

THE LETTERS OF
RALPH WALDO
EMERSON

IN SIX VOLUMES

EDITED BY

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TO RUTH HASKINS EMERSON? AND CHARLES CHAUNCY EMERSON?

MILAN, JUNE c. 10, 1833

[Charles Emerson to William, Sept. 6 (1833; owned by Dr. Haven Emerson): "I mean to inclose 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, 1833⁸³

Paris, 25 June 1833.

Dear Charles

I have been here 5 or 6 days⁸⁴ & am very little enamoured of the gay city 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. Yet young men must live, & the present generation as well as Trajan & his cotemporaries & far be it from me to repine at the symptoms of prosperity & comfort. x x x x x. x x

P. S. 26th. 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 outcrow 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 Geneva⁸⁵ & 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.

85. See *Journals*, III, 151–154.

it is like a Liverpool or New York all alive with an Exchange & new gloves & broadcloths.

TO WILLIAM EMERSON, PARIS, JUNE 29 AND JULY 5, 1833⁸⁶

Paris, 29 June, 1833.

Dear William,¹

I hoped to find letters here from you but Messrs Wells', Lane, Draper, Storrow,⁸⁷ — all answer no. Charles had prepared me one solitary sheet — & therein tells me that you are not married till the fall of the leaf. Well tis the man makes the time, & the wise man does every thing in the right time, do it when he will. I promise myself the happiness to be a witness of yours. Did you ever receive the letter I wrote from Naples to Susan?⁸⁸ Give my love to her. Her brother I have not seen. He is now in England & I may meet him. Ralph Emerson⁸⁹ tells me he is a very accomplished scholar. They went from Paris to Venice together. Well, what of Paris? Why it leads me twice to brag of Italy, for once that I see any thing to admire here. I go to the Sorbonne & hear lectures.⁹⁰ I walk in the Jardin des Plantes. I stare & stare at the thousand thousand shop windows. I go to the Louvre, the Kings Library, the

86. MS owned by HCL; ph. in CUL. Excerpts I–III are in Cabot, I, 192.

87. The firm of Welles & Williams, bankers, appears as early as 1822 in *Galighani's Paris Guide*. In 1841 *Galighani's New Paris Guide* gave the firm name as Welles and Co. The other names do not appear in any guide or directory examined; but a Simeon Draper, apparently connected with the Drapers of Paris, is mentioned in the letter of Mar. 1, 1861, and a Mr. Storrow wrote a note on a blank page of William Emerson's journal (owned by Dr. Haven Emerson) in Paris on Feb. 16 or 17, 1824.

88. Mar. 22, 1833.

89. See Apr. 20 and 23, 1831.

90. Among the Emerson papers there is still a copy of the *Programme des cours de l'Academie de Paris, a la Sorbonne. Facultés des Lettres, des Sciences et de Droit* for the second semester, 1833, which lists courses by such professors as Villemain (or J. J. Ampère), on French literature; Cousin (or Poret), on ancient philosophy; and Fauriel, on Dante. And with the outline of lectures at the Sorbonne, there is also a copy of *Programme du Collège Royal de France*, which lists, among other notables, Jouffroy, on the Greek language and philosophy; Eugène Burnouf, on the Sanskrit language and literature; Biot (apparently alternating with another professor), in physics; Thénard (also with an alternate) and Gay-Lussac (at the Jardin des Plantes), in chemistry; and Élie de Beaumont, on natural history. The passages in *Journals* for the Paris days show Emerson's particular enthusiasm for scientific lectures and for the Jardin des Plantes, an enthusiasm not without importance in view of his continuing development in the direction of liberalism.

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 Marys habits of letter writing & contempt of posts & dates. you see. I dined yesterday with 98 Americans at Loin-tier's.⁹¹ 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. &c His son made a speech. & the grandson also being toasted — gave "Independence of character." "If my grandfather had been a *courtisan*, he would not have been a citizen of the United States."

I was surprized 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 insensible to the advantages of living here. It would be desirable to many. It is not to me. ⁱⁱFor 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 cd. get at it,ⁱⁱ but no man can dive into literary society even in Paris & I cannot wait the long initiation — no nor the doubtful result. ⁱⁱⁱProbably 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'avoit donné Paris sa grande ville,⁹² Je dirois au roi Louis, je préfère my inkstand.ⁱⁱⁱ I spend much

91. Cf. John T. Morse, *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes* (n. d., c. 1896), I, 105, cited by the editors of *Journals*. Morse, I, 103-104, prints Holmes's letter of June 29, 1833, the writing of which was interrupted by a call from Emerson.

92. 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 1824 (typescript *Journals*), but the date of this irregular entry is uncertain.

time at the reading rooms — Galignani's⁹³ & another. 'Tis wonderful the variety of interests & purposes consulted in the 217 Parisian papers. Every mountain & every mouse finds a tongue. Then Paris is the centre of Christendom or civildom & therefore here thunders or squeaks every portion of the human race to whomsoever will hear. At Bennis's reading room they receive 400 journals.

But how strange it is that you should not have written me but a single letter that to Naples — you! I suppose you have received my sheets & sheets — or sheets & *sheet*, for I am not sure I have written you more than three times. I see I must hasten home to ensure my existence being remembered. So expect me by the first of October & believe me

Yours affectionately

Waldo —

TO SAMUEL RIPLEY AND SARAH BRADFORD RIPLEY,
PARIS, JULY 9, 1833⁹⁴

Paris, 9 July, 1833.

To Mr & Mrs Ripley

My dear friends,

I have been looking round me to see if I could not pick up some facts in the great town that would interest you but it is such a vulgar superficial unspiritual marketing community or I so bad or so ill conditioned an observer that I am much at a loss. To be sure if the splendid soirées where Fontenelle or Madame de Stael might talk, existed, the traveller in his fortnight would not find them but he might hear the fame of them & some effect would go out from them into this immense extemporaneous literature, so called, with which the press groans here from day to day. But Politicks have spoiled conversation & men in France. Cousin has quit Plato & M. Arago his magnet & galvanic battery since those unlucky 3 days.⁹⁵ And to such paltry purpose. The press to be sure is free & says the sauciest things every day but otherwise the government has very much the character of the old government & exiles shoots or imprisons whom it pleases.

93. 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.

94. MS owned by Professor James B. Thayer; ph. in CUL.

95. 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 masqued 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 masqued ball introduced by way of ballet into the Opera of Gustave⁹⁶ 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 lookingglass; and all Paris is a perpetual puzzle to the eye to know what is object & what is reflection. By this expedient reading rooms & cafés 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 kings garden every day; he may go read if he chuse, in the kings 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 bisons 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]⁹⁷ the

96. Probably *Gustave III, ou le bal masqué*, Auber's opera, which had been first performed on Feb. 27 of this year (*Grove's Dictionary of Music*, 3d ed.).

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

Louvre,⁹⁸ 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 76 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.⁹⁹ — I saw Lewis Stackpole at Rome. Very respectfully & affectionately yours, Waldo E.

TO ———, LONDON, JULY c. 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 c. 30, 1833. 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. P. Holbrook. Cf. a note on Dec. 14, 1832.

London, March 8, 1848

Dear George,

I have had two good letters from you, & wondered now, it were this name, for I put you a commission to collect which I fastened on you as a matter of philosophy. I have just now come to London, from half a year from Westminster & Edinburgh. I saw all the Sectsists & Lyones, I believe, & at the latter, Harriet Martineau's words & the other words. There is a great fashion of going to the home, as if it were to find water in places, but if water they have nothing left as good to you, you may be they had at a distance. Woodrow's talk was simply enough plain, & I think I shall have a few of these now, & thousands of, and with the two more

Facsimile Page of Letter to George Partridge Bradford
March 8, 1848

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TO LIDIAN EMERSON, PARIS, MAY 17, 1848²⁶¹

¹Paris 17 May 1848

Dear Lidian, I came to Paris by Boulogne Saturday night May 6¹ & Sunday morning & after spending a couple of days at the Hotel²⁶² Montmorency, "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.²⁶³ 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 Moniteur 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 Citoyen Barbès 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 Barbès, that day. This Armand Barbès, 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 Barbès and Louis Auguste Blanqui in *Journals*, VII, 454 ff. and 464. 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, 227-242 *passim*). Forster had preceded Emerson to Paris, coming over on Apr. 30 with Miss Jewsbury and the Paulets. On May 8 Emerson, he says, turned up at breakfast. On the 9th, Emerson went with Forster and Mrs. Paulet in search of the Barbès 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 Barbès 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."

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 & Barbès, the two principal ringleaders, I knew well, as I had attended Blanqui's Club on the evenings of Saturday & Sunday, & heard his instructions to his Montagnards, & Barbès 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 rappel 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 crowded²⁶⁴ bridges along the swarming quays; the tricolor waved on the great mass of the Thuilleries 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.²⁶⁵ I brought a letter to Mr Rush, from Mr Bancroft, & he has promised me the loan of his ticket to the National Assembly²⁶⁵ next Wednesday. ²⁶⁶I have seen Rachel in Phèdre²⁶⁶ & 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 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.

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

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.^{III} — 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. ^{IV} Clough, my Oxford friend, is here & we usually dine ²⁶⁷ together; ^{IV} as I kept the company of the Paulets (my Liverpool friends) as long as they were here, at that sacred hour. ^V I have just sent my Programme of lectures to London, but am not to begin until 6 June; thence count 3 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."^V I do not know whether I told you that I saw Tennyson in London twice,²⁶⁸ and was content with him. He has a great deal of plain strength about him, and, though cultivated, is quite unaffected.²⁶⁹ 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 tis 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.

²⁶⁷ Cf. *Emerson-Clough Letters and The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough*, I, 120-133.

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*.²⁷⁰ 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. ^{VI} 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 literarily, & with the ends of the fingers. ^{VI} * 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.^{VII}

TO LIDIAN EMERSON, PARIS, MAY 24 AND 25, 1848²⁷¹

Paris, ^I24 May, ^I1848

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. ^{II} 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. Johannidés, *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 shirtsleeves-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 every thing. Paris, to be sure, is their main performance, but one can excuse their vanity & pride, it is so admirable a city.^{II} Nothing can be finer than the arrangements for splendor & gaiety of living.^{III} 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 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 1200000 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.^{III} 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

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.

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. ^{IV} You will like to know that I heard Lamartine speak yesterday in the Chamber, his *great* speech, the journals say, on Poland.²⁷³ Mr Rush lent me his own ticket for the day. He did not speak however with much energy, but is a manly handsome greyhaired gentleman with nothing of the rust of the man of letters, and delivers himself with great ease & superiority.^{IV} 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. ^V Clough is still here, & is my chief dependence at the dining hour & afterwards^V

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 *Mar-seillaïse* is the finest chant, — but should not be heard but once. — But

²⁷³. The session of the National Assembly opened, on May 23, 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]²⁷⁵ 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.²⁷⁶ Hedge I have not seen, he must have suddenly taken to the sea. Dr Parsons²⁷⁶ 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.²⁷⁷ My French is far from being as good as Madame De Stael's²⁷⁸

TO MARGARET FULLER, PARIS, MAY 31, 1848²⁷⁸

Paris 31 May 1848

Dear Margaret,

Let my sins be as scarlet²⁷⁹ yet an angel will now & then give me some hint and though I think you will never write 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 family²⁸⁰ & the Comtesse d'Agout²⁸¹ 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.

²⁷⁷. Cf. May 31, 1848.

²⁷⁸. MS owned by RWEMA; ph. in CUL.

²⁷⁹. *Isaiah*, 1:18.

²⁸⁰. Alexis de Tocqueville was already well known for his still famous work on America. For the visit, cf. *Journals*, VII, 451.

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. 1927], 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).

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 & Putnam²⁸² went to their agent in Leghorn many months ago in February I think but in the imbroglia 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 Bartletts — (for they were then coming sooner) — was mislaid & is left in huge litter of my books & MSS. at Chapman[s] house in the Strand. I shall always regret it. I go to London tomorrow²⁸³ & 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 Southerner the dwellers of the land of *si*. . . 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, 1848²⁸⁴

London 8 June 1848¹

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

²⁸². Cf. Apr. 25, 1848.

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 Folkstone on June 3, 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.

*The Journals and
Miscellaneous Notebooks*
of
RALPH WALDO EMERSON

VOLUME IV

1832-1834

EDITED BY

ALFRED R. FERGUSON



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1 9 6 4

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 Saussure⁶⁴ have reached the top.

France France. It is not only a change of name [—] the cities, the language, the faces, the manners have undergone a wonderful change in three or four days. The running fight we have kept up so long with the fierté 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 [80] champaign without a hill, and all planted like the Connecticut intervalles. No fences,^a the fields full of working women. We rode in the Coupée of a Diligence by night & by day, through⁶⁵ 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. Certainly⁶⁶ 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 respectably mounted in bronze on his own bridge but the saucy faction^a [81] 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

⁶⁴ Horace Bénédict de Saussure (1740-1799), eminent Swiss naturalist, professor of philosophy at Geneva, author of *Voyages dans les Alpes*, 4 vols. (1796), climbed Mont Blanc in 1788.

⁶⁵ Emerson left a long space here to be filled in later with his itinerary.

⁶⁶ "Certainly . . . Louis Philippe." is a repetition with slight variations of the use-marked entry on p. 188 above. The inclusion of the revised version here supplies continuity of time to the journal record.

Louvre looked pinched & the wind blew dust in my eyes and (after a short time) before I got into the Champs Elysees^l 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 Emerson⁶⁷ 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[.]⁶⁸

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. [83] Leonardo da Vinci has more pictures here than in any other gallery & I like them well despite of the identity of the features which peep 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

⁶⁷ Ralph Emerson, brother of George Barrell Emerson, lived in Puerto Rico, then in France after 1831, and then in California. He was a second cousin.

⁶⁸ "Gay Lussac" is inserted in faint pencil into a part of the space left open for later completion. Théodore Jouffroy was lecturing in the second semester, 1833, at the Sorbonne on the Greek language and philosophy; Louis Jacques Thénard and Joseph-Louis Gay-Lussac were giving their lectures on chemistry at the Jardin des Plantes.

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 ⁶⁹ 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.⁷⁰

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.⁷¹

13 July.⁷² I carried my ticket from Mr Warden ⁷³ to the Cabinet of Natural History in the Garden of Plants. How much finer things are in composition than alone. 'Tis 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

⁶⁹ Emerson left a space here to be filled in with the French word if it occurred to him.

⁷⁰ "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.

⁷¹ See John T. Morse, *Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes*, 2 vols. (Boston, c. 1896), I, 105, for the episode.

⁷² 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).

⁷³ David Bailie Warden (1778-1845), 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.

beings make me as pensive as the hues & forms of a cabinet of shells, formerly. It is a beautiful collection & makes the visiter 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 erythropterus* 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 pella* hath such a neck of gold & silver & fire! *Trochilus Delalandi* from Brazil is a glorious little tot — la mouche magnifique.

[87] Among the birds of Paradise I remarked the Manucode or *P. regia* from New Guinea, the *Paradisaea Apoda*,^a & *P. rubra*. Forget not the *Veuve à epaulettes* or *Emberiza longicauda*, black with fine shoulder knots; nor the *Ampelis cotinga* nor the *Phasianus Argus* a peacock looking pheasant; nor the *Trogon pavoninus* 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 musquitoes, 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 ⁷⁴ — 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 upheaving principle of life everywhere incipient in the very rock aping organized forms. Not a form so grotesque, so savage, nor so beautiful

⁷⁴ 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, Épître III, à M. Arnauld, Docteur de Sorbonne. The phrase Boileau ascribes to Persius, *Satires*, V, 153: "hoc quod liquor 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*,⁷⁵ 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'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 herborisation, 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 importunate vanity and

⁷⁵ Antoine Laurent de Jussieu (1748-1836), Professor of Rural Botany at the Museum of Natural History, developed the natural system of plant classification. His son Adrien L. H. de Jussieu (1797-1853) succeeded him in 1826 and, as Emerson noted, conducted public botanical excursions in the summer of 1833.

⁷⁶ The following two paragraphs through "*Français*" on p. [92] are a revision with slight changes of earlier notes on the same date entered in the notebook France and England. The earlier version added further small notes on epitaphs not included here. See pp. 408-409 below.

remind you of advertisements. But many are affecting. One which was of dark slate stone had only this inscription, 'Mon Pere.' I prefer the "Ci git" to the "Ici repose" as the beginning of the inscriptions but take the cemetery through I thought the classics rather carried the day. One (inscription) epitaph was so singular, or so singular to be read by *me*, that I wrote it off.

"Ici repose Auguste Charles Collignon mort plein de confiance dans la bonte de Dieu à l'age de 68 ans et 4 mois le 15 Avril 1830. Il aima et chercha à faire du bien et mena une vie douce et heureuse, en suivant autant qu'il put, la morale et [92] les lecons des essais de Montaigne et des Fables de la Fontaine." — I notice that, universally, the French write as in the above, "*Here lies Augustus, &c.*" & we write, "*Here lies the body of, &c.*"^a a more important distinction than *roi de France & roi des Français*.

I live at *pension* with Professor Heari at the corner of Rue Neuve Vivienne directly over the entrance of the Passage aux Panorames. If I had companions in the City it would be something better to live in the Café & Restaurant. These public rooms are splendidly prepared for travellers & full of company & of newspapers.

This Passage aux Panorames was the first Arcade built in Paris & was built by an American Mr Thayer. There are now probably fifty of these passages in the city. And few things give more the character of magnificence^a [93] to the city than the suite of these passages about the Palais Royal.

Notre Dame is a fine church outside but the interior quite naked & beggarly. In general, the churches are very mean inside.

I went into the Morgue where they expose for 24 hours the bodies of persons who have been drowned or died in the streets, that they may be claimed by their friends. There were three corpses thus exposed, & every day there are some.

Young men are very fond of Paris, partly, no doubt, because of the perfect freedom — freedom from observation as well as interference, — in which each one walks after the sight of his own eyes; & partly because the extent & variety of objects offers an unceasing entertainment. So long as a man has francs in his pocket he needs consult neither time nor place nor other men's convenience; wherever in the vast city he is, he is within a stone's throw of a

patissier, a cafe, a restaurant, [94] a public garden, a theatre & may enter when he will. If he wish to go [to] the Thuilleries, 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's⁷⁷ & 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 need never hang heavy on the stranger's hands, such ample provision is made here for what the newspapers call "nos besoins recreatifs." ↑More than↓ twenty^a 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 exceeded. 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 Gustave⁷⁸ 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)and as for the masked ball, I think there never was a real fancy-ball that equalled the effect of this.

At the Theatre Francais where Talma played & Madame Mars plays I heard Delavigne's new piece *Enfants d'Edouard* excellently performed; for [96] although Madame Mars speaks French beautifully & 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.

⁷⁷ 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.

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 (t)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 Chatel[,] 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^a [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 solemnized on the anniversary of the Three Days at that Chapel.

In the printshops they have a figure of the Abbe Chatel on the same picture with Pere Enfant, & Le Templier.⁸⁰

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] handsome house on the Rue Richelieu.

Several servants in (L)livery 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 Napoleons which seemed to change masters very rapidly but scarce a word

⁷⁹ Ferdinand Toussaint François Chatel (1795-1857), French religious reformer 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 reformer if his "Enfant" is a version of Le Père Enfantin (1796-1864), 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, [99] and 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.⁸¹ Several 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, Moisselles, Beauvais, breakfasted at Abbeville, passed thro' Montreuil[,] Samur & reached Boulogne about sunset. At Abbeville we picked up Signore Alessandro ⁸² 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 surprizing 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 &

⁸¹ 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 geodesical measurements of the meridian in 1806 with Biot and had founded the periodical *Annales de Chimie et de Physique* (1816). For the other scientists see p. 197 above.

⁸² Space is left after the name, no doubt so that the last name of the Italian emigrant could be added if remembered.

Deptford, hospital, docks, [103] arsenals, fleets of shipping, & then the mighty metropolis itself, old, vast, & still. Scarce any body was in the streets. It was about 7 o'clock Sunday Morning & we met few persons until we reached St Paul's. A porter carried our baggage, & we walked through Cheapside, Newgate St., High Holborn, and found lodgings (according to the direction of my friend in Paris) at Mrs (C)Fowler's No 63 Russell Square. It was an extreme pleasure to hear English spoken in the streets; to understand all the words of Children at play, & to find that we must not any longer express aloud our opinion of every person we met, as in France & Italy we had been wont to do.

[104]—[105] [blank]

[106]⁸³

[107]—[112] [blank]

[113]⁸⁴ Milan. 96 or 97000 Austrian troops in Lombardy || . . . || in Bologna & Milan. 16 months to get a passport. — Cathedral built by Andrea Commodia 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]⁸⁵ (Pd. boatmen 5 ½ swanz.)

Pd for Wall to padrone at Venice 12 ½ franks

At Milan 1 ½ swanziger

At Domo d'Ossole (recd.) pd. 1.4 f

⁸³ The page is occupied by a detailed pencil sketch of a medieval castle with two towers, wall, and moat through which leads what may be an entrance like the Traitor's Gate in the Tower of London.

⁸⁴ 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.

⁸⁵ All the entries through p. [118] are in pencil.

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MERTON M. SEALTS, JR.



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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 inconsumable paint[.]²²⁹

[128] †3 May† 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[.]²³⁰

An Englishman of fashion is like one of those souvenirs bound in gold & vellum, enriched with delicate engravings ton† thick hot-pressed vellum paper fit for ladies & princes but nothing in it worth reading or remembering.²³¹

[129] Mr Sylvester told me that Mr Fa(e)rie could draw a model of any loom or machine (from) †after† once seeing it, for Rees' Cyclopaedia, and did so in Mr Strutt's mills.²³²

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.²³³

²²⁹ "The Englishman . . . paint", struck through in pencil with two discontinuous vertical use marks, is transcribed in Notebook ED, pp. [58]-[59] below.

²³⁰ This paragraph is in pencil. The Italian diva Marietta Alboni (1823-1894) sang the title role in Rossini's *La Cenerentola* at Covent Garden with the Royal Italian Opera on May 2, 1848, receiving two mid-opera curtain calls.

²³¹ This sentence, struck through in pencil with a curved vertical use mark, is transcribed in Notebook ED, p. [69] below.

²³² John Farey (1791-1851) began drawing at the age of fourteen for various encyclopedias, including that first published in London in 1786 by Abraham Rees: *Cyclopædia; or An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*. Jedediah Strutt (1726-1797), a partner of Richard Arkwright, built a cotton mill at Nottingham, England; the Strutt family figures prominently in Sylvester's *The Philosophy of Domestic Economy*.

²³³ "Mr Hallam . . . Englishman.", struck through in pencil with a vertical

[130]²³⁴ Tennyson no dandy. Plain, quiet, sluggish (stre) 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[.]²³⁵

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.²³⁶

In C[arlyle] a large caprice

[131]²³⁷ 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 gamin a certain trimness or trigness & 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, 37, n. 132).

²³⁴ This page is in pencil.

²³⁵ Emerson dined with Tennyson at the home of Coventry Patmore on May 5, 1848 (*L*, IV, 66; Pocket Diary 3, p. [72] below). His reference is to the frontispiece to vol. II of 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 (1811-1833), and Stephen Spring Rice (1814-1865); Emerson in making this entry was apparently unaware that Hallam was no longer living.

²³⁶ Charles Tennyson had taken the name Turner in 1830; for Wordsworth's comments, see p. [46] above. "Tennyson no dandy . . . praised.", struck through in pencil with a vertical use mark, is transcribed and expanded in Notebook ED, pp. [178] and [181] below.

²³⁷ This page is in pencil. The entries on pp. [131]-[164] concern Emerson's trip to France, May 7-June 3, 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[.]²³⁸

[132] From Boulogne to Paris 56 leagues
7½ mortal hours²³⁹

George Sand describes "l'inconstance immortelle des Français."²⁴⁰

†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 émuté on the †22d May, I think,↓ which I saw.²⁴¹

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

[133]²⁴² 'Tis cẽrtain
Fete du 21 Mai

Ballon tricolore 500 jolies filles les vivandieres et les cantinieres et

²³⁸ 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).

²³⁹ "From Boulogne . . . hours" is in pencil.

²⁴⁰ See Journal GH, p. [70] above.

²⁴¹ "22" and "22d . . . think," are added in pencil. 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, 462). Emerson dined daily with Clough during his stay in Paris; *The Letters and Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough* (London, 1865) is in his library.

²⁴² This page is in pencil. When Journal London was microfilmed in 1955, an envelope addressed to Emerson in Concord was laid in between pp. [132] and [133]; it has since been removed.

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]²⁴³ 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
Appartement garni
Chapeau Rouge

[135]²⁴⁴ I was glad to leave my Mss on the table[.]²⁴⁵
'Tis certain that they are dreadfully in earnest at these clubs.
La vie à bon marché, is the idea of Paris.
l'inconstance immortelle des Francais.²⁴⁶

[136] femme incomprise
homme borné(e)
homme (reglé) rangé
mauvais sujet²⁴⁷
tete montée

²⁴³ This page is in pencil.

²⁴⁴ This page is in pencil.

²⁴⁵ Because in Paris "nobody could read English"; see Journal LM, p. [126] below.

²⁴⁶ See p. [132] above.

²⁴⁷ With "homme (reglé) rangé" and "mauvais sujet", cf. *JMN*, VIII, 27.

IMPERSONALITY OF JOURNALS. There is no other newspaper in the world which wields so great an influence as the *London Times*. It has placed itself at the head of the press in Europe, and speaks with a degree of authority which kings might envy. The individuals concerned in its management are nothing—the paper itself is everything. In its columns, public questions are continually discussed with masterly ability. It may easily be conjectured that no one mind could originate, prepare, and utter from day to day the erudite, far-reaching disquisitions which tell so powerfully upon the opinion of the world; but that is a matter of no consequence. The *Times* speaks, and its word is potential. It is a gigantic impersonality, a disembodied oracle, whose voice penetrates every corner of the civilized world, and moulds the thoughts of a large portion of the human family. Those who are familiar with the way in which machinery is made to operate, know that many pens are regularly employed upon that sheet. Yet nothing is more evident than the fact, that all its articles, from whatever source they come, bear a single impress. The *Times* utters one language. It scorns to tell the public that it disapproves of what itself has said. It never strangles its own offspring. The absence of a “responsible,” or the indiscretion of an “assistant,” is never proclaimed as the excuse for an acknowledged blunder. Such a practice would soon bring even that great journal into contempt.

Yet the *Times* has a “responsible editor,” one who while he scarcely ever writes anything himself, carefully supervises, alters and corrects every editorial, and gives a consistent character to all the utterances of the paper. He never informs the public that nobody writes for his journal except himself, well knowing that nothing else he could say would injure it so much. Several men of learning, talent and experience, are engaged upon a liberal stipend to write regularly for its columns. They furnish articles upon such subjects as may be suggested by their principal, or by their own judgment. They are all carefully read, examined, and usually altered and corrected by the editor. No writer can have any assurance that his production will appear in the shape given it by himself; and none is ever at liberty to claim in any way the authorship of his own articles. It is thus by making the paper great, and those who conduct it nothing, that the *Times* has come to be the most considerable journal in existence. It well knows that the public care less than nothing about the individuals who sit at its desks. All its readers want is an able, intelligent, and comprehensive daily paper, and that it is careful to furnish. The machinery behind the curtain it has the sense and taste to conceal. — *Rochester American*.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ This and the foregoing paragraph, clipped from an unidentified newspaper (which is quoting the *Rochester American*) and dated in ink along the top margin “Dec 1848[?]”, are mounted on p. [136] immediately following the entries “femme . . . montée”. Both the content and phrasing are used in “The Times,” *W*, V, 268.

[137]²⁴⁹ 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 Thuilleries, this Louvre, this Hotel de Ville, Palais de Justice, & old tower de la Boucherie
Jacques ↑Efflorescence of France²⁵⁰

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

The Journal L'Assemblée Nationale is high shop[.]

La Vraie Republique[:] G Sand, Leroux, Barbès

Commune de Paris was Sobrier

Dumas

La Presse, Girardin

La Réforme, Ledru Rollin

Journal des Debats Michel Chevalier

Le Siecle Constitutionelle Odillon Barrere

National, Marrast

Leon Foucher²⁵¹

Gustave D'Eichthal

Rome 1833²⁵²

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

²⁴⁹ This page is in pencil.

²⁵⁰ Cf. Notebook Xenien, p. [66] below.

²⁵¹ “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 (1797–1871) and George Sand founded the *Revue Indépendante* in 1841; Alexandre Dumas (1802–1870) was editing *La Liberté* in 1848. “Sobrier” has not been identified; the other editors or contributors named, in addition to Armand Barbès, are Emile de Girardin (1806–1881), Alexandre Auguste Ledru-Rollin (1807–1874), Michel Chevalier (1806–1879), Camille Hyacinthe Odilon Barrot — Emerson’s “Odillon Barrere”? — (1791–1873), and Armand Marrast (1801–1852).

²⁵² 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[.]²⁵³

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[.]

[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 sous and a cup of coffee in the evening 10 or 12 sous more[.] Say the expenses of living for a day, at my rate, are 6 francs 15 sous, 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)uy it, namely, their speech. I covet that which the vilest of the people possesses.

French poetry is peu de chose and in their character & performance is always prose, prose ornée, 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.²⁵⁴ '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

²⁵³ "And . . . spoonful" is in pencil.

²⁵⁴ On May 25, 1848, Emerson went to a soirée at the de Tocquevilles' (L, IV, 78).

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.²⁵⁵

[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[.]²⁵⁶

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.²⁵⁷

[145] Le Club des Conspirateurs
C'est l'aristocratie de la démocratie.
Le Club des Conspirateurs déclare que la France est une terre de conspiration. Il reconnaît les droits de l'émeute, et un Conspirateur Suprême. La Conspiration est en permanence.
Il sera crée au College de France une Chaire de Conspiration.
On chargera le Citoyen Blanqui de rediger dans le silence du cabinet un manuel de conspiration à l'usage des enfans.

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

²⁵⁵ "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.

²⁵⁶ The obelisk, presented to Louis Philippe by Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, was brought to France in 1831 and erected in Paris in 1836 under the direction of J. B. Lebas.

²⁵⁷ On that day Emerson was to begin a course of six lectures at the Literary and Scientific Institution, Portman Square, London. Writing to his wife on May 17, he noted that he had just forwarded his program for the course (L, IV, 74).

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.

(1) 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 Thuilleries; 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 Bucherie; l'Hotel de Ville; le Pantheon;

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.²⁵⁸ 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 (your) losing some word or look, but is continuous & 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.²⁵⁹

[153] (May)

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.²⁶⁰ 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

²⁵⁸ 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).

²⁵⁹ 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-Show*, "A Pungent Penny Pictorial Periodical!"

²⁶⁰ 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 queek lee †en Amérique †
te mash eens † † †²⁶¹

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.²⁶² Meantime they are very civil & goodtempered,

²⁶¹ "Do thy . . . lee" and "te mash eens" are in pencil; "en Amérique" and the question mark are in ink.

²⁶² "Paris has . . . consulted." is struck through in pencil with single vertical use marks on pp. [156] and [157].

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 secretes] 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 & independency, why here is Paris.

The cafés are not to be forgotten, filled with newspapers[,] blazing with light, [162] sauntering places, oubliettes 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.²⁶³ Then in the street the affiches (at) ↑on↓ 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.

[163] 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 the 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.²⁶⁴ The twentyseven 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.²⁶⁵

[165]²⁶⁶ Saw Rowland Hill at Hampstead. He says in 1845 which is the right year of comparison the Post Office yielded 1,600 000 pounds ↑net↓ revenue. In 184(8)7 1 000 000 only; but the number of postoffices 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.

²⁶³ See Notebook England and Paris, p. [63] below, and the list on p. [138] above.

²⁶⁴ Emerson left Paris for London on June 2, 1848.

²⁶⁵ Pasted below this entry, which expands a note made in Notebook England and Paris, p. [63] below, is an unidentified newspaper clipping of two paragraphs, in German, concerning the public buildings of Paris. Advertisements overleaf indicate that the clipping is from a German-language paper published in New York City.

²⁶⁶ This page is in pencil.

At Mr Field's Hampstead[.]²⁶⁷
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.²⁶⁸

[166] 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.²⁶⁹

[167] In Blanqui's *Club des droits de l'homme*, an orator in blouse 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

77¹ 270

[168] [blank]

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

²⁶⁷ 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 25, 1848 (*L*, IV, 93).

²⁶⁸ 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.

²⁶⁹ See Journal GH, p. [69] above ("French has street courage"), Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, I, iii, 140 ("Is it a world to hide virtues in?"), and Notebook Xenien, p. [4] below, from which these five sentences are transcribed.

²⁷⁰ The insertion is in pencil. Emerson visited Blanqui's club on Saturday and Sunday evenings, May 13 and 14, 1848 (*L*, IV, 73).