

History and Biography in Emerson's Unpublished Sermons

*(A Report of Progress and of Research Possibilities)*¹

BY KENNETH WALTER CAMERON

THE two books of G. R. Owst² on medieval preaching and preachers have taught the historian to be respectful of sermons—at least those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—and students of literature, following Coleridge, have kept alive an appreciation for at least the prose style of such pulpit giants of the English Renaissance as Jeremy Taylor, John Donne, Robert Leighton, and Launcelot Andrews. But as an archivist of American ecclesiastical records covering the last three centuries, I must confess that the bundles of old, brown manuscripts of the American Church fathers, written with microscopic pens and placed on my desk from time to time for cataloging, have not had much to commend them. To most of us, I believe, a dead sermon usually deserves a prompt interment. The wife of a Connecticut parson, who had preached for nearly fifty years, recently whispered in my ear that she had just burnt up his barrel, convinced that the world would not long grieve for the loss. Of course, she was right. And, doubtless, Emerson's literary executor felt somewhat the same way about the 180

¹ For generous privileges during a decade of research in the Emerson papers, I am indebted to the Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association through its president, Edward Waldo Forbes, Esq., of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University.

² See Gerald Robert Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England: an Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the Period c. 1350-1450* (Cambridge, 1926); *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England: A Neglected Chapter in the History of English Letters and of the English People* (Cambridge, 1933).

discourses which the Concord sage had delivered during his active ministry of a little more than six years. Only two found their way into print during this period—the notable one on the Lord's Supper and a short "Right Hand of Fellowship" delivered at the ordination of Hersey Bradford Goodwin. A few circulated in manuscript among appreciative hearers, who may be responsible for a few gaps in the present file. But whatever acclaim Emerson received as a preacher—and there was considerable—most of it has been forgotten. This passage in the diary of the Reverend Convers Francis, dated December 9, 1827, is probably typical:³ This day Mr. Emerson from Cambridge preached for me, though I performed the other services. His sermons were from I Timothy V, 4—"let them learn" & from II Chronicles XX, 20, "believe in the L. your G. &c." These sermons were distinguished by great felicity of thought & style, by rich moral eloquence, & by a fresh & fervent earnestness. It is delightful to see & to hear such a young man as Mr. E.

When McGiffert, in 1938, published a selection of twenty-five sermons in his *Young Emerson Speaks*, some of us then at work in the typescript journals realized that the stone rejected or ignored by researchers until that time might soon become, if not the head of the corner, a very necessary supporting wedge to protect it, and for quite other reasons than those in which his contemporaries at the Second Church may have delighted. Written for the most part between 1826 and 1833—a few as late as 1836—they were composed during the major crises of his life: the death of his first wife, Ellen; his search for security in Quakerism and Swedenborgism; his renunciation of the active ministry; his voyage to Europe to see Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Carlyle; and

³ On the penultimate page of volume I of the "Ministerial Diary" of the Rev. Convers Francis, Jr., begun at Watertown, Mass., June 28, 1819. The last entry of volume I is dated Dec. 30, 1827. MS. owned by Mrs. Caleb Wheeler, Fairhaven Road, Concord. Used here with her permission. Convers Francis (1795-1863) was for twenty-three years pastor of the First Church in Watertown; also town historian and teacher in the Theological School at Cambridge.

his period of hiving during the earliest of his lyceum lectures. The sermons reflect or anticipate these events. Their proximity, moreover, to the year 1834, the time of his poetic maturity,⁴ to 1835, when he produced his "Statement of the First Philosophy," and to 1836, when he launched his important little book, *Nature*, ought long ago to have suggested that they might have special significance for all these early milestones. And they do.

During the past ten years, I have been noting biographical significance, tracing in the sermons the genesis of many of the later essays and poems, marking the development of the principal themes, recording his sources—that is, the bibliography of his reading—,⁵ studying the books which he recommended to his parishioners,⁶ and exploring the literary aspects: matters of style, symbolism, characterization, structure, imagery, description,⁷ vignettes, exempla, anal-

⁴ This is the opinion of a specialist in Emerson's poetry. See Carl F. Strauch, "The Year of Emerson's Poetic Maturity: 1834," *Philological Quarterly*, XXXIV, no. 4 (Oct., 1955), pp. 353-377.

⁵ See the Appendix for a rough list of some of these.

⁶ From Sermon 40: "It is the interest & the duty of every family & every individual to give the greatest activity of circulation to good books of every kind—those seeds of civilization, those silent benefactors, those modest missionaries that carry light & truth & virtue from one generation to another." From Sermon 120: "It is better to read the books, for the most part, than it would be to have the power to converse with the authors. How much better in some respects is our intercourse with the dead, than with the living! . . . there are a thousand impediments that spring up in living conversation, from mixture of company, or uncongeniality of minds, that obstruct our full acquaintance with another's mind. . . . But a man may select these silent friends with particular regard to his own convenience. He may give leave of speech to whom he will in the great family of the wise. . . ." He recommends particular books in Sermon 36.

⁷ For published examples of his nature descriptions, see *Young Emerson Speaks*, ed. Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Jr., Boston, 1938, *passim*. See also Sermon 23: "Though the earth, we inhabit, is nobly furnished, though the heavens are arched gloriously over our heads,—yet when the morning breaks in the east, & the sun rises,—man steps forth from his little dwelling into this swelling scene, to labour, to eat, to drink, to laugh, to talk, to sin, & to sleep again. He heeds it not, this wondrous majesty wherewith the great House of nature is adorned. Let the sun go up the sky, and the moon shine, & innumerable stars move before him in orbits so vast that centuries shall not fulfil them; let the seasons go round, and winter cover his fields with coats of dazzling snow & the summer pour out upon them her horn of plenty—he does not care—he does not know—he is creeping in a little path of his own. . . ."

ogies, proverb lore, and humor⁸—to name only a few. The first concrete result of this study is to be an exhaustive index to both the manuscripts and my annotations or marginalia—now complete and being prepared for the press. But with the foregoing topics, I shall not spend any time this morning, though Emerson himself might remind me that they should be preferred to the announced subject, since “The only teller of news is the poet.”⁹

HISTORY IN THE SERMONS

Emerson drew upon ancient history for many of his lustrations and illustrations—from Plutarch, Montaigne, Herodotus, and derivative treatises on Greece and Rome, like Mitford's. He used English and French histories in the same way, especially for the periods of the Renaissance, the Age of Reason, and the French Revolution; and his principal sources were Hume, Mackintosh, Clarendon, and the abundant literature on Napoleon. He scatters echoes of all these liberally throughout his pages. “When the Antinomians,” he writes, for example, “broke open the churches and washed sheep in the baptismal font, those sheep were not baptized.”¹⁰ Early New England history is, however, his principal point of reference. He venerated the Puritans, and through a kind of Plymouth Rock alembic, he deals with the traditions of the holidays, fast days, Thanksgivings, Christmases, New Year's days, and institutions like the Sabbath. The Puritans are characterized

⁸ From Sermon 116: “Come to Church when the Church is open and do not bring your body here to make a bed of your pew but bring your soul to be educated and sweetened and sacrificed.”

⁹ See *Journals*, V, 478.

¹⁰ See Sermon 67.

in several discourses, and comparisons between the seventeenth century and his own day, carefully drawn.¹¹

Most important, probably, to this Society are the numerous references to contemporary history—to Boston's mourning for Lafayette, the significance of the solar eclipse of 1834, the activity of the Cent Societies, Massachusetts elections, religious revivals, the importance of Harvard Commencements to the community, economic crises, the treatment of Indian tribes, analyses of crime in the court records, low scholarly standards of Harvard students, attitudes toward the immigrant and foreigner in Boston streets, and concrete details concerning the work of social relief and the distribution of alms. We hear of fires "like that mournful conflagration which has desolated one of our cities and turned 1500 persons into the street, for whose wants your charity is today implored."¹² European news is frequent. "At this moment the civilized world rings with rumors of alarm. In one devoted country the martyrs of freedom are cloven down by hundreds and thousands under the dragoons of a despot."¹³ He commends "the recent revolution in France" as "a war of principle which, after destroying despotism, stayed its hand and did not as in former revolutions destroy the principle."¹⁴ He rejoices

¹¹ See, for example, Sermon 113: "Not that I think there is any danger that the names and exploits of the Puritans will be forgotten. It has become fashionable to praise them. Our self-love leads us to extol our ancestors. But far better would it be that we should praise them with understanding,—that we should inherit their sentiments, value what they valued. And whilst we give them good words, not be in truth such aliens as to contemn their Religion. . . . Let us have juster regard to them and to their institution. Think of them as men whom God honoured with great usefulness. That solid sense, that expansion of the inner man to the truths of religion and of civil right—that greater reverence for history and for law which they had may compensate for any arts of trade, and mechanical improvements, & fine houses, which they had not. He that thinks so profoundly, he that acts so habitually in reference to the principles of the first class . . . may be excused if he have little playfulness in his conversation. . . ."

¹² See Sermon 36.

¹³ See Sermon 114.

¹⁴ See Sermon 97.

“that the light of Christianity has been admitted by reason of the French Conquest of Algiers into the North of Africa.”¹⁵ On the eve of Parliament’s passing the Reform Bill, he makes favorable and unfavorable remarks about the division of labor as manifested in New England life, and he frequently characterizes the United States in prophetic words.¹⁶

Boston institutions command considerable space: The Seaman’s Chapel, the Port Society, the Female Asylum, the Second Church with its Hancock Sunday School, The Evangelical Treasury, the dedication of the Second Church Vestry or Chapel, the Chapel in Friend Street for the “free religious instruction of the poor,” church libraries, and the Evangelical Missionary Society. One has many penetrating glimpses of Boston. “We live in a fair city. It is full of commodious and spacious mansions. But the eye that sees the morning sun shine on long streets of decorated dwellings is apt to forget how many obscure garrets, how many damp basements, are here and there found amid this magnificence.”¹⁷

¹⁵ See Sermon 97.

¹⁶ See Sermon 113: “And what evil can we discern impending over us? The flag of this country is hurrying over the ocean into every port and island of the globe. You see a great country only half explored; fast increasing census, spreading cultivation; rising cities filled with every social institution. ’Tis the breath of life, the tumult of industry and not the sound of falling ruins. True; but it will not cost greater changes than have been exhibited, to blow the trumpet of civil war from one end of the country to the other, and from the sea to the wilderness; to turn those fleets of merchantmen into privateers and pirates; to turn these pleasant cities into strongholds of cruel factions; and, in the end, every house into a bloody castle; and the friendships that tie us in one community, into murderous hatreds. It needs no strange or impossible foreign influence or marvellous series of external events. It needs only certain change in the speculative principles which we ourselves entertain. It needs a preponderance of passion over reason, a little more violent preference of selfish interest over honest shame, than now we permit in ourselves—a little more casting off of the restraints of Puritan principles and Puritan manners, a little greater progress of unbelief which springs from a bad heart. . . . For when things have gone to a certain pass and strife begins, the antagonist parties goad each other on to indefinite mischief, and the atrocity of one is cause and plea of the atrocity of the others.”

¹⁷ See Sermon 40.

BIOGRAPHY IN THE SERMONS

Emerson once wrote: "There is no history. There is only biography,"¹⁸ and the sermons reflect this interest. He drew heavily upon the historians already mentioned for portraits of great men and anecdotes concerning the benefactors and scourges of mankind. But his attention also remained close to home. The sermon delivered after the death of George Sampson, a Boston merchant, foreshadows sketches which he later drew of people like Thoreau and his Aunt Mary.¹⁹ There are notices of Mrs. Elizabeth Dorr and Mrs. Elizabeth Derby, formerly members of the Female Asylum of Boston.²⁰ His revision of Sermon 114, designed to be read in Concord before his mother and family on June 5, 1836, is a touching tribute to his lately deceased brother, Charles Chauncy.²¹

¹⁸ See *Journals*, V, 208.

¹⁹ See Sermon 168 (Aug. 3, 1834).

²⁰ See Sermon 128.

²¹ See Sermon 114: "It may be you have been called to mourn the loss of a dear friend connected with yourself by all those bonds that make friendship dearest & its loss sorest. And what is it that such events say? Why this, certainly. The chasm of the loss, these bursting tears, this broken voice, this wearisome sense of privation,—what is it but so much eulogy of the departed? what is it but, under another form, a thanksgiving to God that he had so highly blessed us? It is an acknowledgment (how unobtrusive) of the privilege of being associated with a noble character. Indeed, brethren, I prize above all prosperity that which is sometimes called the joy of grief. I value every tear that is shed for departed men, because it is a certificate of the excellent endowments, the graces, the character which have dwelt with us. What good shall we compare with this good? with the reverence & love which human character has inspired in closest intimacy, where all hypocrisy & veil were impossible,—seen in the practice of common duties, & in the gaiety & vexations, the plans & failures, the opinions & actions of daily life, passing from duty to duty, at home, & abroad. When we have been made acquainted in our own familiar circle with one who was so severe an adorer of truth that it would have been as easy for him to steal as to dissemble; with one who so revered the oracle in his own mind that he held all men's opinion light in the balance with its softest whisper; with one who had such a value for time that he thought men's frugality of it the measure of their worth; with one who adding to his virtues the finest accomplishments, had no vanity, and never added to his necessary discourse one word for the sake of display; with one who amidst all the attractions which the world offered had so high a standard of action & character that more life had nothing to charm him & in his most ambitious hour held the world very cheap, with one who prized the religious sentiment as God's greatest gift to man, & was impatient of any discourse or speculations in the Church which led the mind away from this, because it was the basis of human strength, the succor in trouble, & especially the right of the great number who have almost no education but that which the Sabbath supplies them. . . ."

Professor Conrad Wright, in a recent monograph entitled, "Emerson, Barzillai Frost, and the Divinity School Address,"²² suggests that R. W. E.'s sensitivity in the presence of the Reverend Mr. Frost's dull, uninspired and conventional pulpit discourses in Concord bore fruit in the warnings addressed in 1838 to the theological students in Cambridge. Overlooked by Dr. Wright, and belonging with the evidence, is Sermon 171, which deals with the character of Hersey Bradford Goodwin, for six years Dr. Ezra Ripley's assistant and a man who was everything Barzillai Frost apparently was not. Even in this eulogy, like Milton in *Lycidas*, Emerson condemned the hirelings and man-ordained clergy who too frequently in New England did harm to a spiritual religion. Asserting that truth is not committed primarily into the hands of any artificial professional class, he said:²³ Not of men wearing certain titles and garb, and visibly exercising the offices of the Church, but of the real priesthood, not made by man but by God, composed of individuals in every age of the world, in every country . . . who, out of love to the human soul, speak to men of its concerns. . . . I speak of the class of natural preachers, men of inward light whose eye is opened upon the laws of duty, and the beauty of holiness and who love to declare what they study.

Goodwin, he said, was one of these.

THE SERMONS IN NEW ENGLAND HISTORY

I have found the manuscripts rich in illustrating many areas of American life and thought.

(1) The impact of German Biblical criticism in the 1830's is one area. A little shy of it at first,²⁴ Emerson eventually accepted it, at the same time, apparently under its impact, groping after the other scriptures of the world. His well-documented Vestry Lectures, which I am being permitted to

²² *Harvard Theological Review*, XLIX, no. 1 (Jan., 1956), pp. 19-43.

²³ See Sermon 171.

²⁴ See the sermon or "Thursday Lecture" now catalogued as "Houghton 387."

edit in a forthcoming study of the German influence, are built upon the lower and higher criticism of the Continent, to which, after leaving the ministry, he seldom or never adverted.

(2) The history of New England Unitarianism is another area. The upheaval concerning the Lord's Supper has blinded many students to the great service Emerson rendered the movement launched by Dr. Channing. The sermons make careful distinctions, deal with all the current issues, and contain remarkable passages in defense of Liberal Christianity. I quote but one:²⁵

. . . we [Unitarians] have no ties of opinion to each other. The theory we hold is the true one, that every man is a sect himself, and only unites for social worship with such as are nearest him in faith and feeling, without entering into any compact of opinion with his brethren or imposing any upon them. And it is hence more in our power than it ever was in the history of the Church, of any class of teachers, to say exactly what we think. Please God this liberty may be a substance not a name.

(3) The sermons bear upon the history of nineteenth-century optimism, natural religion, and, eventually, evolutionary theory.

(4) The history of the impact of scientific thought between 1800 and the Civil War is another area. Emerson's lifelong interest in natural history begins to be reflected in the sermons. He draws richly from astronomy, geology, chemistry, and biology for his illustrations, astronomy leading the others.²⁶ A study of his analogies especially shows his indebtedness to natural philosophy. "Many of you," he writes,²⁷ "have witnessed the common experiment of the loadstone. If you introduce a magnet," certain results will follow. He describes these results and then makes his

²⁵ See Sermon 108A.

²⁶ See one sermon already in print: *Young Emerson Speaks*, ed. McGiffert, pp. 170-179.

²⁷ See Sermon 43.

application to spiritual matters, much as he does in *Nature*.

(5) The history of American preaching is another area. I am confident that Emerson's position as an active clergyman will be reassessed when his discourses shall have received the attention they merit.

(6) The history of the various towns in which he delivered his sermons is another area.²⁸ Boston, Concord, Lexington, New Bedford, and Plymouth are a few. He preached in New Hampshire also. Hartford Unitarians, in their centenary celebrations, made much of the fact that Emerson had preached among them on one of his trips south. The extant manuscript preaching record, listing all these places—some all the way to Florida—invites the diligent researcher to relate a particular sermon revision to the delivery at a particular place.

(7) The history of European influences upon American thought between 1825 and 1840 is another area. The sermons reflect Emerson's extensive reading in the works of the English, French and German Romantics.

(8) The sermons throw light on the history of education and the philosophy of instruction. Emerson shows remarkable insight into the child mind and admonishes the adult teacher with commendable conviction.²⁹

²⁸ Sermon 3: "And if the foot of an invader defiled at this moment any sod on our soil I need hardly ask you, standing where I stand (in Concord) if your blood would keep its even and temperate flow; for the voice would cry to me from the graves of your fathers."

²⁹ See, for example, Sermon 148: "No one can be much acquainted with children without discovering that a boy or girl shows a very different character alone, from that which the same child exhibits in the company of other children. One who is inexperienced in the care of children & goes a stranger into a large school, is very apt to be disheartened by the appearance of idle, stupid, impracticable habits; the readiness with which children conspire together in frivolous teasing of their teacher. He thinks he sees malignity & obstinacy & he leaps to the disagreeable conclusion that no impression can be made upon this prematurely corrupt mass. It only needs that he should be intimately acquainted with each one to have this impression wholly effaced from his mind. It is a rule of education as of policy: 'Divide & Conquer.' As they are seen separately & the character of each individual disclosed it shows itself plastic & amiable & inquisitive; & the most disagreeable & obstinate child is found to be capable of good humor & application. The very expressions children use in their games attest to an attentive mind. . . ." See also Sermon 128.

(9) The history of the American Dream is another area. Emerson loved his country and on many occasions held the patriotic ideal before the eyes of his parishioners, but he joined to it a stern realism touching the then present attainments. For example,³⁰

I see in the land a few cultivated minds, a few souls raised by their accomplishments and their toil . . . but what multitudes of men are all uncultivated, are, I might almost say, spiritually lame, and deaf, and blind. They do not judge for themselves, and how can they act in their own right? They lean on others' opinions. They can hardly be said to act voluntarily but by chance.

(10) The history of sectarianism in the early nineteenth century—of Quakers, Swedenborgians, Methodists, Calvinists, Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, and others—is a tenth area. These groups appear in the sermons, sometimes treated critically but often with surprising sympathy.

There is something in a high degree religious and beautiful in the affection with which the Catholic regards the Holy Virgin, which is every way preferable to the pagan conception of Diana, of Venus and Juno . . . the countenance which the genius of the Italian painters has delineated for the virgin has an angelic sweetness.³¹

Look at the fervent Methodist stealing away from every occupation and pleasure that other men pursue, to the obscure street where his humble class meet to sing and pray. Look at the Sectarian of each New Church that arises in the bosom of Christendom and see what an absorbing reality religion is to them. . . .³²

Other areas are: (11) the history of the New England Sunday School,³³ (12) the history of oriental thought in America, and (13) the criticism of the novel.³⁴ These, too, can find footnotes in Emerson's homiletical papers.

³⁰ See Sermon 81.

³¹ See Sermon 13.

³² See Sermon 133.

³³ See Sermons 36, 40 and 148.

³⁴ See, for example, Sermon 117.

I am personally most interested (14) in the genesis of the Transcendental Movement and in the backgrounds of the poem "Gnothi Seauton" (1831), "The Statement of the First Philosophy" (1835), and *Nature* (1836), for all of which the sermons are a rich quarry.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN THE SERMONS

I have time only to remind you, as Emerson wrote in his *Journals*,³⁵ that "all history is in us." The sermons reveal transitions in his thought and modifications of opinion which few readers of the published works or even of the definitive biography at present suspect. They show the life of a sensitive and creative mind and its arrival at costly and permanent convictions. One sees in little marginal notes or pencilled addenda into the very heart of the man. Sitting in pew number 13, one day after an especially tiring service, he scribbled on his manuscript: "I am tired of talking now; the lust of talking is over; and only want to excite the rest of the body and so quiet the lungs."³⁶ One senses his growing conviction about the limitations of the pulpit for him in sentences like these, addressed to his people toward the end of his ministry:³⁷

Religion has been asleep this thousand years. I do not speak of any one sect. I speak of all. I speak of us. I think almost all of us are content to be religious by education and not by realizing its truths. The only way for a man to become religious is to be so by himself.

³⁵ See *Journals*, V, 173.

³⁶ See Sermon 120.

³⁷ See Sermon 123.

APPENDIX I: SELECTED SOURCES FOR THE SERMONS

- Abernethy, John
Physiological Lectures
- Æsop
Fables
- Appius Claudius Caecus
- Appleton, Nathaniel (?)
- Aquinas, Thomas
- Aristotle
- Bacon, Francis
Advancement of Learning
Antitheta
Apophtegms
Essays
- Bailey, Samuel
Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions
- Berkeley, George
- Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, Jacques Henri
- Bertholdt, Leonhard
- Biber, Edward
Henry Pestalozzi and His Plan of Education
- Boerhaave, Hermannus
Book of Common Prayer
- Boswell, James
Life of Samuel Johnson
- Bryant, William Cullen
"The Old Man's Funeral"
"Thanatopsis"
- Buckingham, James Silk
- Bunyan, John
Pilgrim's Progress
- Burke, Edmund
Letter to Barry
Letters on a Regicide Peace
- Burns, Robert
- Butler, Joseph
The Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion
- Byron, George Noel Gordon Byron, Lord
Childe Harold
- Caecus: See Appius.
- Calisto and Meliboea
- Carlyle, Thomas
"Characteristics"
"Signs of the Times"
- Cato, Marcus
- Cave, William
Apostolici or Primitive Christianity
- Channing, William Ellery (*elder*)
Sermons
- Chesterfield, Lord
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius
- Clarke, Samuel
- Clement of Alexandria
- Cleobulus
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor
Aids to Reflection
"The Destiny of Nations"
"Fears in Solitude"
The Friend
Statesman's Manual
- Cornaro, Luigi
Discourses on a Sober and Temperate Life
- Cousin, Victor
- Coverdale, Myles
- Cowper, William
The Task
- Cromwell, Oliver
- Dante Alighieri
Divina Comedia (Paradiso)
- Diogenes Laertius
The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers
- Donne, John
Five Sermons upon Special Occasions
- Dryden, John
Conquest of Grenada
"On the Death of a Very Young Gentleman"
- DuBartas, Guillaume de Salluste, *seigneur*
Devine Weekes and Workes
- Du Deffand de la Lande, Marie Anne
Lettres à Horace Walpole
- Eckermann, Jacob Christoph Rudolph
Handbuch
Edinburgh Review
- Eichhorn, Johann Gottfried
Einleitung ins Alte Testament
Hebraischen Propheten
- Encyclopedias
- Epictetus
- Epicurus

- Erasmus, Desiderius
 Euripides
 Eusebius Pamphili
The Auncient Ecclesiastical Histories
Eyes and No Eyes (Child's Story)
 Fénelon, François de Salignac de la Moth-
Meditations
Selections from the Writings
 Fichte, Johann Gottlieb
 Fielding, Thomas
Select Proverbs of All Nations
 Fontenelle, Bernard Le Bovier de
 Fox, George
 Gérando, Joseph Marie de, *baron*
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von
Zweiter Römischer Auenthalt
 Goldsmith, Oliver
 "The Deserted Village"
 Gray, Thomas
Letters and Poems
 Griesbach, Johann Jacob
Novum Testamentum
 Hardenberg, Friedrich, *freiherr* von
 Hare, William Augustus and Julius Charles
Guesses at Truth
Harmony of the Gospels, On the Plan Pro-
posed by Lant Carpenter
 Harrington, James (?)
 Hazlitt, William
Spirit of the Age
 Herbert, George
 "The Bosom Sinne"
 "The Church Porch"
 "The Elixir"
Jacula Prudentum
 Herodotus
 Hobbes, Thomas
Behemoth
 Homer
Iliad
 Hug, Johann Leonhard von
 Humboldt, Friedrich Heinrich Alexandervon
 Hume, David
 Irenæus, Saint
 Jewel, John
Certain Sermons
 Johnson, Samuel
Idler
Lives of the Poets
- Josephus, Flavius
The Jewish War
 Justinus, Martyr, Saint
The Apologies
 Juvenalis, Decimus Junius
Satires
 Kempis, Thomas à
Imitation of Christ
 Koppe, Johann Benjamin
Koran
 Lardner, Nathaniel
 Le Clerc, Jean, of Amsterdam
Historia Ecclesiastica
 Leibnitz, Gottfried Wilhelm von, *baron*
 Leighton, Robert, *archbishop*
Select Works
 Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim
 Locke, John
 Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus
 Mackintosh, Sir James
The History of England
 Macknight, James
 Marius, Caius
 Marivaux, Pierre
 Marsh, Herbert, *bishop*
 Milman, Henry Hart
Samor
 Milton, John
Areopagitica
Comus
Il Penseroso
Lycidas
 "On His Blindness"
Paradise Lost
 "To Mr. Cyriack Skinner"
 Montaigne, Michel Eyquem de
Essays
New Jerusalem Magazine
 Newton, Sir Isaac
 Niebuhr, Carsten
 Novalis: See Hardenberg.
 Origenes
 Ovidius Naso, Publius
The Metamorphoses
 Paley, William
Natural Theology
 Parsons, Theophilus
 "On the Infinite in Nature"

- Pascal, Blaise
Les Pensées
- Penn, William
Select Works
- Pestalozzi, Henry
- Plato
Dialogues
- Playfair, John
Dissertation Exhibiting a General View of the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Sciences
- Plutarchus
Lives
Morals
- Pope, Alexander
Epistles and Satires of Horace
Essay on Man
"To the Memory of An Unfortunate Lady"
- Priestley, Joseph
Memoirs
Quarterly Review
- Ray, John
A Compleat Collection of English Proverbs
- Reaumur, René Antoine Ferchault de
- Reed, Sampson
Observations on the Growth of the Mind
"On Animals"
"Oration on Genius"
- Richter, Jean Paul Friedrich
- Robertson, William
- St. Anselm: See St. Augustine.
- St. Augustine
Enchiridion
The Meditations, His Treatises of the Love of God, Soliloquies and Manual. To which are added Select Contemplations from St. Anselm and St. Bernard
- St. Bernard: See St. Augustine.
- St. Cyprian
- St. Clement of Alexandria
Epistle to the Corinthians
- Saurin, Jacques
Sermons
- Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von
Don Carlos
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich Caniel Ernst
- Scott, Sir Walter
Heart of Midlothian
Ivanhoe
- Scougal, Henry
The Life of God in the Soul of Man
- Selden, John
Table Talk
- Seneca, Lucius Annaeus
Epistles
- Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd earl of
- Shakespeare, William
Hamlet
Henry VIII
King Lear
Measure for Measure
A Midsummer Night's Dream
The Tempest
- Sidney, Sir Philip
- Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge
Lives of Eminent Persons
- Socrates
- Sophocles
- Southey, Robert
"British Monasticism"
- Spence, Joseph
Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters, of Books and Men
- Staël-Holstein, Anne Louise Germaine, baronne de
- Stewart, Dugald
- Stow, John
Chronicles of England
- Swedenborg, Emanuel
Heaven and its Wonders and Hell Works
- Swift, Jonathan
- Sybilline Prophecies
- Tacitus
Talmud
- Taylor, Isaac
Natural History of Enthusiasm
- Taylor, Jeremy
The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying
Sermon at the Funeral of Sir George Dalston
- Tertullianus, Quintus Septimius Florens
Apologeticus

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Tucker, Abraham
 <i>The Light of Nature Pursued</i>
 <i>Man in Quest of Himself</i></p> <p>Valdemar IV, <i>king of Denmark</i></p> <p>Vanini, Lucilio</p> <p>Vergilius Maro, Publius
 <i>Eclagues</i></p> <p>Voltaire, François Marie Arouet de</p> <p>Waddington, George
 <i>History of the Church to the Reformation</i></p> <p>Wakefield, Gilbert
 <i>A New Translation of those Parts of the
 New Testament Wrongly Translated</i></p> <p>Waller, Edmund</p> | <p>White, Henry Kirke
 <i>The Remains</i>
 "Divine Sovereignty"</p> <p>Witt, Jan de</p> <p>Wordsworth, William
 "Character of the Happy Warrior"
 <i>The Excursion</i>
 "Ode on Intimations of Immortality"
 "Peter Bell"
 <i>Poems Dedicated to National Independence</i></p> <p>Xenophon
 <i>Memoirs of Socrates</i></p> <p>Young, Edward
 <i>Night Thoughts</i></p> |
|---|--|

APPENDIX II: ANECDOTES AND BIOGRAPHICAL ALLUSIONS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>Agesilaus</p> <p>Alden, Timothy</p> <p>Alexander the Great</p> <p>Arethusa and Echo</p> <p>Aristides</p> <p>Athanasius</p> <p>Attila</p> <p>Bell, Andrew</p> <p>Bias, King of Priene</p> <p>Brasidas</p> <p>Buckingham, <i>Duke of</i></p> <p>Byron, George Anson, <i>7th baron</i></p> <p>Caesar, Julius</p> <p>Calvin, John</p> <p>Charlemagne</p> <p>Chilo</p> <p>Columbus, Christopher</p> <p>Cook, <i>Capt.</i> James</p> <p>Cyrus</p> <p>Diogenes</p> <p>Elston, <i>Friar</i></p> <p>Epaminondas</p> <p>Franklin, Benjamin</p> <p>Gilbert, William</p> <p>Hampden, John</p> <p>Harvey, William</p> <p>Howard, John</p> <p>Hopkins, Samuel</p> <p>Keith, <i>Sir</i> William</p> <p>Kepler, Johannes</p> <p>Knox, John</p> <p>Lafayette, <i>Marquis de</i></p> | <p>Lancaster, Joseph</p> <p>Leonidas</p> <p>Lucretia</p> <p>Luther, Martin</p> <p>Mackenzie, <i>Sir</i> Alexander</p> <p>Mahomet</p> <p>Melancthon, Philip</p> <p>Napoleon Bonaparte</p> <p>Neri, St. Philip</p> <p>Paulinus, <i>Bishop of Nola</i></p> <p>Periander</p> <p>Phocion</p> <p>Pindar</p> <p>Pittacus</p> <p>Pyrrhus</p> <p>St. Augustine, <i>of Canterbury</i></p> <p>St. Bernard</p> <p>St. Dominic</p> <p>St. Ignatius</p> <p>St. John</p> <p>St. Peter</p> <p>Solon</p> <p>Themistocles</p> <p>Turenne, Marshal Henri de La Tour
 d'Auvergne</p> <p>Tyndal, William</p> <p>Vespasian</p> <p>Vishnu and Tamur</p> <p>Ware, Henry, Jr.</p> <p>Washington, George</p> <p>Wesley, John</p> <p>Wilberforce, William</p> |
|---|--|

Copyright of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is the property of American Antiquarian Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.