

*The Social Construction of  
Thomas Carlyle's New England  
Reputation, 1834-36*

LEON JACKSON

'One tale-bearer is sufficient to disturb the peace of a neighborhood.'  
Anon. (1836).<sup>1</sup>

**D**URING the 1830s and 1840s, observers of the American literary scene were apt to fall back on disease-based metaphors when describing the rapid spread of an author's reputation, and in no case was this more true than when critics spoke of the fortunes of the Scottish author Thomas Carlyle. Critics complained of 'Germanic infections.'<sup>2</sup> According to one, 'The study of German became an epidemic about the time Carlyle broke out; the two disorders aggravated one another.'<sup>3</sup> Edgar Allan Poe, reviewing the works of William Ellery Channing, wrote that the poet 'appears to have been inoculated, at the same moment, with *virus* from Tennyson and from Carlyle,' while A. W. Dillard, in discussing Transcendentalism, recalled that 'Waldo Emerson and others, were infected with the wide-prevailing contagion, and by adopting the same opaque style, con-

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1. *American Ladies Magazine* 9 (1836): 561.

2. 'Germanic Infections: Dr. Channing,' *The Knickerbocker* 14 (1839): 90.

3. [Cornelius C. Felton], 'Lowell's Poems,' *North American Review* 58 (1844): 284-85.

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tributed to widen and extend the popularity of Carlyle in America.<sup>4</sup> Nor were other authors exempt from such figurative treatment. 'The Uncle Tom epidemic still rages with unabated virulence,' wrote Evert Duyckinck of Harriet Beecher Stowe's anti-slavery novel in 1852. 'No country is safe from its attack.'<sup>5</sup> Likewise, Edwin P. Whipple was compelled to write in 1847 that 'Jane Eyre fever was a national epidemic.'<sup>6</sup> Antebellum America, it seems, was rife with cultural contagions.

Yet colorful as such metaphors are, they tell us very little of the reality of textual dissemination and the construction of fame in nineteenth-century America. As contagious as they may seem, ideas are not, in reality, irresistible, nor do they affect populations indiscriminately. Our reliance on disease tropes, I believe, has greatly obscured our understanding of the ways in which reputations are socially constructed and canons established.<sup>7</sup> While it seems unlikely that literary historians will ever be able to avoid using figurative language, it behoves them to look beyond the rhetoric of fame and notoriety to the hard facts of the book trade and textual dissemination practices that lay behind them. In the paper that follows, I shall explore the social construction of Thomas Carlyle's reputation in New England between approximately 1834 and 1836, during which period he came to be seen as almost irresistibly, and quite perniciously, contagious.

It is the argument of this paper that the reason for the seeming virulence of Carlyle's popularity lay in the sociable nature of the community into which his works were first introduced. Carlyle's earliest New England readers were predominantly members of the Boston-Cambridge intellectual elite: a small, tightly-woven community. Almost all of them were Unitarian, many were min-

4. Edgar A. Poe, 'Our Amateur Poets. No. III—William Ellery Channing,' *Grubam's Magazine* 23 (1843): 111; A. W. Dillard, 'Thomas Carlyle—His Philosophy and Style,' *Southern Literary Messenger* 34 (1862): 290–91.

5. Evert Duyckinck, 'The Uncle Tom Epidemic,' *Literary World* 11 (1852): 355.

6. Quoted in Russel Blaine Nye, *Society and Culture in America, 1830–1860* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 89.

7. I have discussed this idea in more detail in my unpublished paper, 'Rising Stars and Raging Diseases: The Rhetoric and Reality of Antebellum Canonization.'

isters or in training for the clergy, most had studied at Harvard College or at the Theological School, most were young, and they were predominantly male. Those who did not fit this profile were closely associated with those who did. The mutual friendship of Carlyle's earliest readers cannot be overstressed if we are to understand the dynamic growth of his reputation in the mid-1830s, for as Francis Bremer has noted, individuals within a community at large 'prove more receptive to innovations proposed by friends rather than by strangers, and innovations will be diffused more rapidly through a network [of friends] than among members of the general population.'<sup>8</sup> This was certainly true in the case of Carlyle. News of his works first spread through the channels of personal friendship, as we may see if we look at the reception of his earliest book-length text, *Sartor Resartus*.

*Sartor* was first published in Britain in *Fraser's Magazine* in installments between 1833 and 1834.<sup>9</sup> Although *Fraser's* press runs at around this time amounted to almost 9,000 copies per edition, it was not a publication readily available in America. Efforts at pirating British periodicals had been made in 1819-20 and were again undertaken in 1833, but they usually failed, and *Fraser's* was not even considered for reprinting. Subscribing to foreign periodicals was always costly and unreliable, and apart from private libraries such as the Boston Athenæum, only a few cosmopolitan professionals indulged themselves.<sup>10</sup> After his return from Europe,

8. Francis J. Bremer, 'Increase Mather's Friends: The Trans-Atlantic Congregational Network of the Seventeenth Century,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 94 (1984): 61. See, more generally, Jeremy Boissevain, *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1974).

9. The early publishing history of *Sartor* is studied in G. B. Tennyson, *Sartor Called Resartus: The Genesis, Structure, and Style of Thomas Carlyle's First Major Work* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 126-56. On *Fraser's*, see Miriam M. H. Thrall, *Rebellious Fraser's: Nol Yorke's Magazine in the Days of Maginn, Thackeray, and Carlyle* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934).

10. *Fraser's* circulation in 1831 was calculated to be 8,700. See Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 393. On the halting attempts to pirate British magazines in America, see James J. Barnes, *Authors, Publishers and Politicians: The Quest for an Anglo-American Copyright Agreement, 1815-1854* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), 30-33. Ellis Gray Loring, who was later to help publish Carlyle's *Miscellanies*, found subscribing to British periodicals to be immensely frustrating. See Loring to Robert E.

the young Transcendentalist Ralph Waldo Emerson became one of these cosmopolites, taking out a subscription deliberately, so that he could read his new friend's work. Almost immediately, he began to spread news of the work to others within his circle of friends. In March 1834, for example, he wrote to his friend James Freeman Clarke to tell him of the work, even though he had not yet received any installments of *Fraser's* containing Carlyle's text.<sup>11</sup> Clarke promptly copied this letter and sent it to his cousin Margaret Fuller in Groton.<sup>12</sup> An aggressive fan of Carlyle herself, Fuller managed to read the work in bound copies of *Fraser's* as it came out and passed on information of her reading of Carlyle to another of her friends.<sup>13</sup> Emerson also dispatched a letter to his former student Benjamin Hunt in January of 1835, telling him of *Sartor*; 'If you have not seen it pray make inquiry after it,' he wrote.<sup>14</sup> Such scenarios were typical of Carlyle's early diffusion in America. News of his work was passed on by word of mouth and letter, from friend to friend, in a rapid manner.

The dissemination of news about *Sartor* soon picked up pace. In the second week of November 1834, Emerson received from Carlyle four stitched pamphlet copies of the complete work: 'one copy for your own behoof,' as he put it, 'three others you can perhaps find fit readers for.'<sup>15</sup> The diffusion of these four copies through the local community was remarkable. Of the four copies,

Hudson, May 7, 1837, Letter Book, 32, Loring Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

11. Emerson to Clarke, March 12, 1834, quoted in Oliver Wendell Holmes, *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1885), 78-79.

12. Clarke to Fuller, April 7, 1834, *The Letters of James Freeman Clarke to Margaret Fuller*, ed. John Wesley Thomas (Hamburg: Cram, de Gruyter & Co., 1957), 75-76.

13. Fuller to Frederic Henry Hedge, Nov. 30, 1834, *The Letters of Margaret Fuller*, ed. Robert N. Hudspeth (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 1: 214. Fuller wrote: 'I got a volume of Frazer's Mag and read all the Sartors I could find.' She had known of Carlyle by name since at least 1832. See also Fuller to Clarke, Aug. 7, 1832, *Letters of Fuller*, 1: 178. Another Transcendentalist who read *Sartor* serially was Amos Bronson Alcott. He would not meet Emerson until 1836, but they had several mutual friends, including George Partridge Bradford and Elizabeth Palmer Peabody. See *The Journals of Bronson Alcott*, ed. Odell Shepard (Boston: Little, Brown, 1938), 526.

14. Emerson to Hunt, Jan. 23, 1835, *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. Ralph Rusk (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), 1: 432-33.

15. Carlyle to Emerson, Aug. 12, 1834, *The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, ed. Joseph Slater (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), 103. On the dating of the re-

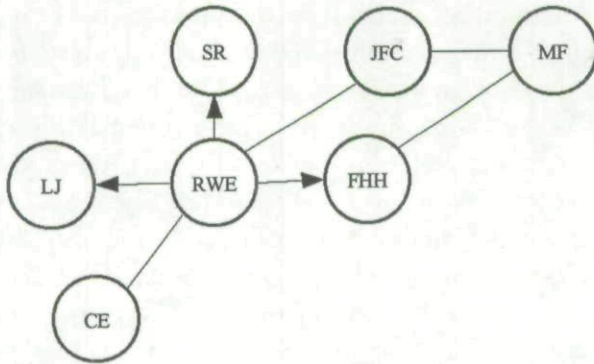


Fig. 1. Knowledge of *Sartor Resartus* by November 30, 1835 (see Appendix, p. 189).

one was given to the Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge, a Unitarian minister based in West Cambridge; another went to Emerson's aunt, Sarah Ripley, who lived in Waltham; and a third went to his friend and wife-to-be, Lydia Jackson, who lived in Plymouth (fig. 1).<sup>16</sup>

Hedge's copy, it would seem, was the least circulated of the four, for in April 1835 he left West Cambridge to take up a ministry in Maine.<sup>17</sup> He did, however, write to Fuller as soon as he had finished the work to let her know how much he had enjoyed it, and to 'send you whatever you should send for by fit opportunity.'<sup>18</sup> Possibly he sent his copy to Fuller, or perhaps he carried it

cept, I have relied on Emerson's statement in his letter, dated Nov. 20, that he had received Carlyle's package 'last week': that is, no earlier than Nov. 13. See *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 106. This would make sense, since Frederic Henry Hedge wrote on Nov. 17 that he had just finished reading it. See Hedge to Margaret Fuller, Nov. 17, 1834, Hedge Papers, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard University.

16. Emerson to Carlyle, Nov. 20, 1834, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 110. Here Emerson talks of the 'three greedy receivers of Teufelsdröckh,' but he only names one of them (Hedge). Sarah Ripley is identified as an original recipient in Hedge to Caroline Dall, Feb. 1, 1877, quoted in [Caroline Dall], *Transcendentalism in New England* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1897), 16. Joseph Slater gives Lydia Jackson as the third recipient on evidence given by LeBaron Russell, but dating her receipt of the pamphlet is problematic. See *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 110, note 16.

17. See Charles Wesley Grady, 'A Conservative Transcendentalist: The Early Years (1805-1835) of Frederic Henry Hedge,' *Studies in the American Renaissance: 1983*, ed. Joel Myerson (Boston: Twayne, 1983), 57-87.

18. Hedge to Fuller, Nov. 17, 1834, Hedge Papers.

with him to Bangor. The other copies were certainly mobile. Sarah Ripley's house in Waltham (which also doubled as a school for young women and as a parsonage for her husband Samuel Ripley) was a clearing house for Transcendental thought, and Carlyle's work was read aloud here on winter evenings.<sup>19</sup> Lydia Jackson's copy was equally well-read in Plymouth. A young Harvard graduate, LeBaron Russell, later recalled that when 'Emerson lent the numbers or collected sheets of "Fraser" to miss Jackson . . . we all had the reading of them.' Jackson's circle at this time consisted of at least seven identifiable young men and women, all of whom probably read, or at least heard about, Carlyle's work.<sup>20</sup>

While we are uncertain as to which of Jackson's friends read *Sartor*, we can trace other early readers of the work with greater certainty. In February or March of 1835, for example, Boston's leading Unitarian minister, William Ellery Channing, wrote to Emerson to borrow and read his copy of *Sartor*.<sup>21</sup> At around the same time, another Unitarian minister, George Ripley, also managed to read a copy of the work, probably that belonging to his aunt, Sarah Ripley.<sup>22</sup> A third early reader was George Partridge Bradford, who was deeply enmeshed in the social world of Carlyle's other readers; he was Sarah Ripley's brother, Emerson's half-uncle, and Lydia Jackson's friend. He was also distantly related to George Ripley, as was Emerson himself.<sup>23</sup> In April 1835,

19. Frances W. Knickerbocker, 'New England Seeker: Sarah Bradford Ripley,' *New England Quarterly* 30 (1957): 12. On Ripley's vibrant intellectual world see, more generally, Patricia Ann Carlson, 'Sarah Alden Ripley: Emerson's Other Aunt,' *American Transcendental Quarterly* 40 (1978): 309-21.

20. Holmes, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 81. According to her daughter, Lydia Jackson's set was made up of Elizabeth Davis, Eunice Hedge, Hannah Hedge, Abby Hedge, Andrew Russell, Nathaniel Russell, and LeBaron Russell. See Ellen Tucker Emerson, *The Life of Lidian Jackson Emerson*, ed. Dolores Bird Carpenter (Boston: Twayne, 1980), 38. Davis would later ask to be read Carlyle's first letter to Emerson. One has every reason to believe that this interest was prompted by her having heard of the author's *Sartor Resartus*.

21. William Ellery Channing to Emerson, [ca. Feb. 1835], Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

22. Ripley to Carlyle, June 1, 1835, quoted in Joseph L. Slater, 'George Ripley and Thomas Carlyle,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 67 (1952): 343. 'It is only within a few months that I have read "Sartor Resartus,"' wrote Ripley (*ibid.*).

23. Bradford to Emerson, Oct. 10, [1835], Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association.

we find another of Emerson's aunts, Mary Moody Emerson, discussing Carlyle with Frederic Henry Hedge.<sup>24</sup> Tangled skeins of family and friendship thus provided a dense and effective medium for an initial dissemination of knowledge about Carlyle and his work.

News continued to percolate as the year drew on. By March 1835, Emerson could write to Carlyle that as a result of the four copies sent, 'some thirty or more intelligent persons understand and highly appreciate the *Sartor*.'<sup>25</sup> A letter to Carlyle dated April 1835 identified some of these readers; among them were Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham, minister of the highly prestigious First Church in Boston; William Henry Furness, Emerson's cousin and childhood friend, who was minister of the First Congregational Unitarian Church in Philadelphia; Gamaliel Bradford, who was the father of George Partridge Bradford and Sarah Ripley and a superintendent of the Massachusetts General Hospital; and Ellis Gray Loring, an abolitionist and trial lawyer based in Boston (fig. 2).<sup>26</sup>

Dissemination continued apace. Some time in the summer of 1835, Emerson sent one of the four copies of *Sartor* to James Freeman Clarke, in Louisville, Kentucky.<sup>27</sup> He must also, at around the same time, have lent a copy to Alexander H. Everett, editor of Boston's influential journal, the *North American Review*, for in October of 1835 there appeared a long review of the pamphlet edition of *Sartor* in the pages of that august periodical.<sup>28</sup> By October 7, Emerson could write to Carlyle: 'You may hear the

24. Emerson to Hedge, April 10, 1835, *The Selected Letters of Mary Moody Emerson*, ed. Craig Simmons (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 358. Mary Moody Emerson was living in Concord in 1835 and so almost certainly read Waldo Emerson's copy of *Sartor*.

25. Emerson to Carlyle, March 12, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 119.

26. Emerson to Carlyle, April 30, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 125-26. Loring had been Emerson's classmate at both the Boston Latin School and Harvard; he would later help edit Carlyle's *Miscellanies* (1838). See Len Gougeon, '1838: Ellis Gray Loring and a Journal for the Times,' *Studies in the American Renaissance: 1990*, ed. Joel Myerson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), esp. 33-36.

27. Clarke to Carlyle, Jan. 8, 1836, Autograph File, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

28. [Alexander H. Everett], 'Thomas Carlyle,' *North American Review* 41 (Oct. 1835), 454-82.

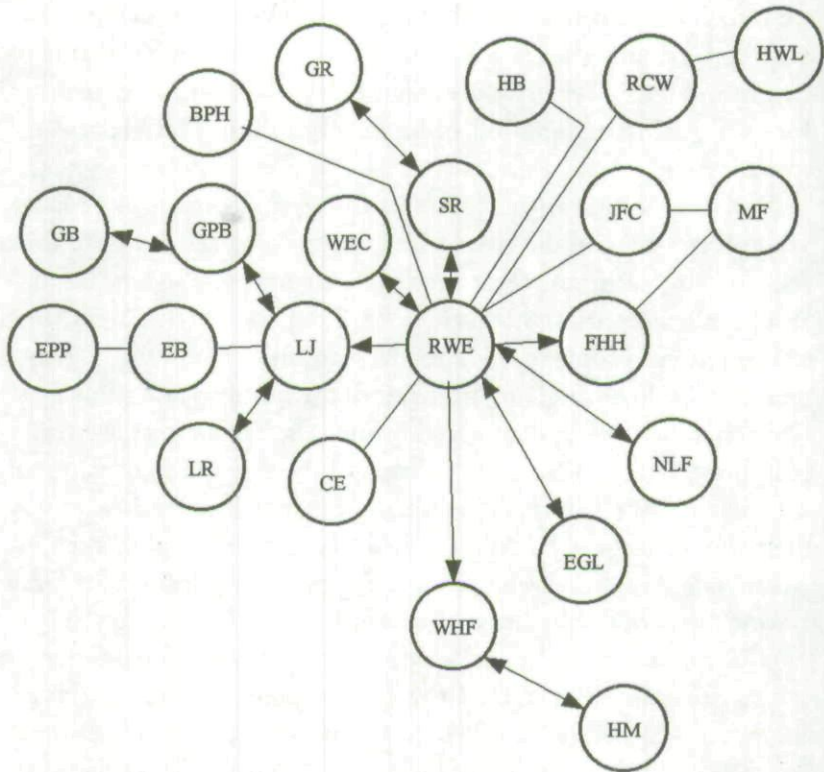


Fig. 2. Knowledge of *Sartor Resartus* by April 30, 1835

Sartor preached from some of our best pulpits.<sup>29</sup> This was indeed a remarkably rapid and diffuse dissemination of a mere four pamphlets.

Arguably it was to be heard from still more pulpits, for on

29. Emerson to Carlyle, Oct. 7, 1835, *Correspondence Between Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1834-1872*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1894), 1: 84. This letter is Emerson's unsent draft and is not included in Slater's edition of the correspondence. Perhaps Emerson was thinking of Caleb Stetson, a Unitarian minister in Medford, Mass. A few months earlier, Emerson's friend Convers Francis had written: 'Br. Stetson preached a grand Carlyle sermon, as he calls it, a short time since; he thinks he has got a new vein of preaching materials.' Francis to Frederic Henry Hedge, Nov. 2, 1835, quoted in Guy R. Woodall, 'The Record of a Friendship: The Letters of Convers Francis to Frederic Henry Hedge in Bangor and Providence, 1835-1850,' *Studies in the American Renaissance: 1991*, ed. Joel Myerson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 11.



October 6 Emerson received another four offprints of *Sartor* from Carlyle and immediately set to disseminating these. One he sent to William Ellery Channing, who was at this time in Newport, and another was given to Convers Francis.<sup>30</sup> It is almost certain that Francis's sister, the novelist and abolitionist Lydia Maria Child, read the copy then, for when she was planning her trip to England around this time, she begged for a letter of introduction from Emerson.<sup>31</sup> At any rate, when Francis had done with his copy, he passed it on to his friend Theodore Parker, who was then a student at the Theological School in Cambridge. Parker in turn loaned it to his 'most intimate friend,' William Silsbee, who also studied at Cambridge, and together they read the work to one another.<sup>32</sup> It is not clear to whom the other two copies were sent, but it is certain that they did not gather dust on Emerson's shelves.

There is no telling how many individuals managed to read copies of *Sartor Resartus* during 1835. Twenty names can be listed with certainty, and another three are likely enough candidates, but there is no reason to doubt Emerson's figure of thirty, which he mentioned in October, nor to suppose that the number did not grow with the arrival of the extra four offprints on October 6 (fig. 3). Ultimately, however, it is unimportant. Carlyle's reputation was established not simply on the fact that he was being widely read, so much as on the fact that he was being talked about. Thus, Edward Everett confidently told a gathering of friends that

30. Emerson to Carlyle, Oct. 7, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 140; Francis to Emerson, Oct. 14, 1835, Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association. Emerson had, in fact, requested an additional 150 copies. Not only could Carlyle only send four more copies, but they were lost in a customs shed in Boston between approximately June and October.

31. Emerson to Carlyle, Oct. 7, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 137-38. The question of when Child might have read *Sartor* is discussed in Rodger L. Tarr, 'Emerson's Transcendentalism in L. M. Child's Letter to Carlyle,' *Emerson Society Quarterly* 48 (1970): 115, note 10.

32. The story of Parker and Silsbee is discussed in the entry for March 8, 1856, Journal of Caroline Dall, Dall Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. I owe this reference to Dean Grodzins. Parker mentioned neither Francis nor Silsbee by name; I make these identifications based on Dean Grodzins, 'Theodore Parker and Transcendentalism' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1993), 70-71 (on Francis), 84-85 (on Silsbee), 126-28 (on *Sartor*).

Carlyle's style 'was the composite of the thunderbolt which consisted of twelve parts:—three with a twisted hail storm and three glittering with fire,—three watery clouds and three empty winds'; the truth, however, was that he had not read a single word of Carlyle's works.<sup>33</sup> If reputation is determined by the amount of information in circulation regarding a particular subject, and by the density of the network within which this information circulates, then it little mattered who possessed copies of *Sartor*.<sup>34</sup> What counted was, firstly, how many people knew about, and were talking about, Carlyle, and secondly, how many of these people knew one another. To put the matter another way, even if there were only eight copies of *Sartor Resartus* in America, there was no limit to the amount of stories that could be told about it.

As a conduit for passing on information about Carlyle, the early Boston network was what social scientists call 'ego-centered,' meaning that it was built up around one individual, in this case, Ralph Waldo Emerson.<sup>35</sup> He alone, of the Boston group, had met Carlyle in person, and he alone, in 1834 and 1835, was in direct and reciprocal correspondence with the author. He was eager to share the wealth, however, and he often loaned or read aloud from the letters that Carlyle sent him, thus diffusing information about the author. We know, for example, that Emerson sent news about Carlyle to his brother William in New York and to James Freeman Clarke in Louisville in 1834, and to Frederic Henry Hedge in 1835 and 1836.<sup>36</sup> Likewise, he loaned Carlyle's first letter to his brother William, to his friend Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, to George Ripley, to Lydia Jackson, and to her Plymouth friend,

33. Quoted in David B. Tyack, *George Ticknor and the Boston Brahmins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 151–52.

34. On network density, see Boissevain, *Friends of Friends*, 37.

35. On ego-centered networks, see John Scott, *Social Network Analysis: A Handbook* (London: Sage, 1991), 30–31. The central person in a network is the person connected to the largest number of individuals by the smallest number of intermediaries. See Boissevain, *Friends of Friends*, 40–42.

36. Ralph Waldo Emerson to William Emerson, Nov. 23, 1834, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 1: 424; Emerson to Clarke, Nov. 25, 1835, quoted in Holmes, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 79–80; Emerson to Hedge, June 25, 1835, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 1: 446; Emerson to Hedge, March 14, 1836, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 2: 6.

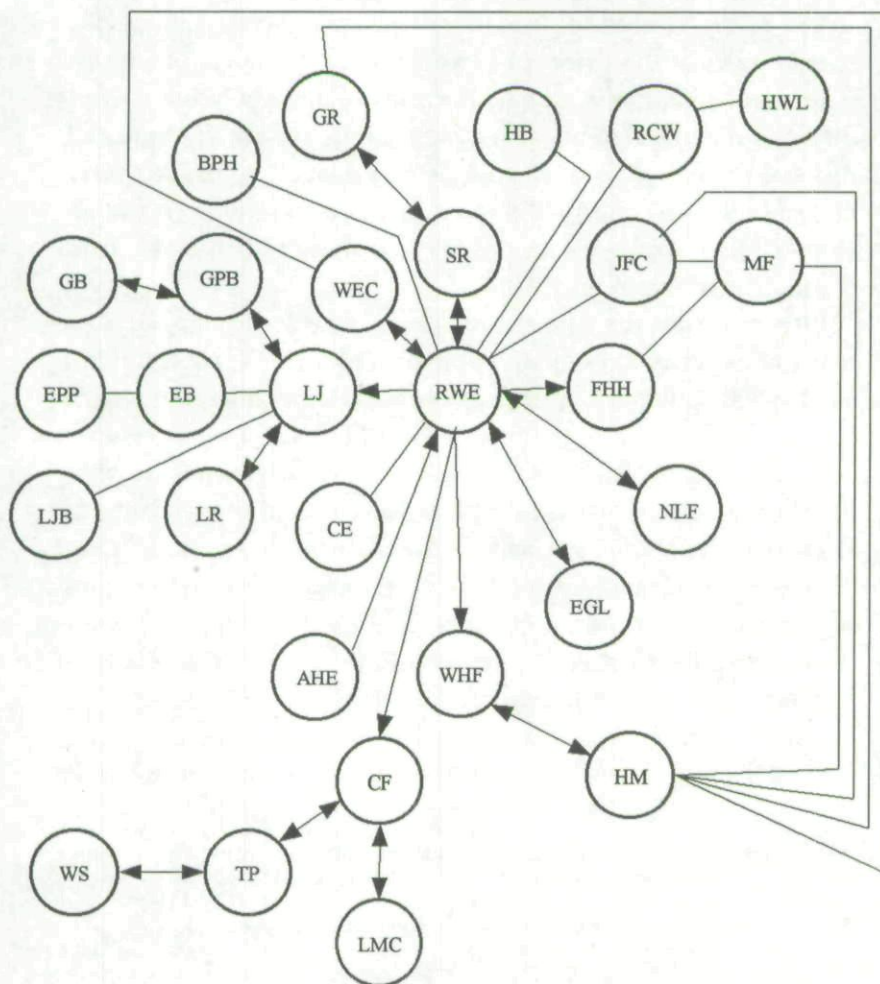


Fig. 3. Knowledge of *Sartor Resartus* by November 30, 1835

Elizabeth Bliss, in 1835.<sup>37</sup> The dissemination of this particular letter, which covered the first four offprints of *Sartor*, did much to spread news of the work. In October 1835, to cite another case, Emerson's wife, Lydia, copied portions of one of Carlyle's letters into one addressed to her sister, mentioning the receipt of the additional copies of *Sartor*.<sup>38</sup> So long as Emerson continued to receive letters, he continued to pass them on to interested friends, thus keeping up a constant flow of information within the Transcendentalist community.<sup>39</sup>

Others within the wider community regarded Emerson as the main channel of communication to and from Carlyle. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, fresh out of Bowdoin College and on his way to the Continent to prepare for a Harvard professorship in Modern Languages, had read little or no Carlyle, but he knew that he was an important interpreter of German thought, and he knew that Emerson was Carlyle's American ambassador. In 1835, he wrote to his friend Robert C. Waterston, asking him to request of Emerson a letter of introduction to the great Scot.<sup>40</sup> Yale graduate Henry Barnard had solicited a letter of introduction from Emerson just the month before.<sup>41</sup>

Others within the community also gossiped about Carlyle, passing the same news on from person to person. As soon as Clarke

37. Ralph L. Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), 215; Ripley to Carlyle, June 1, 1835, quoted in Slater, 'George Ripley and Thomas Carlyle,' 343; Ralph Waldo Emerson to William Emerson, Jan. 7, 1835, *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 1: 430; Emerson to Lydia Jackson, March 4, 1835, *Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 1: 440. The letter referred to is that of Aug. 12, 1834.

38. Lydia Emerson to Lucy Jackson Brown, Oct. 10, 1835, *The Selected Letters of Lidian Jackson Emerson*, ed. Dolores Bird Carpenter (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 42-43. Lydia was quoting from Carlyle's letter dated May 13, 1835, which Emerson only received on Oct. 7. See *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 128, 133, 138.

39. For later examples, see N. L. Frothingham to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Aug. 9, 1837, *Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association*; and Joel Myerson, 'Convers Francis and Emerson,' *American Literature* 50 (1978): 31.

40. Waterston to Longfellow, April 6, 1835, quoted in Irving T. Richards, 'Longfellow in England: Unpublished Extracts from his Journal,' *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 51 (1936): 1127. According to one scholar who has consulted Longfellow's unpublished journals, he had read neither *The Life of Schiller* or *Sartor Resartus* at the time of his departure for England. See Lawrence Thompson, *Young Longfellow (1807-1843)* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 211.

41. Emerson to Carlyle, March 11, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 119.

had received news of Carlyle's new work from Emerson in March 1834, he had promptly copied the letter into one addressed to his cousin Fuller. Others kept others up to date on news relating to *Sartor*. 'By the way, we are to have at last an Amer. ed of Sartor,' Convers Francis told Frederic Henry Hedge in early 1836.<sup>42</sup>

Information certainly travelled fast, but it was also sometimes distorted as it moved through successive links in the communications network. A few days after Emerson received the second package of four *Sartor* offprints, George Partridge Bradford wrote to him, 'I hear that you have received the 50 copies of Sartor. Please let me bespeak one for myself hereby.'<sup>43</sup> 'Somebody told me you were editing a volume of Carlyle's papers,' wrote Emerson's friend Benjamin Rodman from New Bedford in 1838, 'what are they—when to appear and all.'<sup>44</sup> A year later there were more rumors. 'Is it true that he will be here this summer,' asked Rodman. 'I forget who told me so—but I did not dream it.'<sup>45</sup> Within the closed world of the Transcendentalists and their friends, news travelled fast and freely. One item of news—a letter or a rumor—quickly spread through the network, reaching more and more people. Small wonder, then, that Carlyle's fame came to seem like a 'disease.'

Yet this intensity could not last. Social scientists note the propensity of networks to 'reticulate,' or expand and reconfigure themselves around new or multiple centers.<sup>46</sup> This was certainly true of the family-and-friends network that first gained access to Carlyle. Initially, kinship ties were vital to the dissemination of Carlyle's work. Among the first recipients of the pamphlet *Sartor* were Emerson's aunt and his wife-to-be. Among the earliest readers were two of his cousins, another aunt, and an uncle. Other

42. Francis to Hedge, Jan. 18, 1836, quoted in Woodall, 'Record of a Friendship,' 14.

43. Bradford to Emerson, Oct. 10, [1835], Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association.

44. Rodman to Emerson, May 22, 1838, Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association. Carlyle's essays were, in fact, being edited by Charles Stearns Wheeler.

45. Rodman to Emerson, April 27, 1839, Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association.

46. On reticulation, see Luther P. Gerlach and Virginia P. Hine, *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970), 33-63.

readers included a childhood companion, several college friends, and his professional associates in the ministry. As readership expanded, it continued to include other kin, including a pair of siblings and two cousins.

By the beginning of 1836, however, many new people in Massachusetts began to possess original information regarding Carlyle. When Carlyle first began to interact with others of Emerson's friends, for example, a give and take of information became evident. In 1835, for example, George Ripley included portions of a letter from Carlyle into a letter addressed to Emerson, and also included gossip concerning Carlyle from Alexander Everett and Frederic Henry Hedge.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, the accounts of others who had visited with Carlyle began to trickle back into the community. 'We have been delighted, I assure you,' Ripley wrote to Carlyle, 'in the accounts we have received concerning you from our friends the Channings & Professor Longfellow.'<sup>48</sup>

The reticulation of the Carlyle-aware community was in one sense advantageous; more people knew about the author than ever before. Emerson was thrilled, for example, that Everett had read and reviewed *Sartor*, because, as he explained to Carlyle, 'this man represents a clique to which I am a stranger.' Yet reticulation also resulted in a thinning of the density of the communications network as it shifted from ego-centrism to socio-centrism, a point of which Emerson himself was all too aware. 'I only tremble to see *my* importance quite at an end,' he told Carlyle.<sup>49</sup> Publication of Everett's essay expanded awareness of Carlyle from the local to the national: the *North American Review* had agents all the way from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to New Orleans.<sup>50</sup>

Even in Massachusetts, Emerson had ceased to be the only

47. Ripley to Emerson, Oct. 5, 1835, Ralph Waldo Emerson Memorial Association.

48. Ripley to Carlyle, Dec. 29, 1836, quoted in Slater, 'George Ripley and Thomas Carlyle,' 345.

49. Emerson to Carlyle, Oct. 7, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 139-40.

50. 'Agents,' *North American Review* 2 (Oct. 1815): inside back wrapper. In all likelihood, the number of distribution agents had grown dramatically in the two decades since this list was published.

player in the information network. While Emerson endeavored to get more copies of *Sartor* from a miserly *Fraser's*, his wife's Plymouth friend LeBaron Russell had quite independently 'determined to publish an American edition.'<sup>51</sup> Without thinking to inform Emerson, Russell negotiated with the Boston firm James Monroe and Company to have an edition of *Sartor Resartus* published. Munroe and Company demanded a list of 150 subscribers, which they said would be necessary to defray the costs of printing, this being the convention of the day. Much of the subscription gathering was undertaken by Silsbee and Parker in Cambridge, as well as by Russell in Plymouth. Eventually, and 'by dint of great effort,' as Parker recalled, the subscriptions were gathered.<sup>52</sup>

By January 1836 *Sartor Resartus* was in press. At this point, Russell asked Emerson to write a short preface, which was completed in March 1836. While Emerson was writing the preface, the compositors at Metcalf, Torrey, and Ballou were typesetting the book in Cambridge from Emerson's offprint copy of the work. Operations were overseen by Harvard undergraduate and Transcendental neophyte, Charles Stearns Wheeler, who worked part time for the printers—further indication of how tightly knit a community participated in the creation of Carlyle's reputation.<sup>53</sup> The first edition of *Sartor* was finally published in Boston in April 1836, and sold for one dollar. In September of the same year,

51. Holmes, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 81.

52. On Parker and Silsbee's involvement in the subscription campaign, see the entry for March 8, 1856, Journal of Caroline Dall, Dall Papers. Lamentably, the list has not survived. There are five copies of the first American edition in the Houghton Library at Harvard. The inscriptions read: 'William Ware from Harriet Martineau, April 29, 1836'; 'John J. May'; 'J. J. Stackpole/for G. P. Bradford/April 5, 1836'; and 'E. P. Clark.' Clearly a full survey of flyleaf inscriptions in existing copies of the first American edition would reveal much about the early dissemination of the work.

53. On Wheeler, see John Olin Eidson, 'Charles Stearns Wheeler: Emerson's "Good Grecian,"' *New England Quarterly* 27 (1954): 472-83. Eidson cites Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who recalled having seen Wheeler transcribing *Sartor* from copies of *Fraser's Magazine* in the Boston Athenæum for the first American edition, but this is surely incorrect; an offprint copy of *Sartor*, heavily marked with compositor's symbols, and with Emerson's name on the flyleaf, now housed at the Houghton Library at Harvard, suggests the true source of Wheeler's work for Metcalf, Torrey, and Ballou.

Emerson wrote to Carlyle that 'the *five hundred copies of the Sartor are all sold, and read with great delight by many persons.*'<sup>54</sup>

Yet again, more important than the number of copies of *Sartor* read was the number of people who *knew* about Carlyle and his work, for it was this that created his enduring reputation. By the end of 1836, emboldened, perhaps, by the publication of *Sartor*, the Transcendentalists had formed their own society, published a number of combative books and articles, and were starting to separate themselves from the conservative Unitarians. In this charged context, the vogue for Carlyle's work took on a whole new light. Almost overnight, Carlyle became a cause célèbre.<sup>55</sup>

Upon the publication of *Sartor* in America, the process of (supportive) mystification and (hostile) debunking of Carlyle's fame very quickly began. The argument for the almost magical growth of the Scotsman's reputation was first made by the peripatetic English reformer, Harriet Martineau, in her controversial travelogue *Society in America*, published in 1837. 'No living writer,' she stated,

exercises so enviable a sway, so far as it goes, as Mr. Carlyle. . . . Mr. Carlyle's remarkable work *Sartor Resartus*, issued piecemeal through *Fraser's Magazine*, has been republished in America and is exerting an influence proportioned to the genuineness of the admiration it has excited. Perhaps this is the first instance of the Americans having taken to their hearts an English work that came to them anonymous, unsanctioned by any recommendation and even absolutely neglected at home. It has regenerated the preaching of more than one of the clergy.<sup>56</sup>

There was more than a hint of disingenuousness in Martineau's account, however, and she knew it. Martineau had been in Phila-

54. Emerson to Carlyle, Sept. 17, 1836, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 149.

55. This is not the place to tell the story of Carlyle's subsequent rise to fame in America. For studies of his American reception, all more impressive for their scope of reference than their depth of analysis, see Frank Luther Mott, 'Carlyle's American Public,' *Philological Quarterly* 4 (1925): 245-64; Howard Deforest Widger, 'Thomas Carlyle in America: His Reputation and Influence' (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1940); Julia Deener Brent, 'Thomas Carlyle and the American Renaissance: The Use of Sources and the Nature of Influence' (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1975); Margaret Helen Bullock, 'Carlyle's Reputation in America as Shown in Periodicals from 1833 to 1881' (M.A. thesis, University of Illinois, 1937); and William Silas Vance, 'Carlyle and the American Transcendentalists' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1941).

56. Martineau, *Society in America* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837), 3: 220-21.



delphia in April 1835, staying with William Henry Furness, who had been 'feeding [her] with the *Sartor*' he had just received from Boston.<sup>57</sup> She vacationed with George and Sophia Ripley the following month and, according to George, 'made the Sartor her constant companion.'<sup>58</sup> In June, she visited James Freeman Clarke in Lexington, Kentucky, and told him that she was 'preparing the people for Carlylism.'<sup>59</sup> In August she visited Clarke's cousin Margaret Fuller, and the two had 'some talk about Carlyleism.'<sup>60</sup> She met Emerson several times in the fall of that year, when he was laboring diligently on Carlyle's behalf. She visited several times with Sarah Alden Ripley in Waltham, and she was staying with William Ellery Channing in Newport, Rhode Island, when Emerson sent Channing a copy of *Sartor* in October.<sup>61</sup> Martineau was in some respects the shadow of *Sartor*; everywhere the book went, so did she. It is no wonder that this was the case, however, for Martineau was simply passing through the same Transcendentalist social network that played host to Carlyle's work. Indeed, Martineau at one point referred to 'going from house to house in the Unitarian connexion.'<sup>62</sup> Having virtually lived with Carlyle's work for more than six months, having met and talked with Emerson, the principal friend of the author in America, having read the work with two of Emerson's cousins, three of his friends, and with their collective spiritual mentor, in three different states, one can only assume that Martineau knew full well that *Sartor* was anything but anonymous and anything but unrecommended. Martineau's evaluation was a deliberate act of mystification.

57. Emerson to Carlyle, April 30, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 126.

58. George Ripley to Carlyle, Dec. 29, 1836, quoted in Slater, 'George Ripley and Thomas Carlyle,' 346.

59. Clarke to Margaret Fuller, June 14, 1835, *Letters of James Freeman Clarke to Margaret Fuller*, 96.

60. Quoted in R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, and J. F. Clarke, *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, 1852), 1: 152.

61. Sarah Alden Ripley to Mary Moody Emerson, [Sept. 1835], Sarah Alden Ripley Papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College; Ralph Waldo Emerson to Carlyle, Oct. 7, 1835, *Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, 140.

62. Martineau, *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography* (London: Virago Press, 1983), 2: 79.

One who knew better was ready to take her to task. In October 1837, the *North American Review* published a blistering forty-page attack on Martineau's book. Its author, John Gorham Palfrey, was Dean of Harvard Divinity School, the scourge of the Transcendentalists, and hardly one to recommend with open arms the suggestion that Carlyle had regenerated the preaching of the clergymen he was charged with training.<sup>63</sup> His attack on Carlyle took the form of a caustic running commentary on Martineau's paean.

'No living writer . . .,' continues Miss Martineau, 'exercises so enviable a sway, as far as it goes, as Mr. Carlyle.' There is much virtue in that clause, *as far as it goes*, inasmuch as, to supply this nation of fifteen millions, over which the author of the 'Sartor Resartus' 'exercises so enviable a sway,' that work,—a work, too, which they have 'taken to their hearts,' and which 'is acting upon them with wonderful force,'—has, according to information on which we have the best reason to rely, been printed in but two editions, the first consisting of five hundred copies, and the second, after an interval of more than a year, being only twice as large.<sup>64</sup>

Palfrey's assessment was, superficially speaking, accurate. The two editions of *Sartor Resartus* were hardly large, nor were they especially widely disseminated. Yet in his own way, Palfrey was being as disingenuous as Martineau. As a young Boston-born Unitarian, as a minister, as a professor, as an anti-slavery activist, as the editor-in-chief of the *North American Review*, and as the assistant editor of the *Christian Disciple*, in short, as a member of the exact same socio-cultural group that welcomed Carlyle with open arms, Dean Palfrey knew full well the havoc that could be wreaked with only four copies of a subversive book in the tightly-knit world of the Boston Unitarians. If Palfrey mocked the extent of Carlyle's spread, 'as far as it goes,' we may be certain that he was praying that it would go no further.

63. See Frank Otto Gatell, *John Gorham Palfrey and the New England Conscience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), 72.

64. [John Gorham Palfrey], 'Miss Martineau's Society in America,' *North American Review* 45 (Oct. 1837): 454. Palfrey's statistics were more or less correct. In all likelihood, he got them from Emerson himself, with whom he enjoyed casual but friendly relations until 1838. See Gatell, *John Gorham Palfrey*, 74-75.

By the early 1840s, American critics had begun to talk of Carlyle as a disease-bearer.<sup>65</sup> Their invocation of this figure was hardly flattering. Antebellum use of the disease trope was predicated on a vision of society as an organic, corporeal whole and on a view of the human mind as a malleable object, subject to irresistible infection by pernicious and enfeebling ideas. Carlyle kept company with slavery, socialism, monarchism, and libertinism, all of which were seen as diseased ideas whose ability to spread through the population irresistibly might gnaw away at the very vitals of the nation and lead to certain and unavoidable chaos.<sup>66</sup> As the analysis above suggests, however, the spread of Carlyle's reputation was anything but irresistible, being a product of great effort on behalf of a community willing to meet Carlyle at least halfway in the process of engaging his ideas. To describe Carlyle's fame as a 'disease' is to imply a great deal and to state very little; it has the tendency to obscure as much as, if not more than, it reveals, drawing, as it does, upon an anachronistic and questionable world-view. The only aspect of the disease trope that bears any correspondence to the reality of Carlyle's American fortunes lies in the fact that his work, like a communicable disease, was passed on from person to person, flourishing best in the densest social environments. It is something of an irony, then, that by the time critics came to see the fad for Carlyle's books as a disease, *Sartor* had ceased to be disseminated in this personal manner, and had become the property of large, impersonal publishing houses.

In their highly influential work on figurative language, linguists

65. The earliest example of a critic treating Carlyle through disease-based figures that I have been able to find is in an article by the great Unitarian heresiographer Andrews Norton, discussing Carlyle's advocacy of Goethe: 'An artificial and diseased taste must be created before they can read them,' he wrote of Goethe's works. [Andrews Norton], 'Recent Publications Concerning Goethe,' *Norton's Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature* 1 (April 1833): 262.

66. Early American reliance on corporeal and disease-based tropes is discussed at some length by Martha Banta, 'Medical Therapies and the Body Politic,' *Prospects* 8 (1983): 59-128; and Mary Titus, "'This Poisonous System': Social Ills, Bodily Ills, and *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*,' in *Harriet Jacobs and 'Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*,' ed. Deborah M. Garfield and Rafia Zafar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 199-215. I have explored antebellum critical use of disease figures in 'Rising Stars and Raging Diseases.'

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson have argued that, in the final instance, we are unable to transcend our habitual use of metaphor; it is more or less hardwired into our cognitive apparatus.<sup>67</sup> To say that an author's fortunes rose, for example, is to invoke an economic figure, while to say only that he or she rose is simply to substitute a spatial metaphor for an economic one. If we are unable, at some level, to avoid using figurative language in writing literary history, however, then two corrective responses do suggest themselves. Firstly, literary historians need to be mindful of the figures they invoke in describing and interpreting literary fame. Describing fame as a disease carries with it many unwanted and unhelpful connotations; better, perhaps, would be the image of the loom, with the Carlylean shuttle being passed through the warp and woof of Bostonian society, that densely knit social fabric, with its tangled skeins of affiliation. Yet even this trope conjures up images of prefabrication and must ultimately be rejected. Ultimately, I believe, the figures of literary history are best used when they are most abstract. A second caveat for literary historians concerns the figures we encounter in historical documents. Scholars, I contend, need to approach historical accounts of celebrity with an anthropologist's sensitivity, historicizing the language they encounter, and looking for the reality behind the rhetoric. Many antebellum authors were described as infectious, yet not all of them spread in the same way as Carlyle. If literary fame is a disease, then it is one with a distressingly complex etiology. Every case has to be diagnosed in its specificity, its causes traced, and its provenance established. At the same time, the analysis of any given case can, within reason, illuminate the cases of other, distinct case histories.

Finally, then, we must ask what the example of Carlyle's early reputation can teach us as students of the canonization process? Several insights and applications suggest themselves, but each

67. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press). The essentially figurative nature of historiography is also urged by Hayden White. See, for example, his *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

must be prefaced by several qualifications. In the first place, it should be noted that a contemporary sense of reputation, such as that studied above, is not identical with the (often posthumous) sense of fame that we associate with canonization. Many works enjoy brief fame without ever being canonized. Yet at the same time it is important to realize the extent to which the former could (and can) lay a foundation for the latter. As Jane Tompkins has argued in her study of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Susan Warner's diverging fortunes in the literary canon, the precise nature of those institutions that generate fame can have a decisive bearing on the subsequent perpetuation of reputation that accompanies canonization. While Warner's work was published by various New York houses, Tompkins explains, Hawthorne's was handled by a Boston firm; while many of Warner's readers were evangelical Protestants, most of Hawthorne's were liberals; and while most of Hawthorne's personal connections were to members of New England's literary elite, Warner's were not. Each author was a member of a powerful, yet discrete, intellectual coterie, yet Hawthorne's had far greater wealth and resilience. With the waning of evangelical Christianity after the Civil War, the networks and conditions that supported Warner's works vanished, while the genteel Unitarian patrons of Hawthorne's reputation maintained prominence in literary and cultural realms, thus ensuring his continued attention.<sup>68</sup>

The precise nature of Carlyle's early American network was also of great significance. In Emerson and his Unitarian-Transcendentalist friends, Carlyle found a dedicated and reasonably high-powered group of benefactors. Not only did the Boston group sustain the dissemination and publication of *Sartor Resartus*; they also undertook the publication of his next two books: *The French Revolution* (1837) and *Critical and Miscellaneous*

68. Jane Tompkins, 'Masterpiece Theater: The Politics of Hawthorne's Literary Reputation,' in *Sensational Designs: The Cultural Work of American Fiction, 1790-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), esp. 23-32. This picture is considerably fleshed out by Susan S. Williams, 'Widening the World: Susan Warner, Her Readers, and the Assumption of Authorship,' *American Quarterly* 42 (1990): 565-86.

*Essays* (1838). Emerson continued to use his large (and steadily growing) influence as a cultural arbiter to have Carlyle's subsequent works published in Boston and New York, and to make sure that they received adequate attention. And in just the same way that Carlyle was made by the Northern liberals, so he was eventually destroyed by them too. When he dared to publish a stream of racist and anti-abolitionist articles in the 1850s and to denounce the Union cause during the Civil War, those who had eagerly bought and championed his works in the 1830s and 1840s withdrew all support and even had him ostracized from conversation.<sup>69</sup>

Understanding the initial contexts of reception and conditions of informational dissemination goes a long way toward explaining why an author becomes famous, and why he or she might subsequently lose that fame and be denied a place in the canon. Carlyle was initially adopted by a small but highly influential literary circle, and one might speculate that had he not met Emerson, his American influence might never have taken the shape that it did. Thus, we need more studies of the way in which knowledge of literary works is disseminated, at the level of the social network, but also in terms of what Stanley Fish has called the 'interpretive community.'<sup>70</sup> Only when we can understand who was reading a work, how they were reading it, and what they were doing with their interpretations, will we be in a position to appreciate the way in which a literary reputation took the form that it did.

69. See John O. Waller, 'Thomas Carlyle and His Nutshell Iliad,' *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 49 (1965): 17-30; Roland H. Woodwell, 'Whittier and Carlyle,' *Emerson Society Quarterly* 50 (1968): 42-46. Emerson and Alcott both tried to defend Carlyle in conversation but were utterly embarrassed by their erstwhile friend's pronouncements; at one point they drew William Lloyd Garrison's wrath in front of a group of worthies, merely by force of association. See Deborah Weston to Caroline Weston, Feb. 18, 1850, MS A.9.2.25, Boston Public Library.

70. On interpretive communities, see Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980). For a pioneering attempt to combine reader-oriented theory with the social history of a well-defined and limited region, see William J. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780-1835* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

In undertaking such studies, however, the literary historian must also recognize that not all works of literature became famous in the way that *Sartor Resartus* did, nor, indeed, were all works within the literary community of Boston received with the same welcome that was extended to Carlyle.<sup>71</sup> The intensive dissemination of texts within a tightly-bound social group can hardly be limited to the example of Carlyle in Boston, but it was a phenomenon that ceased to have a great impact on the canon after the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>72</sup> Increasingly, such techniques of dissemination gave way to more aggressive, commercial methods of promotion based on extensive advertising in reviews and newspapers. New printing and transportation technologies made knowledge of literary works a fast-moving commodity, and publishers like James T. Fields and Robert Bonner pioneered novel techniques to keep their authors in the public eye even when they were not writing.<sup>73</sup>

What the example of Carlyle does show is the way in which the specific *structure* of the institutions that disseminated his work had a profound bearing on the nature of that dissemination. Scholars of literary reputation will need to look more closely at the forms of institutional support available to any given author before they

71. For the sake of focus, I have deliberately eschewed discussion of precisely why the liberal Unitarians found Carlyle's work so congenial. The answer, I would argue, lay in his novel and well-informed critique of the Scottish Common Sense epistemology that formed not only the foundation of his own early education, but that also lay behind most Unitarian pedagogy and theology in America.

72. For a well-documented case study of modern book-lending, see Peter Miles, 'The Painter's Bible and the British Workman: Robert Tressell's Literary Activism,' in *The British Working-Class Novel in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jeremy Hawthorn (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), 2-10. The attention paid to Zora Neale Hurston immediately prior to her rediscovery also seems to follow this pattern of informal book-lending, petition circulating, and gossip. See Mary Helen Washington, foreword to *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, by Zora Neale Hurston (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), vii-xii; and Elizabeth Elsas, 'The Hurston Phenomenon: A Study of the Canonization of Zora Neale Hurston' (Junior Essay, Department of English and American Literature and Language, Harvard University, 1992), 15.

73. On the impact of technology on literary dissemination, see Ronald J. Zboray, 'The Transportation Revolution and Antebellum Book Distribution Reconsidered,' *American Quarterly* 38 (1986): 53-71. On Bonner and Fields, see, respectively, Mary Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 3-27; and Richard H. Brodhead, *The School of Hawthorne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 56-58.

can fully understand the dynamics of their canonical status. Ultimately, the example of Carlyle should amply demonstrate the contention that reputation cannot be reduced merely to publishers' sales figures or a list of those had read a work; nor can it, on the other hand, be seen as the product of large institutions and powerful individuals alone. Each instance of literary fame is as unique, and as demanding of scrutiny, as a specific strain of disease.



APPENDIX

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- Recipient of *Sartor*  
←———— Borrower of *Sartor*  
————— Recipient of news concerning *Sartor*

AHE	Alexander H. Everett
BPH	Benjamin P. Hunt
CE	Charles Emerson
CF	Convers Francis
EB	Elizabeth Bliss
EGL	Ellis Gray Loring
EPP	Elizabeth Palmer Peabody
FHH	Frederic Henry Hedge
GB	Gamaliel Bradford
GPB	George Partridge Bradford
GR	George Ripley
HB	Henry Barnard
HM	Harriet Martineau
HWL	Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
JFC	James Freeman Clarke
LJ	Lydia Jackson
LJB	Lucy Jackson Brown
LMC	Lydia Maria Child
LR	LeBaron Russell
MF	Margaret Fuller
NLF	Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham
RCW	Robert C. Waterston
RWE	Ralph Waldo Emerson
SR	Sarah Ripley
TP	Theodore Parker
WEC	William Ellery Channing
WHF	William Henry Furness
WS	William Silsbee

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