emerson failed to write the word completely. The misspelling of Hawthorne’s name in the following sentence is an old error, into which Emerson relapsed from time to time.

And yet all these are very dear, and those are whom I do not name & do not forget. I shall probably return to London in a fortnight. Yours affectionately

Waldo.

I go tonight to see Rachel once more in Mithridate. I have seen Wilkinson a good deal in London, and he gave me a letter to Doherty here, whom Mr Alcott will remember, a man of talent, but not, I think, the great man Wilkinson thinks him. I think we are fallen on shallow agencies. Is there not one of your doctors who treats all disease as diseases of the skin? All these orators in blouse or broadcloth seem to me to treat the matter quite literally, & with the ends of the fingers. I am promised introduction to some French ladies, but hitherto my concierge & his wife are my only domestic acquaintance. But you do not want me in Concord; and I shall learn French fast, perhaps you will send me commands to stay or to return hither where I am so well? I grudge to go to London. I grieve to think that Abby Stevens will leave you, and yet if she has found a good husband, he has found a good wife. Health & Peace!

* vii. They are earnest & furious but about patent methods, and ingenious machines.

To Lidian Emerson, Paris, May 24 and 25, 1848

Paris, May 24, 1848

Dear Lidian, I have this night received your letter of 7 May, describing the several & general joy of you all in the most beautiful of spring days. And beside Ellen’s joys, she or Edie has sent me an honest violet which I heartily accept as a kind of “dry light.” This time you send me none but good news and Elizabeth Hoar sends pure wine too. I wish Ellery, & Henry Thoreau had written a benediction also. From what you say & from what they do not say, I infer, that I write very bad letters all the time. Tis very likely, for in every letter you say that you show them to all your friends, and at the same time entreat me if I have any confessions to make not to omit them by the next post. I find Paris a place

270. Le Moniteur universel of May 18 announced Mithridate for that night, but this play may also have been given on the 17th, when the paper was too full of politics to print any theatrical notices. Johandès, La Comédie-française, 1901, records two performances of Mithridate and eleven of Phèdre in 1848.
271. MS owned by RWEMA; ph. in CUL. Excerpts I-VI are in Cabot, II, 544-546.
of the largest liberty that is I suppose in the civilized world & I am thankful for it just as I am for Etherization as a resource when the accident of any hideous surgery threatens me; so Paris in the contingency of my ever needing a place of diversion & independence; this shall be my best bower anchor. All winter I have been admiring the English and disparaging the French. Now in these weeks I have been correcting my prejudice & the French rise many entire degrees Their universal good breeding is a great convenience, and the English & American superstition in regard to broadcloth seems really diminished if not abolished here. Knots of people converse everywhere in the street, and the blouse or shirt sleeves without blouse becomes as readily the centre of discourse as any other, & Superfine and Shirt,—who never saw each other before,—converse in the most earnest yet deferential way. Nothing like it could happen in England. They are the most joyous race and put the best face on everything. Paris, to be sure, is their main performance, but one can excuse their vanity & pride, it is so admirable a city. Nothing can be finer than the arrangements for splendor & gaiety of living. The Seine adorns Paris the Thames is out of sight in London the Seine is quayed all the way so that broad streets on both sides of the river as well as gay bridges have all the good of it, & the sun & moon & stars look into it & are reflected,—At London I can not remember seeing the river Here are magnificent gardens neither too large nor too small for the convenience of the whole people who spend every evening in them Here are palaces truly royal. If they have cost a great deal of treasure at some time, they have at least got a palace to show for it; and a church too in Notre Dame: whilst in England there is no palace, with all their floods of millions of guineas that have been spent. I witnessed the great national Fete on Sunday last 272 when 120000 people stood in the Champs de Mars and it was like an immense family the perfect good humour & fellowship is so habitual to them all. At night the illumination in the Champs Elysées was delicious they understand all the capabilities of the place & of the whole city as well as you do your parlour and make a carcanet of jewels of it all. The skill with festal chandeliers were hung all up & down a mile of avenue gave it all the appearance of an immense ballroom in which the countless crowds of men & women walked with ease & pleasure. It was easy to see that France is far nearer to Socialism than England & it would be a short step to convert Paris into a phalanstery. You will like to know that I heard Lamartine speak yesterday in the Chamber, his great speech, the journals say, on Poland. Mr Rush lent me his own ticket for the day. He did not speak however with much energy, but is a manly handsome grey haired gentleman with nothing of the rust of the man of letters, and delivers himself with great ease & superiority. Instead of water the huissier put wine beside him, and he also refreshed himself occasionally with snuff. The whole chamber listened to him gladly, for he has mystified people a good deal lately, & all were eager for any distinct expressions from him. The chamber appeared like an honest country representation. Clough is still here, & is my chief dependency at the dining hour & afterwards.

Love to all dear children & to dear sisters too who write best letters & get nothing but ingratitude. And to Mother & Aunt Mary & W. & S

Mr. Tom Appleton also I like better than any other. I go to London in a few days & am bound there three weeks from 6 June. Then I mean to come home. Farewell, dear wife.

Waldo.

25 May. I hoped last night that I might win a little time today for a letter to Elizabeth but I find it impossible, and Aunt Mary must forgive me in her great heart a little longer, though I fear she no longer expects anything from me,—and the dear children who sent tidings of the Day & violet, sweetbriar & sweet 274 must wait also,—more’s the pity; and you must send word to Mrs Goodwin, who has sent me the kindest report of yourself, that I have grieved to make no answer, and I must bear the impossibility of any one of you comprehending why a writer cannot write who has nothing else to do.—I have seen Rachel once more, since I wrote you before, and now in Mithridate. France is vexed because her slight form has never acquired any roundness or height, nor her voice any resonance, since she came to the stage. But you feel her genius at first sight, and trust her resources. The Marsellaise is the finest chant,—but should not be heard but once. —But

272. The "Fête de la Concorde, de la Paix et du Travail" of May 21 is recorded in great detail in Le Moniteur universel, May 23, 1848. The weather was magnificent and the vast crowds — "Tout Paris et de nombreux délégués des départements; plus de douze cent mille curieux" — were in the friendliest mood. At night, fireworks at different places.

273. The session of the National Assembly opened, on May 8th, at one o'clock. Midway in Lamartine's speech on Poland there was a recess of twenty-five minutes. The session resumed at four-thirty and came to an end at six. When Lamartine finished, there was unanimous applause, says the official record, and he was surrounded by a great number of the members. (Le Moniteur universel, May 24, 1848.)

274. Apparently Emerson intended to add the name of some flower but could not remember it.
you do not care for any of these things. Well, I am glad if the kind spring winds have given you new health & courage, & will make you forget the dismal winter. The children will cheer you with new games, new hymns. The garden will hide all memories under a million leaves & petals: and, I doubt not, I shall have my own share of news out of this poor Old World to add to the solace of your celandine & chocolate. But you must not be uneasy if, in the expectation of telling you all this gossip so quickly, I shall not write letters — perhaps not one in the next fortnight or three weeks, when I shall certainly be very little master of my time.  

Hedge I have not seen, he must have suddenly taken to the sea. Dr Parsons 276 I saw in the Louvre & Hillard in the street. Geo. Sumner has called on me, but I have not seen him. 277 I am to go to a soirée at De Tocqueville's tonight. 278 My French is far from being as good as Madame De Staël's. 279

TO MARGARET FULLER, PARIS, MAY 31, 1848 278

Paris 31 May 1848

Dear Margaret,

Let my sins be as scarlet 279 yet an angel will now & then give me some hint and though I think you will never to me more having found me an incurable case of ingratitude, yet now tonight Mrs Bartlett mentions in conversation that she goes tomorrow or the next day to Rome, & though I have not eyes or thoughts or moments, I must send you my name & affection. I have spoiled my visit here very much by bringing my portfolio of papers to prepare lectures for London, which I go back tomorrow to read, the first on 6th June. The six will take three weeks. Then I shall be ready to go home unless I have courage enough to come back here a little while & complete my visit. I have seen almost no private society, except De Tocqueville's family 280 & the Comtesse d'Agout 281 who particularly desires to see you on your

275. The word, presumably "of," is completely blotted out.

276. Probably Thomas William Parsons, the Boston dentist and poet.


278. MS owned by RWEMA; ph. in CUL.

279. Isaiah, 11:16.

280. Alexis de Tocqueville was already well known for his still famous work on America. For the visit, cf. Journals, VII, 491.

281. Marie de Flavigny, Comtesse d'Agout. (known to the literary world as "Daniel Stern ") recorded "le moraliste Emerson" among those whom she saw at this time (Mémoires, n.d. [c. 1827], pp. 217 and 223). She had already published what has been called the "first article in France entirely devoted to Emerson" (Maurice Chazin, in PMLA, XLVIII, 162, cited in a note on June 8, 1848).

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return. I have heard Lamartine speak on Poland I have heard the orators of the Clubs, seen Rachel three times on the stage But I am now just ready to begin my visit, & according to the lot of humanity, it is time to go. Dr Loring went with my letter without my seeing him to confide to him the messages I proposed in the letter to charge him with. The books of Wiley & Putnam 282 went to their agent in Leghorn many months ago in February I think but in the improprieties of my last day in London and I left London on the run in consequence of misinformation — the memorandum they had sent me & I had kept to bring to Paris & send by these very Bartlettts (for they were then coming sooner) — was mislaid & is left in huge litter of my books & MSS. at Chapman's 283 house in the Strand. I shall always regret it. I go to London tomorrow 284 & shall yet send it. But you will not wait but will come to London immediately & sail home with me! Mr (Tom) Appleton is here & will very likely be going at the same time. I like him very much. Write immediately on receiving this to me (care of J Chapman 142 Strand, London). They write me the most amiable letters from home Elizabeth's last letter I am half tempted to send you as a leaf from Concord woods Lidian & the children send me almost weekly all the chat of the nursery Henry Thoreau is there. I have mended my opinions of French & English very materially this year in the two capitals, & could heartily wish to add now your knowledge of the Southerners the dwellers of the land of st. But if my sister knows it all, is not that the same thing. O yes & much better too if only she herself will be well & strong. Which may all the good & pious powers grant! Farewell! if I have not another moment to write.

Waldo E.

TO LIDIAN EMERSON, LONDON, JUNE 8, 1848 284

1London 8 June 1848 281

Dear Lidian,

You are good past all praise for writing so faithfully to your ungrateful husband. Yesterday brought me your letter of the 21 May, and as ever the best news of the children, and as each anecdote


283. Actually, according to the MS Note Book, Emerson went from Paris to Boulogne on June 2, paid his bill at the Royal George at Folkestone on June 5, and went on to London by express. This date of arrival in London fits a statement in June 8, 1848.

284. MS owned by RWEMA; ph. in CUL. Excerpts I-VIII are in Cabot, II, 546-

547.
Mount Jura. As we rose toward the top what noble pictures appeared on the Swiss side. The Alps, the Alps, & Mont Blanc in all his breadth towering up so cold & white & dim towards heaven all uninhabitable & almost inaccessible. Yet more than Saussure have reached the top.

France. It is not only a change of name — the cities, the language, the faces, the manners have undergone a wonderful change in thirty or four days. The running fight we have kept up so long with the forté of postillions & (v)padroni in Italy is over & all men are complaisant. The face of the country is remarkable, not quite a plain but a vast undulating champaign without a hill, and all planted like the Connecticut intervale. No fences, the fields full of working women. We rode in the Coupée of a Diligence by night & by day, through for three days & a half & arrived in Paris at noon Thursday.

Paris, 20 June. My companions who have been in the belle ville before, & wished it to strike me as it ought, are scarce content with my qualified admiration. Certainly the eye is satisfied on entering the city with the unquestionable tokens of a vast, rich, old capital.

We crossed the Seine by the Pont Neuf & I was glad to see my old acquaintance Henry IV very respectfully mounted in bronze on his own bridge but the saucy faction of the day has thrust a tricolor flag into his bronze hand as into a doll's & in spite of decency the stout old monarch is thus obliged to take his part in the whirligig politics of his city. Fie! Louis Philippe.

We were presently lodged in the Hotel Montmorenci on the Boulevard Mont Martre. I have wandered round the city but I am not well pleased. I have seen so much in five months that the magnificence of Paris will not take my eye today. The gardens of the

1833

Louvre looked pinched & the wind blew dust in my eyes and (after a short time) before I got into the Champs Elysées I turned about & flatly refused to go farther. I was sorry to find that in leaving Italy I had left forever that air of antiquity & history which her towns possess & in coming hither had come to a loud modern New York of a place.

[82] I am very glad to find here my cousin Ralph Emerson who received me most cordially & has aided me much in making my temporary establishment. It were very ungrateful in a stranger to be discontented with Paris, for it is the most hospitable of cities. The foreigner has only to present his passport at any public institution & the doors are thrown wide to him. I have been to the Sorbonne where the first scientific men in France lecture at stated hours every day & the doors are open to all. I have heard Jouffroy, Thenard, Gay Lussac.

Then the College Royale de France is a similar institution on the same liberal foundation. So with the College du Droit & the Amphitheatre of the Garden of Plants.

I have been to the Louvre where are certainly some first-rate pictures. Leonardo da Vinci has more pictures here than in any other gallery & I like them well despite of the identity of the features which peel out of men & women. I have seen the same face in his pictures I think six or seven times. Murillo I see almost for the first time with great pleasure.

[84] July. It is a pleasant thing to walk along the Boulevards & see how men live in Paris. One man has live snakes crawling about him & sells soap & essences. Another sells books which lie upon the ground. Another under my window all day offers a gold chain. Half a dozen walk up & down with some dozen walking sticks under the
arm. A little further, one sells cane tassels at 5 sous. Here sits Boots brandishing his brush at every dirty shoe. Then you pass several tubs of gold fish. Then a man sitting at his table cleaning gold & silver spoons with emery & haranguing the passengers on its virtues. Then a person who cuts profiles with scissors “Shall be happy to take yours, Sir.” Then a table of card puppets which are made to crawl. Then a hand organ. Then a wooden figure called which can put an apple in its mouth whenever a [85] a child buys a plum. Then a flower merchant. Then a bird-shop with 20 parrots, 4 swans, hawks, & nightingales. Then the show of the boy with four legs &c &c & without end. All these are the mere boutiques on the sidewalk, moved about from place to place as the sun or rain or the crowd may lead them.

4 July. Dined today at Lointier’s with Gen Lafayette & nearly one hundred Americans. I sought an opportunity of paying my respects to the hero, & inquiring after his health. His speech was as happy as usual. A certain Lieut. Levi did what he could to mar the day.

13 July. I carried my ticket from Mr Warden to the Cabinet of Natural History in the Garden of Plants. How much finer things are in composition than alone. They are wise in man to make Cabinets. When I was [86] come into the Ornithological Chambers, I wished I had come only there. The fancy-coloured vests of these elegant

*Emerson left a space here to be filled in with the French word if it occurred to him.

**It is a pleasant . . . lead them,** is an expanded and revised version of an entry written originally in the notebook France and England. The latter notebook, though much of it covers the period immediately following that included in the journal Italy and France, has some notes on the French visit which were later revised and transferred. Though the two versions are similar, both are printed in order to show the slight but significant variations in style. See pp. 406-407 below.

*See John T. Morse, Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes, 2 vols. (Boston, c. 1886), I, 105, for the episode.

**The entry for this date is a revised and expanded version of a similar entry in the notebook France and England. See pp. 405-406 below. Much of the entry was later used in a lecture, “The Uses of Natural History.” (See especially Lectures, I, 7-10).**

David Bailie Warden (1778-1842), an Irishman who became an American citizen, was for forty years American consul in Paris, constantly promoting knowledge of America among the French and of France among American travellers.

Being make me as pensive as the hues & forms of a cabinet of shells, formerly. It is a beautiful collection & makes the visitor as calm & genial as a bridegroom. The limits of the possible are enlarged, & the real is stranger than the imaginary. Some of the birds have a fabulous beauty. One parrot of a fellow, called Psittacus erithacus, from New Holland, deserves as special mention as a picture of Raphael in a Gallery. He is the beau of all birds. Then the hummingbirds little & gay. Least of all is the Trochilus Niger. I have seen beetles larger. The *Trochilus polli* hath such a neck of gold & silver & fire! Trochilus Delalandi from Brazil is a glorious little tot — la mouché magnifique.

[87] Among the birds of Paradise I remarked the Manucode or P. regia from New Guinea, the Paradisaea Apoda, & P. rubra. Forget not the Veuve a epaulettes or Emberiza longicauda, black with fine shoulder knots; nor the Ampelis cottinga nor the Phasianus Argus a peacock looking pheasant; nor the Trogon pavo nius called also Couroncou pavonin.

I saw black swans & white peacocks, the ibis the sacred & the rosy; the flamingo, with a neck like a snake, the Toucan rightly called rhinoceros; & a vulture whom to meet in the wilderness would make your flesh quiver[,] so like an executioner he looked.

In the other rooms I saw amber (with) containing perfect musquites, grand blocks of quartz, native gold in all its forms of crystallization, threads, plates, crystals, dust; & silver [88] black as from fire. Ah said I this is philanthropy, wisdom, taste — to form a Cabinet of natural history. Many students were there with grammar & note book & a class of boys with their tutor from some school. Here we are impressed with the inexhaustible riches of nature. The Universe is a more amazing puzzle than ever as you glance along this bewildering series of animated forms — the hazy butterflies, the carved shells, the birds, beasts, fishes, insects, snakes, — & the up-heaving principle of life everywhere incipient in the very rock aping organized forms. Not a form so grotesque, so savage, nor so beautiful

Beneath the ink entry “this is philanthropy, wisdom, taste —” are the words in faint pencil: “Le moment où je parle est déjà loin de moi!”. See the *Œuvres complètes de Boileau*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1872), II, 163, Epître III, à M. Arnauld, Docteur de Sorbonne. The phrase Boileau ascribes to Persius, Satires, V, 153: “hoc quod loquer inde est” — “that of which I speak is already hence” (Ed.)
but is an expression of some property inherent in man the observer, — an occult relation between the very scorpions [89] and man. I feel the centipede in me — cayman, carp, eagle, & fox. I am moved by strange sympathies, I say continually "I will be a naturalist."

There's a good collection of skulls in the Comparative anatomy chambers. The best skull seemed to be English. The skeleton of the Balena looks like the frame of a schooner turned upside down.

The Garden itself is admirably arranged. They have attempted to classify all the plants in the ground, to put together, that is, as nearly as may be the conspicuous plants of each class on Jussieu's system.\(^{75}\)

Walk down the alleys of this flower garden & you come to the enclosures of the animals where almost all that Adam (No) named or Noah preserved are represented. Here are several lions, two great elephants walking out in open day, [90] a camelopard 17 feet high, the bison, the rhinoceros, & so forth [—] all manner of four footed things in air & sunshine, in the shades of a pleasant garden, where all people French & English may come & see without money. By the way, there is a caricature in the printshops representing the arrival of the giraffe in Paris, exclaiming to the mob "Messieurs, il n'y a qu'(n)un bete de plus." It is very pleasant to walk in this garden.

As I went out, I noticed a placard posted on the gates giving notice that M. Jussieu would next Sunday give a public herbarisation, that is, make a(n) botanical excursion into the country & inviting all & sundry to accompany him.

[91] 15 July.\(^{76}\) I have just returned from Pere le Chaise. It well deserves a visit & does honour to the French. But they are a vain nation. The tombstones have a beseeching importunity vanity and...
patisserie, a cafe, a restaurant, a public garden, a theatre & may
enter when he will. If he wish to go to the Thulleries, perhaps two
miles off, let him stop a few minutes at the window of a printshop
or a bookstall, of which there are hundreds & thousands, and an
Omnibus is sure to pass in the direction in which he would go, &
for six sous he rides two or three miles. Then the streets swarm with
Cabinets de Lecture where you find all the journals & all the new
books. I spend many hours at Galignani’s 79 & lately at the English
Reading Room in the Rue Neuve Augustine where they advertise
that they receive 400 journals in all languages & have moreover a
very large library.

Lastly the evening neve hangs heavy on the stranger’s
hands, such ample provision is made here for what the newspapers
call “nos besoins recreatifs.”1 More than twenty theatres are
blazing with light & echoing with fine music every night [95] from the
Academie Royale de la Musique, which is the French Opera, down
to the Children’s Drama; not to mention concerts, gardens, & shows
innumerable.

The Theatre is the passion of the French & the taste & splendour
of their dramatic exhibitions can hardly be excelled. The Journal
in speaking of the opera last night, declares that “Mme D. was
received by the dilettanti of Paris with not less joy than the lost soul
by the angels in heaven.” I saw the Opera Gustave 78 performed the
other night & have seen nothing anywhere that could compare with
the brilliancy of their scenic decoration. The moonlight scene
resembled nothing but Nature’s; (A)nd as for the masked ball, I
think there never was a real fancy-ball that equaled the effect of this.

At the Theatre Francais where Talma played & Madame Mars
plays I heard Delavigne’s new piece Enfans d’Edouard excellently
performed; for [96] although Madame Mars speaks French beauti-
fully & has the manners of a princess yet she scarcely excels the
acting of the less famous performers who support her. Each was
perfect in his part.

179 A well-known reading room operated by the publishers John and William
Galignani.

78 Rusk suggests that the opera was Gustave III, ou le bal masqué, a work by
Auber performed in this year.

1833

Paris is an expensive place. Rents are very high. All Frenchmen
in all quarters of their dispersion never lose the hope of coming
hither to spend their earnings, and all the men of pleasure in all
the nations come hither, which fact explains the existence of (these)
so many dazzling shops full of most costly (articles of luxury).
Indeed it is very hard for a stranger to walk with eyes forward ten
yards in any part of the city.

I have been to the Faubourg St. Martin to hear the Abbe
Chatelet[,] the founder of the Eglise Catholique Francaise.79 It is a
singular institution which he calls his church with newly invented
dresses for the priests & martial music performed by a large (choir)
orchestra, relieved 8 [97] by interludes of a piano with vocal music.
His discourse was far better than I could expect from these
preliminaries.

Sometimes he is eloquent. He is a Unitarian but more radical
than any body in America who takes that name.

I was interested in his enterprize for there is always something
pathetic in a new church struggling for sympathy & support. He takes
upon himself the whole pecuniary responsibilities of the undertaking,
& for his Chapel in the Rue St Honoré pays an annual rent of 40,000
francs. He gave notice of a grand funeral fête which is to be solemn-
ized on the anniversary of the Three Days at that Chapel.

In the printshops they have a figure of the Abbe Chatelet on
the same picture with Pere Enfant, & Le Templier.60

I went this evening into Frascati’s[,] long the most noted of
the gambling houses or hells of Paris, & which a gentleman had
promised to show me. This establishment is in a very [98] hand-
some house on the Rue Richelieu.

Several servants in (L)ivery were waiting in the hall who took
our hats on entering, & we passed at once into (the)a suite of rooms
in all of which play was going on. The most perfect decorum &
civility prevailed[,] the table was covered with little piles of Napo-
leons which seemed to change masters very rapidly but scarce a word

79 Ferdinand Toussaint François Chatelet (1755-1837), French religious re-
former and author of Profession de foi de l’Église catholique française (1831).
80 Emerson may have felt it odd to connect a socialist with a protestant re-
former if his “Enfant” is a version of Le Père Enfantin (1796–1844), socialist
leader of the Saint Simonists. “Le Templier” is unidentified.
was spoken. Servants carry about lemonade, &c but no heating liquor. The house, I was told, is always one party in the game. Several women were present, but many of the company seemed to be mere spectators like ourselves. After walking round the tables, we returned to the hall, gave the servant a franc for our hats, & departed. Frascati has grown very rich.

Go to the Champs Elysées after sunset & see the manifold show. An orchestra, a roundabout, a tumbler, sugar-plum-gambling-tables, harpers, dancers, & an army of loungers.

I went to the Mazarine Library, & Mr Warden kindly introduced me to the seance of the Class of Science in the Institute, & pointed out to me the conspicuous men. I saw Biot, Arago, Gay Lussac, Jouffroy, & others. Some Memoirs were read & some debate ensued thereon.

Visited St Cloud.[]

[100]-[101] [blank]

[102] 18 July. Left Paris in the Diligence for Boulogne. Rode all night through St Denis, Moiselles, Beauvais, breakfasted at Abbeville, passed thro’ Montreuil[,] Samur & reached Boulogne about sunset. At Abbeville we picked up Signore Alessandro, an Italian emigrant.[]

At Boulogne on Saturday Morn 19th[20] took the steam-boat for London. After a rough passage of 20 hours we (reached) arrived at London & landed at the Tower Stairs.

We know London so well in books & pictures & maps & traditions that I saw nothing surprising in this passage up the Thames. A noble navigable stream lined on each side by a highly cultivated country, full of all manner of good buildings. Then Greenwich &

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Jean Baptiste Biot (1774-1862), celebrated astronomer and natural philosopher, was professor of physical astronomy. Dominique-François Arago (1786-1853) had carried on well-known geodetical measurements of the meridian in 1806 with Biot and had founded the periodical "Annales de Chemie et de Physique" (1816). For the other scientists see p. 197 above.

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[104]-[105] [blank]

[106]-[107] [blank]

[107]-[112] [blank]

[113] Milan. 96 or 97000 Austrian troops in Lombardy [] in Bologna & Milan. 16 months to get a passport. — Cathedral built by Andrea Commoda in 1386. 7000 statues great & small when finished. 2000 lacking, all marble[,] it would take a mountain of gold but that the founder left a quarry of marble. 42 artists employed. Glory of the interior [?] each window divided in 12 each 1 ft wide[?] [] 12 panes high each 2 ft & arching over all[][] Great advantage of an old city in giving good houses to the humblest inhabitants. Trattoria del Marino.

[114] (Pd. boatmen 5½ swanz.)
Pd for Wall to padrone at Venice 12 ½ franks
At Milan 1 ½ swanziger
At Domo d'Ossole (recc.) pd. 1.4 f

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The page is occupied by a detailed pencil sketch of a medieval castle with two towers, wall, & moat through which leads what may be an entrance like the Traitor's Gate in the Tower of London.

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The entry is in almost indistinguishable pencil writing, apparently partial notes on the Milan cathedral, reworked later for the ink entry on p. 190 above.

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All the entries through p. [118] are in pencil.
The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of
Ralph Waldo Emerson

Volume X
1847-1848

Edited by
Merton M. Sealts, Jr.

The Belknap Press
Of Harvard University Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
1973
has no generous daring in this age. The Platonism died in the Elizabethan. He is shut up in French limits.

X X X

But Birmingham comes in, & says, 'never mind, I have some patent lustre that defies criticism.' Moore made his whole fabric of the lustre as we cover houses with a shell of incombustible paint.

[128] May 4 I heard Alboni sing last night in Cenerentola, & the Times today calls it the best of her triumphs. I found only the noble bursts of voice beautiful & the trills & gurgling & other feats not only not interesting, but as in all other performers, painful; mere surgical or, rather, functional acts.

An Englishman of fashion is like one of those souvenirs bound in gold & vellum, enriched with delicate engravings ton-high pressed vellum paper fit for ladies & princes but nothing in it worth reading or remembering.

[129] Mr Sylvester told me that Mr Fa(e)rie could draw a model of any loom or machine (from) taffeta once seeing it, for Rees' Cyclopaedia, and did so in Mr Strutt's mills.

Mr Hallam asked me, at Lord Ashburton's, 'whether Swedenborg were all mad, or partly knave?'

He knew nothing of Thomas Taylor, nor did Milman, nor any Englishman.

1848

Tennyson no dandy. Plain, quiet, sluggish (strenuous) sense & strength; refined as all English are. Goodhumoured, totally unaffected, the print of his head in Horne too rounded & handsome; an air of general superiority that is very satisfactory.

He lives with his college set. Spedding, Brookfield, Hallam, Rice, & the rest.

Thought Carlyle wholly mistaken in fancying the Christian religion had lost all vitality. They all feel the caprice & variety of his opinions.

It is his brother Tennyson Turner, who wrote the verses which Wordsworth praised.

In Carlyle's a large caprice.

[131] You can't estimate a town by the number of lamps as you approach.

I find the French all soldiers, all speakers. The aplomb which these need, every Frenchman has. Every gamine a certain trimness or trimness & a certain fancy cut like a dandy boat at a regatta.

A certain ingenuity & verbal clearness of statement they require & that satisfies them that they have a new & lucid & coherent statement.

Use mark is transcribed in Notebook ED, pp. [59]-[60] below. Emerson was at Lord Ashburton's dinner on March 24, 1848, sitting next to the historian Henry Hallam (Pocket Diary 3, p. [60] below; L IV, 49) on March 14 he dined with the poet Henry Hart Milman at the Bancrofts' (L IV, 57 n. 153).

This page is in pencil.

Emerson dined with Tennyson at the home of Coventry Patmore on May 5. Emerson was at the frontispiece 1848 (L IV, 66; Pocket Diary 3, p. [72] below). His reference is to the frontispiece etching by Richard Henry Horne, A New Spirit of the Age, 2 vols. (London, 1844). Tennyson's "college set" included James Spedding (1808-1881), Rev. William Henry Brookfield (1809-1874), Arthur Hallam (1811-1855), and Stephen Spring Rice (1814-1885); Emerson in making this entry was apparently unaware that Hallam was no longer living.

This page is in pencil. The entries on pp. [131]-[164] concern Emerson's trip to France, May 7-June 5, 1848.
though it is artificial, & not an idea. Verbally helped & not really. M. Lambert is the servant of his literary theory. But where is the emancipation & joy that comes from new life of an idea?

I find the French intensely masculine. I find them expressive not reticent. Their heads are not so round as the English head[,] said Doherty[.]

[132] From Boulogne to Paris 56 leagues.
7½ mortal hours

George Sand describes "l'incestence immortelle des Français."  

†22† May 1848

Citizen Blanqui, a lame man with the face & air of a conspirator; and Barbès (head of the Club de la Revolution,) were the leaders of the émune on the †22d May, I think[;] which I saw.

†for† Details of May, 1848, in Paris, see "Remains of A.H. Clough" pages 100-130

[133] †24†  "Tis certain
Fête du 21 Mai
Ballon tricolore 500 jolies filles les vivandières et les cantinières et

228 Hugh Doherty, an Irish Fourierist, editor of the London Phalanx. Emerson had been given a letter of introduction to Doherty in Paris by J. J. G. Wilkinson (L, IV, 75).
229 "From Boulogne . . . hours" is in pencil.
240 See Journal GH, p. [70] above.
241 "2d" and "22d . . . think," are added in pencill. Louis Auguste Blanqui and Armand Barbès were leaders of the French Revolution of 1848; Emerson visited their respective clubs, Club des Droits de l'Homme and Club de la Revolution, while in Paris. This and the following entry, Edward Emerson noted, "were evidently written twenty years later, after Clough's death" in 1861 (J, VII, 464). Emerson dined daily with Clough during his stay in Paris, The Letters and Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough (London, 1864) is is his library.
242 This page is in pencil. When Journal London was microfilmed in 1935, an envelope addressed to Emerson in Concord was laid in between pp. [132] and [133]; it has since been removed.

262

1848

les petits enfans de chaque sexe vetus comme soldats ou dans rubans de fete marchant dans le cortege[.]

drum major  vast men with baton & huge cap of fur

sapeurs & pompiers

children on stilts

merrygorounds

[134] 244 In approaching Paris, it seemed a nation of soldiers[.]
The climate seemed altered & 'tis incredible that this Syrian capital[.] all the people[;] poured into the street[,] should be so near to London.

Barbès' Club

Blanqui's

Palais Royale

Theatre Francais  Rachel

Varietes  Bouffé

Porte St Martin. Le Maitre

Restaurant

Appartements garni

Chapeau Rouge

[135] 244 I was glad to leave my Mss on the table[.]
'Tis certain that they are dreadfully in earnest at these clubs.

La vie à bon marché, is the idea of Paris.

L'incestence immortelle des Francais.

[136] femme incomprise

homme borné(e)

homme (reglé) rangé

mauvais sujet

tête montée

244 This page is in pencil.
246 This page is in pencil.
248 See p. [133] above.
249 With "homme (reglé) rangé" and "mauvais sujet", cf. JMN, VIII, 27.

263
1848

[137] The architecture of Paris (I) compares most favorably with that of London[,] is far more original, spirited, national. Here is a royal Palace. They have spent a great deal of money & they have something to show for it. This Thuileries, this Louvre, this Hôtel de Ville, Palais de la Justice, & old tower de la Boucherie

Jacques

[138] But especially the grisette institution interests the young stranger.

The Journal L’Assemblée Nationale is high shop [,]

La Vraie République[,] G Sand, Leroux, Barbés

Commune de Paris was Sobrier

Dumas

La Presse, Girardin

La Réforme, Ledru Rollin

Journal des Debatz Michel Chevalier

Le Siècle Constitutionelle Odillon Barrere

National, Marrast

Leon Foucher

Gustave D’Eichthal
Rome 1833

[139] And A a represents it as the highest merit of B that he stood Mrs B.[,]

264

This page is in pencil.

265


266 "But especially . . . Foucher" is in pencil. "Leon Foucher" is probably Emerson’s error for Jean Bernard Léon Foucault (1819–1868), a French physicist in charge of scientific articles for the Journal des Débats. Pierre Leroux (1777–1871) and George Sand founded the Revue Indépendante in 1841; Alexandre Dumas (1802–1870) was editing La Liberté in 1848. "Gobineau" has not been identified; the other editors or contributors named, in addition to Armand Barbès, are Émile de Girardin (1806–1851), Alexandre Auguste Ledru-Rollin (1807–1874), Michel Chevalier (1806–1829), Camille Hyacinthe Odilon Barrot—Emerson’s "Odillon Barrere"—(1791–1873), and Armand Marrast (1801–1852).

267 As Emerson explains in Notebook ED, p. [110] below, he had met d’Eichthal (1804–1886) in Rome during his first European trip; d’Eichthal was instrumental in putting Emerson in touch with both John Stuart Mill and Carlyle.
'Tis true that a breakfast consists of a certain number of mouthfuls[—well in France they count the number of mouthfuls say thirty (two) or sixty and put a price on the mouthfuls:] three centimes[,] five centimes a spoonful[.] 264

Torchlight processions have a seek & slay look, dripping burning oil drops, & the bearers now & then smiting the torch on the ground, & then lifting it into the air[.] 263

[140] In Paris, my furnished lodgings, a very comfortable suite of rooms (15 Rue des Petits Augustins) on the second floor cost me 90 francs a month or 3 francs a day. My breakfast, which is brought to me at my chamber, & consists of bread, butter, one boiled egg, milk & coffee, costs one franc a day; my dinner at the Cafe “Cinq Arcades” in the Palais Royale costs 2 francs 2 sou and a cup of coffee in the evening 10 or 12 sou more[.] Say the expenses of living for a day, at my rate, are 6 francs 15 sou, or seven francs.

[141] In Paris, the number of beggars does not compare with that in London, or in Manchester even. I looked in all the shopwindows for toys this afternoon, and they are very many & gay; but the only one of all (they re)which I really wish to buy is very cheap, yet I cannot b(y)yuy it, namely, their speech. I covet that which is the vilest of the people possesses.

French poetry is peu de chose and in their character & performance is always prosé, prose orné, but never poesy.

Madame de Tocqueville, who is English, tells me, that the French is so beautiful a [142] language[,] so neat, concise, & lucid, that she can never bear to speak English. 264 'Tis a peculiarity of the French that they assimilate all foreign words, & do not suffer them to be pronounced in the foreign manner, libretto is livret, charivari(s) is sharivari[,] & so on, so that every blouse in the street speaks like an academician; which is not possible in England. I do not distinguish

263 "And . . . spoonful" is in pencil.

264 "young" and the commas after "understand" and "Murray" are added in pencil. Elihu Burritt (1810-1879), an American linguist and advocate of world peace, organized the Brussels Peace Congress in 1848.

1848 266 between the language of a blouse talking philosophy in a group, & that of Cousin.

I understand, from young Murray, that Elihu Burritt coming hither with his 50 languages, was sadly mortified to find that he could not understand but one word in any French sentence. 265

[143] After the pair of noble fountains which play all day, the principal ornament of the Place de la Concorde is the Obelisk brought from Thebes in the Ship Luxor, in gift of , and with admirable engineering set up here by M. Lebas on a huge pedestal of granite[.] 266

The Boulevarts have lost their fine trees, which were all cut down for barricades in February. At the end of a year we shall take account, & see if the Revolution was worth the trees.

[144] J'ai promis d'y être mardi le 6 Juin. 267


[146] In the Spanish Gallery in the Louvre, it is easy to see that Velasquez & Spagnoletto were painters who understood their business.

265 On May 15, 1848, Emerson went to a soire at the de Tocquevilles (L, IV, 78).
I fancy them both strong swarthy men who would have made good soldiers or brigands, at a pinch. And, in running along the numberless cartoons of old masters, the eye is satisfied, that the art of expression by drawing & colour has been perfectly attained; that on that side, at least, humanity has obtained a complete transference of its thought into the symbol.

[147] These Spaniards paint with a certain ferocity. Zurbarra who paints monks, & specially one monk with a skull in his hands, which seems the reflection of his own head, is a master so far.

Zurbarra

[148] It is impossible in a French table d'hôte to guess the social rank & the employment of the various guests. The (un)military manners universal in young Frenchmen, their stately bow & salutation through their beards, are, like their beards, a screen, which a foreigner cannot penetrate.

[149] At the Club des Femmes, there was among the men some patronage, but no real courtesy. The lady who presided spoke & behaved with the utmost propriety,—a woman of heart & sense,—but the audience of men were perpetually on the look out for some équivoque, into which, of course, each male speaker would be pretty sure to fall; & then the laugh was loud & general.

(!) Le Club des Clubs was one which consisted of the chiefs of all the Clubs, & to which was accorded a tribune in the Assembly. But they were so dictatorial & indolent [150] that the Chamber at last mustered courage enough to silence them, &, I believe, to turn them out.

The noble buildings of Paris are, the truly palatial Tuileries; Notre Dame; Le Palais de Justice, & the Chapel la Sainte Chapelle, adjoining it, (built by Louis IX in the 13 Century); the old tower, St Jacques de la Boucherie; l'Hotel de Ville; le Pantheon;

1848

I went to the Pantheon & learned that the tomb of Napoleon was at the Invalides. Rousseau & Voltaire sleep under the Pantheon.

[151] I have seen Rachel in Phedre, in Mithridate, & now last night in Lucrece, (of Ponsard) in which play she took (but) two parts[,] that of Lucrece & that of Tullia. The best part of her performance is the terror & energy she can throw into passages of defiance or denunciation. Her manners & carriage are throughout pleasing by their highly intellectual cast. And her expression of the character is not lost by tyour¹ losing some word or look, but is consistent & is sure to be conveyed. She is extremely youthful & innocent in her appearance and when she appeared after the curtain fell to acknowledge the acclamations of the house & the heaps [152] of flowers that were flung to her, (she bowed with a) her smile had a perfect good nature & a kind of universal intelligence.²⁶⁸

[153] ¹May⁴

At the Chamber of the National Assembly, by the kindness of Mr Rush, who lent me his diplomatic ticket. Lamartine made his speech on the question of Poland.²⁶⁹ He was quite the best and indeed the only good speaker I heard in the house. He has a fine head, and a free & superior style of delivery, manly & cultivated. But he was quite at his ease, no swords or pikes over his head this time, and really little energy in his discourse. He read many extracts from letters sent him from Italy, and when he was tired, the members cried out, Reposez vous, & the President gave an intermission for half an hour.

[154] The whole house of 900 members obviously listened with great respect & gladly to Lamartine, for they want information, and

²⁶⁸ Emerson saw Rachel in Racine's Phèdre on May 9 or 13, 1848, in Racine's Mithridate on May 17 or 18; and in Lucrece after May 25 and before May 31 (L, IV, 73, 75, 77, 79, and notes).

²⁶⁹ Pasted below this entry is a cartoon captioned "Consolation in Distress" showing a gentleman being bitten by a monkey in a cage while an attendant looks on. An advertisement, overleaf, describes the weekly Puppet-Shoe, "A Fungent Penny Pictorial Periodical."

²⁷⁰ On May 23, 1848, as Emerson reported in a letter to his wife (L, IV, 77). Richard Rush (1780–1859) served as American minister to France from 1847 to 1849.
it has been rather parsimoniously given by any whom they could trust. His speech is reckoned wise & moderate. To me it looks as if a wise Frenchman should say to his country, Leave Poland & China & Oregon to themselves. You have more than enough to do, at present, in constructing your own government & dealing with disorder, hunger, & faction in France. — But Lamartine praised the new republic because it had not a moment of Egoism, but had adopted Poland & Italy.

[155] We now dine daily at a table d'hote at No 16 Rue de Notre Dame des Victoires, where 500 French habitués usually dine at 1 franc 60 centimes. Of course it is an excellent place for French grammar. Nouns, verbs, adverbs, & interjections furnished gratuitously.

I am told that there are 12,000 students connected with the University, including all the faculties. 'Tis a noble hospitality, & well calculated also, as it brings so great a population of foreigners to spend their money in France.

[156] *Do thy goo quiek leen ten Amérique*†
*te mash eens*‡

Paris has great merits as a city. Its river is made the greatest pleasure to the eye by the quays & bridges: its fountains are noble & copious, its gardens or parks far more available to the pleasure of the people than those of London. What a convenience to the senses of men is the Palais Royal: the swarming Boulevards, what an animating (stroll)promenade: the furnished lodgings have a seductive independence: the living is cheap & good; then what a luxury is it to have a [157] cheap wine for the national beverage as uniformly supplied as beer in England. The manners of the people & probably their inferiority as individuals make it as easy to live with them as with so many shopkeepers whose feelings & convenience are nowise to be consulted. Meantime they are very civil & good tempered,

† *Do thy... leen* and *te mash eens* are in pencil; *en Amérique* and the question mark are in ink.
‡ *Paris has... consulted.* is struck through in pencil with single vertical use marks on pp. [156] and [157].

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polite & joyous, and will talk in knots & multitudes in the streets all day for the entertainment of the passenger. Then they open their treasures of art & science so freely to the mere passport of the traveller [158] & to all the world on Sunday. The University, the Louvre, the Hotel de Cluny, the Institute, the Gallery of the Luxembourg, Versailles. Then the Churches are always open, Notre Dame; La Sainte Chapelle, built by St Louis, & gorgeous within; St Sulpice; the Madeleine.

Then there is the Pantheon; and there is the Jardin des Plantes worthy of admiration. Everything odd & rare & rich can be bought in Paris; & by no means the least attractive of its shows is the immense bookstalls in the streets; maps, pictures, models, busts, sculptures, & libraries [159] of old books spread abroad on tables or shelves at the side of the road. The manners of the people are full of entertainment so spirited, chatty, & coquettish, as lively as monkeys. And now the whole nation is bearded & in military uniform. I have no doubt also that extremes of vice are found here & that (in general) there is a liberty & means of animal indulgence hardly known by name or even by rumour in other towns. But any extremes are here also exceptional & are visited here by the fatal Nemesis who climbs all walls[,] [160] dives into all cellars [and I notice that every wall in Paris is stigmatized with an advertisement of La Guerison des Maladies secrètes] but also the social decorum seems to have here the same rigours as in England with a little variety in the application.

A special advantage which Paris has is in the freedom from aristocratic pride manifest in the tone of society. It is quite easy for any young man of liberal tastes to enter on a good footing the best houses. It is not easy in England. Then (chea) the customs are cheap & inexpensive; [161] whilst it is a proverb almost, that, to live in England at all, you must have (a) great fortune; which sounds to me as certain a prediction of revolution as musket shots in the streets.

So that on the whole I am thankful for Paris, as I am for the discovery of Ether & Chloroform; I like to know, that, if I should need an amputation, there is this balm; and if hard should come to
hard, & I should be driven to seek some refuge of solitude & independence, why here is Paris.

The cafés are not to be forgotten, filled with newspapers[,] blazing with light, [162] sauntering places, obliettes or Remember-nothings. One in Paris who would keep himself up with events must read every day about twelve newspapers of the 200 that are printed there. Then in the street the affiches (at) ton† every spot of dead wall, attract all eyes & make the text of all talk for the gazing group. The Government reserve to (themselves) their own‡ the exclusive use of White Paper. All others are in colours.

[165] After 25 days spent in Paris I took the railroad for Boulogne, stopped at Amiens half an hour, & saw the Cathedral [which has nothing equal to it in Paris in the elaboration of its details of its moulding & sculpture on the exterior, (saw the weeping angel also)]. (a)And at Boulogne, (where 6000 English reside for cheapness,) I took the night steamboat for Folkestone. The twenty-seven miles of roughest sea between Boulogne & Folkestone made a piteous scene, of course, in the Saloon of the boat, but as that wild strip of sea is from age to age the cheap Standing army of England & worth a million [164] of troops, no Englishman should grudge his qualms.

[166] Saw Rowland Hill at Hampstead. He says in 1845 which is the right year of comparison the Post Office yielded 1,600,000 pounds from revenue. In 184(8) 1,000,000 only; but the number of post offices is nearly or quite doubled. He thinks ocean penny postage not quite practicable. The increase of letters is in the short distances & not in the long.

1848

At Mr Field's Hampstead[,] Was at Mr Stanfield's, who showed me some of Turner's pictures & his own. Each of Turner's cost 100 guineas. Went with Mr Field & him to Mr Windus to see his collection of Turners. Which justify Ruskin's praise. Turner told Stanfield he will not suffer any portrait to be taken of him, for nobody would ever believe that such an ugly fellow made such beautiful things.

[167] Paris & London have this difference, that Paris exists for the foreigner, serves him; whilst in London is the Londoner, who is much in the foreigner's way. England has built London for its own use. France has built Paris for the world.

The French have this wonderful street courage. The least dislike, the smallest unpopularity, is intolerable to them. But they will take your fire with indifference. And is this a world to hide virtues in? There must then be revolutions to bring them out.

[167] In Blanqui's Club des droits de l'homme, an orator in blousé said, "Why should the rich fear that we shall not protect their property? — We shall guard it with the utmost care, in the belief that it will soon be our own."

†See LM 68

[168] [blank]

[169] With Mr Kenyon & Hillard I joined the Jays in a visit to

Rowland Hill, the English postal authority, was a guest with Emerson, Clarkson Stanfield, the marine painter, and others at a dinner given by Edwin Wilkins Field of Hampstead, an amateur artist and art patron, on June 5, 1848 (L, IV, 91).

On June 26, 1848, Emerson breakfasted with Stanfield and "went with him to see a famous gallery of Turner's pictures at Tottenham" (L, IV, 93); B. G. Windus of Tottenham owned a hundred or so of Turner's drawings and paintings, as Emerson notes on p. [178] below. In Notebook ED, p. [130] below, Emerson states that Windus told him of Turner's remark.

See Journal GH, p. [149] above ("French has street courage"), Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, I, iii, 146 ("Is it a world to hide virtues in?")), and Notebook Xenien, p. [14] below, from which these five sentences are transcribed.

The insertion is in pencil. Emerson visited Blanqui's club on Saturday and Sunday evenings, May 13 and 14, 1848 (L, IV, 73).